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JEWISH INFLUENCE
ON
CHRISTIAN REFORM MOVEMENTS

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Jewish Influence On Christian Reform Movements

By
LOUIS ISRAEL NEWMAN, Ph.D.

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NOTE

One of the most fascinating of all studies is that which deals with the influence exercised by one civilization, by one race, by one religion upon another. The world is one; but the various trains by which this unity is preserved are not always perceived with ease. They are interwoven in so intricate a fashion that to find them is often a matter of much difficulty. This process of finding requires a wide-reading, infinite care, a well-balanced sense of proportion and the ability to distinguish between the seeming and the real.

In the following study, Dr. Newman deals with the question of the amount of Jewish influence that there is to be found exercised upon Christian Reform Movements. The subject is a very rich one; it can not be dealt with entirely in one volume. Dr. Newman, therefore, has selected a number of movements within the Church as specimens of this influence—some of them previous to the Reformation, others posterior. To mention only the Catharist movement, that of the Passagii, of the Hussites, and the revolts led by Zwingli and Michael Servetus, is to give a faint idea of the wealth of the material which Dr. Newman has brought together for the attention of scholars. In addition to these definite subjects—confined, for the most part, within the period beginning with the eleventh and ending with the sixteenth centuries—Dr. Newman has a good deal to say concerning the Inquisition and the Index, especially in their relation to Jewish life and to Jewish thought. He deals even with certain aspects of American Puritanism.

One may not always agree with the conclusions at which Dr. Newman arrives, or one may wish to reserve judgment; but in every topic with which he deals, he has gone to the ultimate sources; and in laying his material clearly before us and in thus making it possible for us to form our own opinion, he has rendered a valuable service to the study of medieval religious thought.

RICHARD GOTTHEIL

Columbia University,
June 9, 1925.

TO THE MEMORY OF

MY TEACHER

RABBI MARTIN A. MEYER

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED

PREFACE

This work is a study of a few typical "Reform Movements" or heresies in the history of Catholicism during the Middle Ages and of Protestantism during the Reformation era. It has been undertaken with a view to describing and analyzing the contributions by Jews and Judaism to the rise and development of these movements. I have selected for detailed investigation the Iconoclastic Controversy of the ninth century, the Catharist, Waldensian, Passagian and Judaizing heresies of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, because they typify "Reform" tendencies within Catholicism. To illustrate similar tendencies in Protestantism, I have chosen the Hussite movement during the fifteenth century, the Pre-Reformation period; the Lutheran movement in Germany and the Swiss revolt led by Zwingli, both during the Reformation period; the Unitarian movement promoted by Michael Servetus during the sixteenth century, and the Puritan movement in England and America, both during the Post-Reformation era. Any century of Christian history would have yielded an equally rich harvest of information; those, however, which I have designated, are among the most significant, and the movements which arose during them have been little investigated from the standpoint of their Jewish aspects. In the first division of my study I have traced the sources, content and scope of Jewish influence, laying particular emphasis upon the instruction given to Christian Hebraists by Jewish teachers, and thereby furnishing an introduction to the individual Reform movements which are then described. I feel certain that the general principles which can be deduced from a detailed consideration of these groups will prove valuable in an investigation of other movements in the history of Christian-Jewish relationships.

Obviously it has been impossible to include within these pages the entire story of Jewish influence on Christian religious development. The late Joseph Jacobs in *Jewish Contributions to Civilization*, published at Philadelphia in 1919, five years after my own study had been begun, has given a survey of Jewish

contributions to world thought. His work does not confine itself to religious movements, but includes all spheres of cultural, commercial and scientific activity, wherein Jews and Judaism have played a part. My study must perforce be limited to a consideration of special and distinctive religious movements to which I shall give intensive rather than extensive treatment.

In a more comprehensive plan, however, the present volume, though the first to be published, is the second in a series concerning Jewish aspects of Christian religious history. In the relationship of Judaism and Christianity, three questions require answer, namely:

First: Of what nature and how important is the content of the contribution of Judaism to the rise and development of Christianity? I have already begun a study in connection with the preparation of this volume, which I hope to be able later to publish under the general title: *Jewish Foundations of Christianity.*

Second: Have the Reform movements in Christendom arisen through the aid of Jewish literary and personal influence? This present work is an attempt in part to answer this question.

Third: Is Christianity "returning to Judaism"? or: Is there a modern rapprochement between the two religions? I hope to be able to give an answer to this query in a later study under the title: *The Convergence of Modern Christianity and Judaism*, also begun in connection with this present work.

I cannot hope, however, to present a complete reply even to the question to which this study is devoted. Just as the earlier and later periods of Christian history must be left to future consideration, so it has been necessary to omit the results of research into several other important Reform movements. Moreover, the background and setting for the movements discussed in this volume, together with several important factors in their rise and career, have been merely sketched, rather than comprehensively described. The three volumes by Moritz Guedemann: *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der abendlaendischen Juden waehrend des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit*, Vienna, 1880-1888, constitute an attempt to show both the history of Jewish culture in the Middle Ages, and the Jewish elements in medieval Christian civilization. Israel Abrahams' *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, London and Philadelphia, 1896,

is a similar effort in English. These works furnish a general background for the present study. I must be content, however, with investigating a few representative movements, though, whenever possible, their relationship to other movements will be defined.

My research was begun in San Francisco, California, in 1914, largely at the suggestion of the late Rev. Dr. Martin A. Meyer of Temple Emanu-El, to whom I have dedicated this volume, and who unfortunately passed away before its appearance; of Professor Louis J. Paetow of the Department of History of the University of California, under whom I began my studies in medieval history; and of Professor William Popper of the Department of Semitics of the University of California, whose guidance I was privileged to enjoy while at Berkeley, and who has taken the trouble to read and correct the greater part of my manuscript.

I have been fortunate also to receive, while in New York City, the aid and suggestion on individual points of my work of Professor F. J. Foakes Jackson and Professor William W. Rockwell of the Union Theological Seminary; and of Professor Alexander Marx of the Jewish Theological Seminary, who has placed his wide bibliographical knowledge at my disposal. My friend, Mr. Richard B. Morris, of the Department of History of the College of the City of New York, deserves my hearty thanks for his invaluable aid in correcting manuscript, proof-reading and in gathering material for certain portions of this study where acknowledged in the foot-notes; the chapter entitled: *Hebraic Aspects of American Puritanism* is included in this volume because it bears directly upon its theme; it is a brief summary of a larger work which Mr. Morris and I have ready, and hope to issue in the near future on: *Hebraic Influence in Early American Puritan Legislation*.

I am greatly indebted to the members of the staff of the libraries in New York City who have been of genuine helpfulness: to Miss C. T. Hudson at the Union Theological Seminary, to the staff at the Jewish Theological Seminary and Columbia University Library, and at the New York Public Library, where the late Abraham S. Freidus and Isaac Broydé, and where the present Librarian of the Jewish Room, Dr. Joshua Bloch, have been generously cooperative. I wish also to thank Professor N. G.

McCrea, Anthon Professor of Latin at Columbia University, for his aid in translating certain difficult Latin texts; and Miss Ernestine P. Franklin for her aid in developing certain references to Calvin in the Servetus material. I am appreciative also of the suggestions offered by Dr. George A. Kohut and Rev. Dr. Stephen S. Wise of the Jewish Institute of Religion.

Finally to Professor Richard J. H. Gottheil, Chairman of the Division of Ancient and Oriental Languages and Literatures at Columbia University, I desire to express my heartfelt gratitude for his inspiring leadership of my studies, for his patience during the years needed for the preparation and completion of this work, for his care and interest in the correction of my manuscript, and for the multitude of courtesies he has shown in the supervision of my research.

LOUIS I. NEWMAN

San Francisco, Calif., September, 1925.

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BOOK I

THE SOURCES, CONTENT AND SCOPE OF JEWISH INFLUENCE

THE SOURCES, CONTENT AND SCOPE OF JEWISH INFLUENCE IN CHRISTIANITY

1. The Use of the Term "Judaizing"

A study of Christian Church history, and of the so-called "heresies" or "Reform" movements in particular, reveals the frequent use of the term: "Judaizing." The word first appears in the Book of Esther, 8:17, where the Hebrew phrase: "Mithyahadhim" ("many became Jews") occurs. In the Greek the form is: "ioudaizein." It occurs in the New Testament in the Book of Galatians, 2:14. Paul says:

> I said unto Peter before them all: If thou being a Jew, livest after the manner of the Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as Jews?

In the literature of the Church Fathers, both in the Latin and the Greek, the term "Judaizing" in its various grammatical form is repeatedly found. It denotes the policy of imitation of Jewish ideas, practices and customs which many Christians professed. On the lips of the anti-Jewish party and of the champions of rising Gentile Christianity, the term was one of reproach and contempt. It implied reaction and relapse into the primitive foundations of Christianity, namely, Judaism, beyond which the new religion believed itself to have advanced.

In the decrees of the Church Councils, the term gained currency from the time of the Council of Laodicea in the fourth century onward. It was used by Christian ecclesiastics like Agobard, who charged Christians at Lyons with Jewish inclinations and habits. In the historical literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the term "Judaizer" won frequent place, and came to designate either individuals or groups, who, as in Lombardy, adopted a Jewish outlook on life, and Jewish forms of ceremony and conduct. It was employed to designate

certain heretical groups which had challenged Papal authority. Papal Bulls during these centuries when heresy flourished are filled with references to "Judaizers" and "Re-Judaizers," the latter term being applied to Jewish converts to Christianity who later returned to their original faith.

The age of the Renaissance and Reformation found the phrase "Judaizer" popular in every camp of the Christian Church. The Catholic party used it to designate the reform movements of Wycliffe and Lollard, and employed it against Reuchlin, Luther, Melanchthon, Zwingli, Calvin and their contemporaries. The Reformers in turn accused others of their opponents of "Judaizing"; Calvin accused Servetus; Luther accused Muenster and the Hebraists of the day. In England, during the Puritan ascendancy, "Judaizing" accusations were the favorite mode of attack by Papist and even Protestant adversaries. Since the Reformation, in England, on the Continent and in America, almost every new religious movement has been stigmatized in tendency as "Judaic." In its various forms the word "Judaizing" has entered the language and literature of every Christian people.

2. Why the Term "Judaizing" is Used

Why has the term "Judaizing" been used by Christians? In some instances it has been applied to Jews who have become Christians and later relapsed; in other cases, it has been used of Gentile converts to Christianity who, at the same time that they have accepted Christianity, have accepted Judaism, or certain phases of it. In most cases, however, the accusation of "Judaizing" has been used by Christians against Christians who racially and theologically recognized themselves as members of the Christian Church and demand inclusion within the Christian communion. It is easy to understand why the term "Judaizer" has been used of Christian proselytes to Judaism, since they have entered into religious and communal affiliations with the Jewish people. It is also easy to understand why it has been applied to Jewish apostates who, after admission into Christianity, have returned to their people and its religion. Why, however, has it been used by Christians by birth who have not become proselytes to Judaism?

a. "JUDAIZING" AN EPITHET OF REPROACH

This question can in part be answered by noting that the term "Judaizing" is applied to many movements of reform in Christian religious history. It was a policy of the Church to attempt to discredit any heterodox tendency by giving it an opprobrious name and implication. It found it could best accomplish this purpose by seeking to classify any "heresy" as "Jewish." For the Church had consistently taught its followers that the Jewish religion was inferior, since it was but the preparation for Christianity; it had encouraged dislike for the Jewish people on the ground that they had rejected and crucified Jesus. Hence any belief in medieval Christianity which acquired the stigma of "Judaism" at once declined in popular repute.

It is not surprising to observe that the Church made most abundant use of the epithet when it was acutely aware of heretical influences in its midst. During the time when the primitive Church was fighting for the victory of its Gentile over its Jewish elements, it raised the issue of "Judaizing" as a means to suppress the latter. When the Catholic Church, at the apogee of its power, once more was compelled to struggle for the triumph of orthodoxy over dissent, it again resorted to the convenient accusation of "Judaizing." It was an irony of circumstance that the Church itself should be accused of "Judaizing" by the Catharist heretics and later by the Protestant Reformers in their turn.

For the Protestant Church also was not free from the methods by which the Catholic party sought to overcome opposition. Protestants accused Papists of being "Judaizers" because the latter championed an intricate system of ecclesiastical legalism which the Reformers compared to Jewish legalism. Moreover, against new movements of dissent within Protestant Christianity, the Reform Churches which had won official recognition and occupied the seats of power, levelled the charge of "Judaism" in order that thereby they might arouse prejudice against the new dissenters. Thus it is clear that the accusation of "Judaizing" oftentimes grew out of the irritation which the ruling religious party felt that its authority should be challenged by a new group.

b. "JUDAIZING" A TERM FOR "JEWISH INFLUENCE"

Nevertheless the term was not used by Church Father, ecclesiastic, Pope, Catholic or Protestant controversialist, or by

the dominant religious party unless some foundation, however slight, existed for its employment. Not every movement of heresy in the Catholic or Protestant Church was combatted as "Judaic;" only those which contained something in their doctrine or practice which suggested Jewish influence were thus assailed. Oftentimes the evidence was tenuous and contradictory, yet sufficient to give apparent justification for the charge. It will be seen that persistent use of the epithet with reference to the founder or followers of a Christian religious group was based on concrete data. A study of the causes for the recurrence of the term "Judaizing" through Christian history reveals distinct standards and canons by which it may be identified, demarcated, analyzed and estimated.

For "Judaizing" is another term for "Jewish influence." This may be briefly described, in its application to Christianity, as the effect of views expressed by Jews and in Jewish literature, upon the origin and modification of the doctrines of Christian theology; in its practical aspect, as the effect of Jewish religious usages and institutions upon the Christian ecclesiastical system. Our interest, as noted in the preface, lies not in a study of Jewish activity in the fields of commerce, science and the arts,[1] but only in Jewish contributions to the history of Occidental religious thought and institutions, its theology and ritualistic system; other spheres of endeavour will not engage our attention, excepting to the extent that they have a bearing upon these subjects.

3. The Jewish Element in Christianity

That Christianity has since its inception contained strong Jewish elements has always been recognized. Like all world religions, Christianity represents a fusion of many national, racial, cultural and spiritual factors. It did not spring full-grown and full-panoplied from the mind of any single individual or race, but was evolved as a composite of numerous personal and historic forces. It is a mosaic wherein are present many patterns; a fabric of many strands; a stream into which flowed, and continue even now to flow, varied and manifold currents.

[1]Jacobs, J., *Jewish Contributions to Civilization*, Philadelphia, 1919; Cohen, I., *Jewish Life in Modern Times*, New York, 1921; *Jewish Factors in Western Civilization, A Syllabus*, The Menorah Press, New York, 1922.

Scholars have occupied themselves since the rise of Christianity with the task of distinguishing its separate elements; modern students have continued the practice. Thus we read:

> Christianity is similar to a stream which flows together from two great sources: the one is specifically Israelitish; it springs from the Old Testament; the other, however, flows through Judaism from foreign Oriental religions.[2]

William Bousset remarks:

> The confluence [in Christianity] of national cultures from the Euphrates and the Tigris to Alexandria and Rome occurred in order that the conditions precedent to the rise of the Gospel might be created. Judaism was the retort in which the several elements were assembled.[3]

And Dean Inge says:

> The well-known saying of Clement of Alexandria that Christianity is like a river which receives tributaries from all sides is full of truth to the modern student of Church history. But we should now say that Catholic Christianity was the result of the confluence of two great streams, which differed in their origin and in the colour of their water more widely than the Rhone and the Saone, or than the White and Blue Niles. These two streams, the Semitic and the European, the Jewish and the Greek, still mingle their waters in the turbid flood which constitutes the institutional religion of civilized humanity; but to this day the waters flow side by side in the same bed, perfectly recognizable—so alien are the two types to each other. And yet the attempts that have been made from time to time to purge Christianity of Hellenism or of Hebraism have never come near success. Christianity is and must remain a composite creed, an amalgamation of opposite types of belief. This is its weakness, and also its strength.[4]

Whatever be the derivation of other elements in Christianity, whether they be mutually opposed or not, it is certain that Judaism played a significant role in the origin of Christianity and in its historic development. It is to a study of the nature, extent and value of this influence that our efforts are to be devoted. Even as the gulf-stream runs through the ocean, is of it,

[2]Gunkel, H., *Zum Religionsgeschichtlichen Verstaendnis des Neuen Testaments*. 2nd ed., Goettingen, 1910, p. 35.

[3]*Die Religion des Judentums*, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1906, p. 594.

[4]Inge, W. R., "Introductory," in F. J. Foakes Jackson: *The Parting of the Roads*, London, 1912, p. 4.

and yet distinct from the surrounding waters, so Judaism has maintained a course within Christianity. To vary the figure, Judaism has been a fountain-head and source of the Christian faith; after its emergence therefrom, Christianity has become a stream, broadened and deepened by the entrance of numerous new rivers; yet through the entire current has flowed the distinct Jewish stream.[5]

We concentrate our attention upon the influence of Jewish culture and faith upon Christian origins and history, not because we underestimate the importance of other national contributions—the Hellenic, Oriental, medieval and modern racial elements—but because we believe that only by viewing our particular interest steadfastly and unerringly can we truly describe it. We will attempt to estimate the relative importance of the Jewish influence in Christendom, yet it must remain for others to pass judgments of comparison. Our aim is to present specific data; we will separate the Jewish strand in the Christian fabric, pursue it through its many windings and wanderings in order that definite evidence may be offered those who later desire to attempt a critical interpretation.

4. Types of "Jewish Influence"

"Influence" may be exerted, broadly speaking, in two ways: first, through literature, and secondly, through persons. The culture of ancient Greece profoundly affects modern life, though the modern Hellenes have produced a civilization widely different from that of their ancestors; the classics of the past have adequately insured the transmission of Hellenic influence throughout each succeeding generation. The same process operates in the case of the Latin culture of ancient Rome; its influence is independent of the activity of the modern inhabitants of Italy. But in Judaism there are forces markedly different from those associated with the cultures of Hellas and Rome. The ancient Hebrews produced a significant religious literature prior to the rise of Christianity. Had the Jewish people perished at the time of the Maccabees, Hebrew writings would doubtless have perpetuated their religious tradition. But an additional factor entered. The Jewish people survived, and, though on the verge

[5] Jackson-Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, London, 1920.

of political collapse, presided at the birth of the Christian religion; even after its loss of political sovereignty, the race continued active, and its classics were supplemented by a constantly increasing literary output. With the rise of medieval Europe Jews settled in Christian countries and become integral members of many nations. Thus Hebraic literature gained added impetus from the presence of its living exponents, and Jewish influence in European history received a double reinforcement.

In our discussion of Jewish influence, we must bear in mind that "influence" may be either mediate or intermediate; personal influence may be communicated directly by Jewish teachers, or indirectly by Christian pupils of Jewish instructors; literary influence may be communicated directly from Jewish literature, or indirectly by Christian literature concerning Jewish writings; Jewish books may be read in the original tongue, or in Latin or vernacular translations made either by Jews or non-Jews. We must also take care to distinguish between direct or indirect influence and a parallelism of similar phenomena in Christian and Jewish life, arising spontaneously, and without any exchange of influence. Imitation of ideas or practices may be traced to some communication between Christian and Jew, but not in every instance; neither imitation nor parallelism indicates identity, and we must be scrupulous in our caution against attaching too great importance to superficial likenesses.

5. The Content of Jewish Influence

a. The Jewish literary tradition; the Old Testament

Jewish influence found its source in the content of the Jewish literary tradition. The so-called Old Testament, the Apocrypha, the Apocalyptic books, the writings which found their way into the Mishnah and the two Talmuds played a role in the rise and formation of early Christianity, and helped shape the content of Christian canonical literature. The exegetical works, the commentaries, the polemical and apologetical writings, the philosophical works and the Kabbalah comprised the content of medieval Rabbinical literature which came under the notice of Christian Reformers in the Middle Ages and modern times. Finally, the extensive literature of present-day Jewry completed the literary tradition whereby Jewish influence was conveyed into Christian life and thought.

The Old Testament itself is the foremost factor in a study of the imprint Jewish ideas have made upon Christian theology. From the earliest times until the present, the Jewish Scriptures, namely the Five Books of Moses, the Prophets and the Hagiographa, have played a central role in Christianity.[6] The Christian religion arose in an environment saturated with the Old Testament spirit and controlled by its legislation. The Mosaic Code was the fundamental law of the Jewish theocracy: the entire legal and religious system of the Second Hebrew Commonwealth was rooted in enactments of the Torah, and the laws which had been built up by interpretation of Pentateuchal commands and prohibitions. The *Torah She-bi-khthabh* or the Written Law, and the *Torah She-b'al-Peh* or the Oral Law, based upon the Bible, had aided more than any other factor to fashion the civilization from which Christianity emerged.

Jesus, its founder, was himself nurtured and raised under the inspiration of the Mosaic Law. His purpose as a religious reformer was not to abrogate it, but to soften its seeming severity and to elicit its inner spirit, so that the true inwardness of current Judaism might be emphasized in the life of its adherents. He accepted the binding quality of the Mosaic Code as a guide for belief and conduct, and insisted that no part of it should be nullified or destroyed.

With the death of Jesus, however, and the appearance of Paul, a new attitude towards the Mosaic Law arose. The word of Jesus, purely Jewish in essence, developed on a Jewish national background and addressed to a Jewish audience, was extended beyond Jewish territory into a world permeated by the Hellenic spirit. The small group of Jewish teachers who differentiated themselves from the main body of Jewry by virtue of their acceptance of Jesus as the Messiah was increased by Gentile believers. In order that the latter might be attracted and held within the fold, Jewish ideas in the new cult were subordinated; Pagan and Hellenic concepts were given prominence; the result was an amalgam of Pagan, Hellenic and Jewish elements, which served as the foundation of a new religion.

For the Jewish people as a political-religious unit, a nation

[6]Diestel, L., *Geschichte des Alten Testaments in der Christlichen Kirche*, Jena, 1869. See also Thomas, J. M., *The Christian Faith and the Old Testament*, New York, 1908; Wilke, Fritz, *Das Alte Testament und der Christliche Glaube*, Leipzig, 1911.

on its own soil, the power of the Mosaic Law and Rabbinical legislation developed therefrom never weakened. Even after the destruction of the Jewish State, and the consequent dispersion of its members over the Roman world, the Mosaic-Rabbinic system retained and increased its authority: it served to sustain Jewish communal identity and religious distinctiveness under unfavorable alien conditions. At no time in the history of the Jewish people—not even with the advent and establishment of so-called modern "Liberal Judaism"—has the Mosaic Law lost its place as the cornerstone of Jewish life in the Diaspora.

But among the adherents of the new Christian faith the status of the Law underwent rapid transformation. The gradual evolution of ideas and practices in the synthesis of Jewish and Gentile cultures, through the activity of the Apostles, of Paul in particular, and their successors, widened the breach between orthodox Rabbinical Jewry and the heterodox religious party.[7] The most important feature in the spread of Christianity was that the Gospel was accepted by Gentiles of non-Jewish racial origin. The infant Church was split in twain on the issue of the validity of Mosaic precepts for Gentile proselytes. The Gentile converts brought with them into Christianity their own legalist and cultural system; they viewed with abhorrence the civilization and law of Jewry, both on theological and national grounds. Peter and the so-called "Judaizing" group championed the opinion that no Gentile could enter Christianity except through the gate of Judaism; Paul on the other hand urged the admittance of Gentiles without circumcision and observance of Jewish food-laws. The Council of Jerusalem discussed these problems and attempted to fix rules for future action.[8] The Gentile group in the Christian communion triumphed; Paul, though at moments he relapsed into adherence to the Old Law, rejected its authority and literal validity for Christian believers.[9]

[7]Levine, Ephraim, "The Breach between Judaism and Christianity," in *Parting of the Roads*, pp. 283-310. This is one of many references which could be cited here. It must be observed that only a few selected bibliographical items are mentioned in this section of our study; the detailed references will follow in their appropriate places later.

[8]Venetianer, Ludwig, "Die Beschluesse zu Lydda und das Apostel-konzil zu Jerusalem" in *Festschrift Adolf Schwarz*, Vienna, 1917, pp. 416-423.

[9]Montefiore, Claude G., *Judaism and Saint Paul*, London, 1914; Thackeray, H. St. John, *The Relation of Saint Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought*, London, 1900.

With the advent of racially and nationally non-Jewish converts into Christianity, it was inevitable that the power of the Mosaic Law, its true character being the product of the "peculiar" national life of Israel, should be permanently weakened. By degrees the young Church sought to create its own laws and literature; it drew away from the Old Testament, but by force of its needs as an institution and a theological system, it evolved its own special rules and regulations. The canon of sacred Christian literature was established as soon as the new faith attained sufficient self-consciousness and individuality: thereafter the Gospels of the New Testament occupied the keystone position in Christian religious life; the literary labors of the Church Fathers, a collection of commentaries on and interpretations of the New Testament helped systematize the tenets and practices of the nascent faith; the Councils of the Church codified and sanctioned the new laws. Thus the New Testament in Christianity attained superiority over the Old Testament, and though for several centuries groups of "Judaizers" clung tenaciously to the belief that the Mosaic injunctions should be literally fulfilled, their attempt to commingle Jewish legalism and the tenets of Gentile Christianity failed of its purpose: these "Judaizing" units were ostracized by both Christian and Jewish communities; they disintegrated into feeble "heresies" and ultimately perished.[10]

Yet the predominance of the New Testament in Christendom did not eliminate entirely the influence of the Old Dispensation. It is true that the efforts of the "Judaizing" sects to gain equal rank for the Mosaic Law proved ineffectual; but for centuries, even among Gentile-born Christians, the Pentateuchal system held forth many attractions; the Church Fathers and Councils were forced to repeat vigorous warnings against its appeal. As the new faith acquired confidence and authority, however, it was able without fear of losing its identity to define its official attitude towards the Old Testament. The Church affirmed that the Jewish Scriptures were divine documents, revealed in order to prepare for the appearance of Jesus and the rise of Christianity. It was unable to deny the divine origin of the Old Testament, inasmuch as Jesus himself had affirmed it. The Church sought for

[10]Hoennicke, Gustav, *Das Judenchristentum im ersten und zweiten Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1908.

Biblical texts whereby official doctrines might be justified and confirmed; thus, the miraculous birth, the miracles, the Messiahship, the career and teachings of Jesus, it was asserted, found their sanction, in fact, were foretold, in the Old Testament; the Atonement, the Resurrection, the Trinity and other distinctively Christian beliefs were traced to Hebraic origins. The Psalms and Prophets were given prominent place in Christian liturgy; many elements in Christian practice, the calendar and ceremonial cult were based in part upon Jewish and Old Testament models; religious and ethical instruction were sought and discovered in the writings of the Jewish Bible.

But the Church adopted a method of interpretation and exegesis which sharply differentiated the Christian from the Jewish attitude towards the Scriptures. Whereas for Jews, the prohibitions and commands of the Mosaic Code had a literal and specific meaning, for Christians, they possessed a so-called "spiritual" sense. Throughout Christian history, both Catholics and Protestants have regarded merely as metaphorical and allegorical the minute Pentateuchal regulations concerning foods, circumcision, Sabbath observance and other ritual acts prescribed by Judaism. In this manner, the Jewish ceremonial system has ceased to be obligatory on Christians. In place of Jewish legalism, a system has grown up which found its most typical expression in medieval Catholic ecclesiasticism, in Calvinist Biblicism and later in Puritanism. Many Jewish rites served as patterns for Christian practices, though these have been allied with Gentile and Pagan elements. The principle of intentional differentiation in outward forms, in the date of festivals, in the details of religious practice, has endowed those features of the Christian cult fashioned after Jewish prototypes, with a spirit all their own.[11]

Despite these qualifications, the Old Testament remained a vital force in Christian religious literature. At times, various purist groups of an ultra-Christian character have attempted to excise the Jewish Scriptures from the Christian canon. These sects have been dissatisfied with the compromise made by official Church acceptance of the Bible; they have demanded that Christianity purge itself completely of all Old Testament traces

[11]Adler, E. N., "The Jewish and Christian Liturgies," in *Jewish Review*, ii (1912), 409-430. See also the material to be published on "Jewish Elements in the Christian Cult."

and "souvenirs." Prominent among these extremists have been the Marcionites of early Christianity, the Catharists of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and several modern groups in Germany and America. For the most part, they have conceived the Old Testament as the work of an Evil Power in the universe; the New Testament, *per contra*, they have considered the work of the Good Power. The Marcionite movement was on the whole Christian in origin and aim; the Manichean and Neo-Manichean parties, however, sought in eliminating the Old Testament elements, to introduce in Christianity Zoroastrian Dualist tenets. The modern opponents of the Old Testament have protested against the "Judaizing" influence of the Jewish Scriptures among Christian nations, making this protest a cardinal point in their anti-Jewish program. Against these opinions, the Christian Church has vigorously contended. The anti-Biblical platform of the Catharists betrayed the emphasis which the Church placed upon the retention of the Old Testament; the Catharists were zealous to point out any indication of Mosaic influence in Catholic doctrine and practice. The readiness with which Christians rallied to a defense of Jewish writings demonstrated their importance in the Christian religious system.

But ecclesiastical apologists were caught on the horn of a dilemma. On the one hand, they defended the Old Testament against its Catharist adversaries who affirmed that the Church accorded it too much influence. Soon they were confronted on the other hand by a group who affirmed that the Church gave too little place to the Jewish Scriptures. The Catharists repudiated even the allegorical and spiritual acceptance of the Old Testament as too generous a recognition; the other group rejected this exegesis as too meagre a tribute. For this latter party laid stress upon "literalism" in its attitude towards the Pentateuch. At recurring intervals in Christian history, "heretics" have arisen who expressed impatience with the diluted "spiritual" exegesis popular in the Church. They have demanded the fulfilment of the Mosaic Code, sometimes in all, sometimes in a few, obligations. They have proceeded for the most part from a purist point of view, though their results have been at the opposite pole from those of Catharist Dualism. They have sought to purge Christianity of alien non-Jewish ingredients and to restore it to its pristine origins. Catharist efforts, had they succeeded, would

have conducted Christianity into a thorough-going Gnostic-Gentilism; the efforts of the literalists would have led, and in fact did lead, several groups into the realm of Judaism.

The method of literal exegesis adopted by several heterodox sects has been instrumental in the creation of a so-called "Old Testament Judaizing." Just as the Church opposed the literal interpretation of Mosaic precepts when championed by Jewish commentators and fulfilled by bona-fide Jews, so it has condemned all attempts by native Christians to introduce this method. The Protestant Church has been no less hostile than the Catholic. The Church Fathers had advised the faithful to beware lest commentators who demanded adherence to the exact sense of the written Biblical text lead them astray; the Catholic Church vigorously combatted scholars who through their own studies or with the help of Jewish teachers concluded that the allegorical method should be modified or dropped; even Luther and his contemporaries criticised contemporary Hebraists for accepting the literal meaning of Biblical passages instead of the special interpretations substituted by the Reformer for traditional Catholic explanations.

In almost every period of Christian Reform a return to the simple interpretation of the Biblical word has played an important role in the rejection of established orthodox doctrines. The Waldensian, Hussite, Wycliffite, Lutheran, Puritan and modern Protestant movements have been accompanied by a reversion to the sources of Christian faith. Both the Old and New Testaments have been "rediscovered"; each movement has witnessed the translation of the Bible into the vernacular, so that the Scriptural writings might be read and studied by the masses. The principle of so-called "spiritual exegesis" has not, however, been lost; even Christian Reform groups have built up their own exegetical method, and the Old Testament has been studied with a view to justify Christian theology; moreover, the Old Testament has not superseded the New Testament in the eyes of Christian Reformers.

Nevertheless in many Christian radical movements stress was placed upon a correct translation of the Jewish Scriptures, and during the Puritan Renaissance, the center of gravity among many scholars and believers shifted from the Gospels to the Jewish Bible. In addition, Jewish exegesis, through the medium

of personal instruction by Jewish teachers, either apostates or professing Jews, or by means of Christian intermediaries, found numerous adherents in non-Jewish circles. Thus Rashi's commentaries were made available to the Christian world through the works of Nicholas of Lyra, the fourteenth-century exegete;[12] David Kimchi's views were also well known and influential among Christian scholars. With the Reformation and the rise of modern Biblical criticism, exegesis passed beyond the sphere of Jewish influence and became a science independent of its original sources. The allegorical method remained popular in orthodox Christian circles; even Jews under the influence of the Philonic-Alexandrian school adhered to it in its Jewish manifestation. In the explanation, however, of those passages in the Old Testament which the Church had appropriated for its own doctrinal purposes, Jewish exegetes were rigidly literal and historical, unbending, at least, in their opposition to the Christological interpretations applied to them by Christian scholars. This opposition has persisted to the present day, and lies at the root of many of the controversies within the Protestant Christian Church in England, America and Germany. In the sense that Christian explanations may be traced to the contributions of individual Jewish scholars, or to the material included in guides and handbooks prepared by Christian Hebraists from Jewish originals, modern exegesis partakes of a "Jewish" or "Judaizing" influence.

Christian interest in the Pentateuch, however, has differed from the attention given to passages from the Prophetic and Hagiographical portions of the Bible. The Mosaic Books have never held a dominant place in orthodox Christianity; it is only among special groups that the Pentateuch has won adherence. Several parties in Christendom have made literal acceptance of the Code a fundamental doctrine of their cult. These groups have been Christian in impulse, and have sought to promote the Christian faith, yet they have approached closely many Jewish ideas and customs. Thus the Abyssinians made the New Testament pivotal in their system, but venerated and observed the laws of the Old Testament in order to profit by the blessing it was

[12]Siegfried, C., "Raschi's Einfluss auf Nicolas von Lyra und Luther," in *Archiv fuer Erforschung des Alten Testaments*, i, 428; ii, 36; Maschkowski, "Raschi's Einfluss auf Nicolas von Lyra in der Auslegung des Exodus," in Stade's *Zeitschrift*, 1891. For a fuller discussion, see below.

supposed to confer. The Passagii in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries denied that the coming of Jesus abrogated the Pentateuchal legislation, and urged upon Christians the literal fulfilment of all its precepts, except that with reference to sacrifices. The numerous Sabbatarian movements in Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, Russia and England also demanded Christian adherence to Mosaic precepts. The Puritans in England and America, several sects on the Continent and in England, sought to restore to prominence in Christian life the principle of literal observance of the Jewish laws, oftentimes supplemented by Rabbinical injunctions. Some of these groups have required partial, others complete fulfilment of Mosaic rites. The attitude of the official Church has been, of course, to condemn these sectaries as heretical. Nevertheless their frequency, the number of their followers, their persistence in Christianity from the earliest times to the present, have made them a formidable factor. The evidence concerning their doctrines, their mode of life, the extent of their influence and activities is abundant and fairly reliable. They constitute a unique and striking phenomenon in Christian annals, and indicate the significant influence which emanated from the Old Testament within the very heart of Christendom.

b. THE INFLUENCE OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE IN THE DIASPORA

We may now turn from a study of the influence of Jewish literature in Christian life to a discussion of the role which the Jewish people as a group played in Christian civilization. We have remarked that even if the people which had produced the Bible had completely vanished with the destruction of the Jewish state, its literary classics, wherein its message was contained, would have helped perpetuate the Hebraic tradition. Just as the works of Plato, Aristotle and others were the bearers of Greek influence, even though ancient Greece had disappeared, so too the Jewish genius would have continued to affect Christendom because of the special literary and doctrinal composition of the Christian system. Christian teachers and religious groups would have periodically replenished themselves at the sources of Jewish prophetic and ethical literature; in fact, in widely scattered communities, Christian scholars have studied Jewish

Scriptures without any apparent stimulus from individual Jews or Jewish communities.

Nevertheless, the Jewish people should not be compared with the ancient Greeks or Romans, for they remained a living, active group in the midst of Occidental Christendom. Though much of Christian study and imitation of the Old Testament arose from within Christian society, a survey of the evidence demonstrates that in numerous instances, in the life of individuals and movements, the contributions of Jewish scholars and communities have been of considerable significance. Jewish influence may in a measure be compared to Arabic and Moslem influence in Christendom, though the latter by no means equalled in intensity the importance of the Hebraic element, because of the fact that Jews were integral parts of nearly every Western commonwealth.[13] The Dispersion of the Jews had come about through many forces. Before the rise of Christianity the Jewish people were already in large degree in the Diaspora. The exile of the Northern Kingdom in 721 B. C. E. and of the Southern Kingdom in 586 B. C. E. had resulted in the establishment of Jewish colonies in the Mesopotamian region. Even after the restoration of the Second Hebrew Commonwealth the Dispersion continued with increasing momentum. The migratory spirit, the attraction of commerce and the rise of influential cultural centers gave birth to large communities in Greece, Egypt, Rome and other Mediterranean lands.[14] These settlements served as agencies by

[13] O'Leary, Rev. de Lacy, *Arabic Thought and Its Place in History*, London, 1922; see reviews in *New York Times*, April 2, 1922; and the "Literary Review" of the *New York Evening Post*, by Prof. Richard Gottheil, June 23, 1923, p. 786. Dr. O'Leary brings out the importance of Arabic culture and of Arabic scholars even before the Middle Ages in the dissemination in the West of Greek thought. He shows how much the revival of Hellenic philosophy owed to the translation into Latin of Arabic versions of the works of Aristotle, and of the commentaries upon them, until then only imperfectly known. Aristotle and Plato had been forgotten for centuries in the West of Europe, but they had continued as active influences in the East because Arabic scholars studied and expounded their beliefs. They influenced the development of Moslem theology, and in the ninth and tenth and eleventh centuries, they were brought back by Arabian savants from the Islamic world, where they had found refuge, to the Europe that had forgotten them, and became again a part of its life. Dr. O'Leary gives attention to the importance of Jews in the transmission through Arabic agencies of Greek philosophy from the Orient into Europe; see also the works of Steinschneider, Jacobs and others.

[14] Staerk, W., *Die Anfaenge der juedischen Diaspora in Aegypten*, Berlin,

which the Jewish religion, strongly national in character, transcended the territorial boundaries of Palestine, and came into contact with the cultures of other peoples. Hellenism had mingled with Hebraism in Palestine from the time of Alexander the Great;[15] in Egypt the fusion of Greek Neo-Platonism and Judaism had produced a Philo.[16] Jewish pilgrims from the countries of the Dispersion helped introduce into Palestine the Hellenic ideas which in time were amalgamated with local Judaism, and served to furnish a philosophical substratum for the new religion of Christianity which was developing.[17] The Dispersion of the Jews in the Mediterranean world was largely responsible for the foothold which early Christianity secured and for its rapid expansion.[18] The majority of the first converts outside of Palestine were Jews or proselytes to Judaism. The orthodox Jewish communities quickly repudiated these neophytes to the new faith, and continued to follow in the train of Rabbinic Judaism; the Jewish Christians, when the Gentile party gained the ascendancy, formed sects, exiled from the main body of Judaism and of Gentile Christianity as well.[19] In virtually every land where Christianity spread, Jews were to be found. Oftentimes, as in Abyssinia, the activities of Jewish missionaries prepared the way for the reception of Christianity by the native population. In this fashion the Pagan world was leavened with Jewish elements which made it ready for Christianity, representing a compound of Judaism and Gentilism.

1908; *REJ*, lx, 143-5. I cite this work as one out of many I might quote; see later the volume I hope to publish on: *The Jewish Foundations of Christianity.*

[15] Gilbert, G. H., "The Hellenization of the Jews between 334 B.C. and 70 A.D.," *Amer. Jour. of Theology* (Oct. 1909), xiii, 520 ff.

[16] Bentwich, Norman, *Philo-Judaeus of Alexandria*, Philadelphia, 1910; reviewed by L. D. Barnett, *Jewish Review*, i, 18, and Katie Magnus, i, 364. See also Saltet, L., "Philon, le Juif," *Rev. Quest. Hist.* (1899), pp. 214-226, on the basis of *Philon, le Juif*; also works by Bruell, Hart, and others.

[17] Bentwich, N., *Hellenism*, Philadelphia, 1919; Montefiore, C. G., *Liberal Judaism and Hellenism*, London, 1918; Friedlander, Gerald, *Hellenism and Christianity*, London, 1912. Numerous other works by Jewish and Christian scholars on this theme might be cited.

[18] Hoennicke, G., *Das Judenchristentum*; see also the works of H. J. Holtzmann, Jackson-Lake, Shirley J. Case, Carl Clemen, Wilhelm Bousset (with comments by Perles on his works from the Jewish point of view), George Cross, J. Felten, Otto Pfleiderer, and Tippy, *Synagogues of the Dispersion and Early Christianity*, 1901.

[19] Hort, F. J., *Judaistic Christianity*, London, 1894; Sorley, W. R., *Jewish Christians and Judaism*, Cambridge, 1881; see below for further references.

1. *Jews in Contact with their Environment.*

Despite the difficulties which faced Jewish settlements in the Diaspora, they discovered means whereby they maintained themselves with a fair degree of continuity. The destruction of Jewish nationhood proved a severe blow, but the Jewish people were already prepared for life outside of Palestine, and by the establishment of schools and academies under the leadership of their Rabbis, they developed a philosophy and system of life which aided their survival in non-Palestinian environments. Many members were lost by apostasy and intermarriage, but the rank and file remained loyal and helped preserve the solidarity of Jewish life.

These Jewish settlements, despite a seeming tendency towards separativeness, stood in most intimate communication with the Christian civilization about them. In social, intellectual, commercial and religious fields, they touched and were touched by Christian life on all sides. Social intercourse and intermarriage were more frequent in certain Jewish centers than in others, though existent to some extent wherever Jews resided. Intellectual relationships between Christians and Jews were continuous and fruitful. The Jewish group, though not inclined to proselytism, nevertheless at certain periods appears to have indulged in aggressive religious propaganda. Through their activity as traders, merchants, travelers and physicians, Jews were able to deal with Christian rulers, ecclesiastics and peoples in economic, cultural and social spheres; their commercial interests carried them into all corners of the known world and impelled them to participate in the affairs of the many Christian nations they met. Thus the Jewish settlements preserved not only their own religious and group identity, but reached out for larger affiliations with the surrounding world. That the Church feared the activities of Diaspora Jewry can be seen in its constant efforts to isolate Jews in the midst of Christian life: the Bulls of the Popes, the canons and decrees of the Church Councils, though oftentimes based on misinformation and insufficient data, nevertheless had adequate justification in the existence of a marked influence which Jewish individuals and groups exerted upon Christian belief, life and conduct.

2. *Explanations of Jewish Survival*

The presence of Jews in Christian countries forced the Catholic Church and, later, Protestant theologians to explain the reason for their survival as a people in Christendom. Socially, the Jews were outcast and despised. Theologically, various explanations, in accordance with the thought of the times, were offered. The most popular attitude was to regard Jews as infidels and unbelievers on a level with the Pagans and Mohammedans who had found residence in Christian countries. Another interpretation placed Jews in the status of heretics; the laws of the Church and Christian public opinion drove Jews into affiliation with dissenters, to whose official and legal rank their own largely corresponded. The explanation of Innocent III was a favorite one in an important group of Christian theologians: the Jews, he said, had been preserved in serfdom and inferiority in order to testify to the truth of Christian doctrine; their sufferings throughout the centuries and their future career were decreed as a punishment for their rejection of Christ.[20] In times when dissent flourished, however, the attitude towards Jews kept pace with an increased interest in the Old Testament; thus they were regarded as a "Chosen Race" from whom, in accordance with John 4:19-22, salvation was destined to come. A sharp differentiation was made between the Israelitish people of the Old Testament and contemporary Jewry, the former being idealized, the latter disdained. The Protestant Reformation and the Puritan movement in particular were responsible for a revival of a philo-Jewish viewpoint, not only towards the Biblical, but the modern people as well, and in England many parties arose which studied and imitated Jewish customs, doctrines and language.

The view gained currency that Israel, scattered in the Dispersion, would be regathered in Palestine in order to prepare for the Second Coming of Christ.[21] The many tracts which have been written to explain the preservation of Jews in Christian civilization indicate the attention which the followers of the Church have shown Judaism and Jews.

[20] This was a popular theme in Christian polemics with Jews; see Joseph Kimchi's "Sepher ha-Berith" and David Kimchi's "Wikkuach" in *Milchemeth Chobhah*, Constantinople, 1710.

[21] Sokolow, N., *The History of Zionism*, London, 1919. The numerous Christian missionary movements among Jews in modern times have assiduously cultivated this idea.

3. *Jews as a Social and Political Influence*

The influence of the Jewish group in the domain of theology has been a corollary to their role in the social and political sphere. It has been demonstrated that the treatment accorded Jews has been a barometer of the status of liberalism in Christian society. It may be affirmed almost as a feneral principle that persecution of the Jews is associated with political and social reaction in other matters; liberal treatment of Jews has signified open-mindedness towards dissent and non-conformity. This is exemplified in the activities of the Albigensian heretics in Southern France: tolerance for Jews by the princes of Languedoc was accompanied by tolerance for heretical opinions by Christians; attacks upon Jews and the suppression of Christian free thought, on the contrary, went hand in hand. In almost every Christian Reform movement the leaders are sympathetic to Jews before their movement secures popular and official sanction; once established, however, they relapse into the conventional hostility towards everything Jewish. In modern times, even with the subordination of the religious issue in the life of the state, the treatment of Jews has continued to be an index of political and social liberalism; persecution of Jews has spelled monarchy and autocracy; a humane Jewish policy has kept pace with liberalism and democracy, as the French, German and Russian Revolutions have amply illustrated.[22] The fact that Jews have been uncompromising nonconformists has made them an instrument for testing the attitude of the majority group towards other dissenters. Hence in this sense, the Jewish groups in Occidental Christendom have played an important role in the growth of modern tolerance since the days of the German *Aufklaerung*.

4. *Jews as Cultural Intermediaries*

In addition, Jews have been instrumental as bearers of their own racial culture, and as intermediaries for the cultures of other peoples.[23] Diaspora Jewry served, for example, as a mediating force between the Occident and Orient; as travelers, merchants, diplomats and students in the realms of science and learning,

[22] Abbott, G. F., *Israel in Europe*, London, 1907, pp. 404 ff.; Jacobs, "Jews and Liberalism" in *Jewish Contributions*, pp. 293 ff.

[23] "Medieval Jews as Intellectual Intermediaries," Jacobs, *Jewish Contributions*, pp. 138 ff.

they promoted the exchange of cultures between East and West, long before the Crusades brought Europe and Asia into close contact. The role of Jews as translators and transmitters of Greek philosophical works through the medium of the Arabic, Hebrew and Latin languages is one of their most significant contributions since the close of Bible times.[24] Individual Jews were helpful agencies of Jewish culture; thus, in the study of Hebrew by Christians, Jewish teachers served as valuable aids in the instruction of the language and the interpretation of the Bible. When, as we shall see, Christian clergymen desired to devote themselves to Biblical studies, they turned to the Rabbis of their day for assistance. The Sabbatarian movements in Christendom arose from forces within Christianity itself, yet in almost every instance, it happened that the leaders and members of the sects in question turned to Jewish literature in addition to the Bible, and sought to establish personal relationships with Jewish communities.[25] The influence of Jews today in high official positions in Christendom is largely of a political, scientific or economic character. But in the days of early and medieval Christianity, when theology and political affairs were interwoven, the power which individual Jews attained in the courts of Christian potentates served as a means whereby Jewish intellectual and religious influence was disseminated.

6. The Transmission of the Content of the Jewish Tradition to the Christian World

The content of the Jewish literary tradition, which thus attained additional substance by reason of the presence and activity in the Diaspora of Jewish communities and individual Jews as its proponents, was transmitted to the Christian world by two major agencies. The first was that of Christian study of Jewish sources without the help of Jewish teachers. We find

[24] Steinschneider, M., *Die Hebraeischen Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1893, is but one of many works which might be cited on this theme. Steinschneider's researches have, however, been of most value. See Paetow, L. J., *Guide to the Study of Medieval History*, Berkeley, 1917, pp. 373, 377 *et passim*.

[25] See below for the career of the Sabbatarians in Transylvania, and the Subbotniki in Russia and elsewhere. Bacher, W., "The Sabbatarians of Hungary," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, ii, 465-493; Sternberg, H., *Geschichte der Juden in Polen*, Leipzig, 1878, pp. 114-128.

that Christians studied Hebrew, Aramaic works, Biblical, Talmudical and Rabbinical literature, many times on their own initiative; moreover, we find that they studied translations into Latin or the vernacular languages whereby Hebrew sources were made available to Christian scholars who could not master Hebrew. The second agency by which the content of the Jewish tradition became known to Christendom, was that of the instruction of Christians by learned Jews. These teachers, to each of whom and their disciples we shall devote detailed attention, were recruited in various ways. Thus we find a number of Christian proselytes to Judaism who accepted through intermarriage or other causes the Jewish faith and allegiance to the Jewish community. Individual Jews on the other hand entered the Christian fold either as forced or voluntary converts; for the most part, these neophytes remained Christians; those Jews who through persecution or in a pogrom had accepted Christianity oftentimes returned to their ancestral faith at the earliest possible moment, or sought to "judaize" Christianity from within; that is to say, externally they remained Christians; in secret they practiced Judaism. Oftentimes, as we shall see, the Church accused Jewish converts of enticing Christians to Judaism when they relapsed into their former faith, or by means of concealed adherence to it, while publicly professing Christianity.

Independent of the activity of these two classes, by whom an immediate personal influence was exerted upon Christian belief and action, is that of bona-fide or loyal Jews. Though, as we shall see, Jewish converts to Christianity were greatly instrumental in the spread of Hebrew knowledge in medieval Christianity, nevertheless loyal Jews, as physicians, as advisors to princes, bishops and even Popes, as friends of great Christian scholars, as instructors in Hebrew and other learning, as collaborators in translations and other literary work, revealed to important figures in Christian society the content of the Jewish cultural tradition. Jews served to provoke liberal thought, through friendly debates or hostile disputations and controversies; Jews promoted by their scholarly and literary contributions those tendencies towards rationalism which arose from within Christian groups; Jews were perpetual opponents of the conventional orthodoxies of the day, and sought to bring current beliefs into harmony with their special outlook and views.[26] It is

difficult to demonstrate the phenomenon of interchange of ideas between various racial groups; still more difficult is it to make clear the presence of personal influence. Yet for the assertion that between Jews and Christians, particularly during the Middle Ages, there was a continuous intellectual intimacy which made a deep imprint upon contemporary liberal thought, there is abundant concrete and specific data. To a discussion of this in detail we may give our attention.

a. CHRISTIAN STUDY OF HEBREW AND "JUDAIZING"

Through the study of the Hebrew language and literature, as we have said, the Jewish tradition for the most part has been best transmitted to Christian scholars, teachers and religious leaders. During the Reformation, Hebrew learning by Christians was considered a sign of enlightenment; it became popular first with the Reformers and then with their orthodox opponents who patronized it as a means to combat the dissenters with their own weapons. In the centuries prior to the Reformation, Hebrew scholarship was confined to a few individuals and groups, and its influence was by no means so important as in the sixteenth century and thereafter. Nevertheless, it occupied the attention of prominent scholars whose opinions shaped the course of medieval Christianity; it was taken up by leaders of Reform movements and heresies, and later became a powerful instrument in the hands of the Church itself for the achievement of its particular purposes.[27]

[26] "Growth of a Spirit of Inquiry Based on Logic," "Heresies and the Inquisition," in Paetow, *Guide*, give an account of the forces within medieval Christianity itself which brought about the rise of movements of dissent.

[27] Several students have given attention to the subject of Hebrew knowledge during the Middle Ages. It has, as we shall see, been generally recognized and recorded in several works, that leading Church Fathers were acquainted with the original Bible tongue; fewer works, however, have appeared concerning the knowledge by medieval Christians of the Hebrew language and Jewish literature. The more important works are: Berger, Samuel, *Quam notitiam linguae hebraicae habuerint Christiani medii aevi temporibus in Gallia*, Paris, 1893; Soury, J., *Des Études hébraiques et exégétiques au moyen âge chez les chrétiens d'Occident*, Paris, 1867. (cf. *Positions des thèses de l'École des Chartres*, 1865, p. 31 ff.) Ulrich, J. C., *De linguae ebraicae inter christianos ante Reuchlinum cultu*, Halis, 1751, form. maj. Reinhard, L., *Dissertatio de fatis studii hebraeo-biblici inter christianos*, Wittemberg, 1723, form. maj. Steinschneider, L., "Christliche Hebraisten," in *Zeit. f. Hebr. Bibliographie*, i (1896), 51-53; 86-90. Walde,

The study of Hebrew during the Reformation was regarded by many as a decline into Judaistic heresy. Even Erasmus feared that overmuch concern with Hebrew scholarship would mean a revival of Judaism among Christians; scholars who busied themselves with Rabbinical commentaries were stigmatized by Luther himself as "Rabbinizers," and Lightfoot was mockingly called a "Rabbi." It is not surprising then, that in the centuries prior to the Reformation, Hebrew learning was styled by many, a "Jewish heresy."[28] Vigorous steps were taken in some circles to uproot it: for example, a Cistercian monk in 1198 who had the misfortune to take lessons from a Jew was condemned by the Abbot of Clairvaux to be chastised.[29]

b. MOTIVES TO THE CHRISTIAN STUDY OF HEBREW

Nevertheless, among a small but important group of Christian scholars, the study of Hebrew won considerable attention. The motives which impelled them to undertake this study varied according to the special interests of the time. The first was that Biblical students wished to study the foundations of Christian literature, namely the Hebrew Scriptures, which had profoundly influenced the Gospels as well. In modern times, this impulse has become part of a scientific interest in Hebrew as a language. The second motive was that Christian apologists appreciated that they would be able better to refute the arguments of Jewish controversialists who cited the original Hebrew text and

Bernhard, *Christliche Hebraisten Deutschlands am Ausgang des Mittelalters*, Muenster, 1916. Passing references are included in Gesenius, W., *Geschichte der hebraeischen Sprache und Schrift*, Leipzig, 1815, pp. 104-5; Colomesius, P., *Gallia Orientalis*, Hagae Com., 1655, and *Italia et Hispania orient.*, Hamburg, 1730. Meninski, *De fatis linguar. orient.*, Vienna, 1780. See Schaff, "History of Hebrew Learning" in *Theological Propadeutic*, New York, 1893, pp. 113-114.

[28] Gesenius, *op. cit.*, p. 104: "Among Christians knowledge of Hebrew was on a much lower plane, if possible, than in the previous period. Even the Greek original was unfamiliar to Scholastic theologians, and to the ignorant monks acquaintance with Hebrew was almost equivalent to Jewish heresy." Gesenius quotes from Claudius Espencaeus, *Comment, ad 2 Tim. 3*: "in auctoribus latinis graece nosse suspectum, hebraice autem paene haereticum fuit." Cf. Schudt, *Deliciae hebr. philologicae*, p. 281; Hottinger, *Smegma orient.*, p. 19 ff.

[29] Martene and Durand, *Thesaurus novus ancedotorum*, Paris, 1717, iv, 292. "Statuta Anni MCXCVIII. 24: De monacho Populeti qui a quodam Judaeo litteras Hebraicas didicisse dicitur, abbati Claraevallis, ut inquirat et corrigat."

interpreted Hebrew words, and oftentimes letters, in a manner contrary to accepted Christian teachings. Moreover, Christian scholars came to recognize that they would be enabled to contrast Christian with Jewish doctrines and institutions, to the advantage, from their point of view, of the former. In addition, they would be able to substantiate and reinforce their own views with citations from the Hebrew Bible, particularly in a vindication of the Messianic prophecies they professed to find in the Jewish Scriptures.

By the side of the linguistic and apologetical motives, there was a strong desire to use their knowledge of Hebrew in order to convert Jews to Christianity by demonstrating the parallelism and identity of many Christian teachings with those of Judaism. The establishment of schools for the study of the Oriental languages by decree of the Council of Vienne in 1311 at the great Universities of Europe arose from this purpose. The translation of the Gospels into Hebrew and even into Yiddish or Judeo-German and Ladino or Judeo-Spanish, and the voluminous Hebraic-Christian literature, grew out of the activities of important missionary groups and societies, which aimed to minimize the differences between Judaism and Christianity, so that Jews might be led to cross the bridge separating the two faiths. The study of Hebrew thus became an ally to evangelical propaganda among Jews.[30]

A fourth motive in Christian Hebraism has been the desire to understand Hebrew from a scientific and academic point of view. The great university scholars of modern times have been interested in the history of religion, the history of Judaism and the Jewish people, and therefore consider a knowledge of the Hebrew language and literature essential.[31] In the Renaissance and during the Reformation, not only individuals, but entire religious parties, such as the Hattemists, Verschorists, and Hutchinsonians[32] made a knowledge of Hebrew a fundamental

[30] De la Roi, J. F. A., *Die Evangelische Christenheit und die Juden unter dem Gesichtspunkte der Mission geschichtlich betrachtet*, Leipzig, 1884; *REJ*, viii, 308-9. M'Caul, Alex., *An Apology for the Study of Hebrew and Rabbinical Literature*, London, 1844. See the works of Delitzsch, Dalmann, and others.

[31] Moore, G. F., "Christian Writers on Judaism," in *Harvard Theological Review*, xiv, 197-254 (July, 1921), traces the history of Christian interest in Judaism, particularly since the time of the Reformation.

[32] Gregoire, H., *Histoire des Sectes Religieuses*, Paris, 1828-45, *passim*.

requirement of their system of belief. Today Christian sects study Hebrew largely for the scholarly investigation of their doctrines and ceremonies. Since the Reformation[33] the study of Hebrew has won a place in the curriculum of Christian theological seminaries, where it is taught for the most part on non-theological, scientific grounds. Christian scholars have so thoroughly acquired knowledge of the Biblical tongue that they are at home in the field of modern Hebrew literature.[34] There is no doubt that the study of Hebrew has been one of the major occupations of some of the best Christian scholars of modern times.[35]

c. JEWISH TEACHERS OF CHRISTIAN HEBRAISTS

In the history of Christian Hebraism there came a time when Christians were able to study the Bible language and Jewish literature by means of grammars and text-books, explained by Christian teachers. But the tradition of Christian Hebrew learning was not established in its own right until the era of the Reformation. Prior to this period, and even, it may be added, often in modern times, it was necessary to turn to Jewish teachers for aid and guidance. The records frequently give evidence of association between Christian Hebraists and Jewish instructors; more often the accounts are silent, though indications point to the presence and influence of Jews. Soury[36] remarks on this point:

In the Middle Ages, as in antiquity, knowledge of Hebrew remained in the exclusive possession of the Jews. Everywhere and always when a Christian wished to learn Hebrew, he was compelled to commence by becoming a disciple of the Rabbis. The same was true with Greek, Arabic and other Oriental languages. By long frequentation with a Jew, a Greek or an Arab, one was able to acquire a certain acquaintance with their respective languages, but before adventuring on the translation of a text,

[33] Geiger, L., *Das Studium der hebraeischen Sprache in Deutschland*, Breslau, 1870.

[34] See G. F. Moore's review of Klausner's *Yeshu ha-Notzri*, in *Harvard Theological Review*, xvi (1923), pp. 93-103, under the title: "A Jewish Life of Jesus."

[35] See Burgess, Thomas, *Motives to the Study of Hebrew*, London, 1814, for an enthusiastic presentation of the value of Hebrew knowledge by Christians. Glover, "Modern Jewish Customs As Possible Helps in Bible Study," *Biblical World*, July, 1902.

[36] p. 14 of the Paris, 1867, edition of the *Des Études hébraiques et exégetiques au moyen âge chez les chrétiens d'Occident.*

the Christian always was compelled to have it explained to him by someone to whom the tongue was native. Herein lies one of the general laws which emerge from the comparative history of the propagation of human doctrines through the medium of languages. Thus Jerome translated the Hebrew books of the Old Testament. Thus Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny, made his translation of the Koran. Thus Boccaccio and Petrarch read Homer. Of the four conditions necessary to learn a language—to speak it, write it, or to know it, and one other with which it has an essential connection, namely, to have lived a sufficiently long time with those who speak it,—the scholars of the Middle Ages were able to partake only of the last.

Hence in our description of Hebrew studies during the Middle Ages, we shall perceive that Jewish teachers play an unmistakable part; sometimes a prominent role, if they are apostates who make use of their Hebrew knowledge to assail their former religionists, and to instruct Christian controversialists in Jewish doctrines and writings with a view to combatting Jewish apologetics; sometimes, an obscure part, if they are bona-fide Jews with whom Christian scholars associated, but whom they did not publicly acknowledge by reason of contemporary prejudice against intimacy with Jews.

1. *Jewish Instructors of the Church Fathers*

Among the Fathers of the early Church, Hebrew scholarship occupied a prominent position. Though the ancient Latin versions of the Bible were only bad copies of the Greek translation, we know that the Greek versions of Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus, all Jews, Jewish-Christians or disciples of Rabbis, were made on the basis of the Hebrew text, and served as important aids to the greatest exegetes of the early Church, namely Origen, Jerome and Theodore of Mopsuest.[37] We know that the Church Fathers were not only acquainted with the religious documents of Judaism, but that they stood in personal relations with Jews.[38] Thus, Justin Martyr engaged in a religious disputa-

[37] Couard, L., "Zur Bibelerklaerung der alten Kirche," in *Kirchl. Monatsschrift*, 1900, p. 16; Diestel, *passim*.

[38] S. Krauss has written considerable on this theme in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1892, v, 122-157; 1893, vi, 82-99, 225-261: "The Jews in the Works of the Church Fathers." See also his article in the *JE*, iv, 80-86, to which he appends an admirable bibliography, citing the works of Rahmer, Graetz, Goldfahn, Gruenwald, Funk, and Ginzberg. See Chajes, P., *La lingua ebraica nel cristiana primitivo*, Florence, 1905.

tion with the Jew Tryphon at Ephesus.[39] Clement of Alexandria, during the period of his sojourn in Syria, may have learned much at first hand from the Jews; he knew a little Hebrew, and a few Jewish traditions; both of these facts point to personal associations with Jews. Origen, who on his mother's side may have been Jewish in descent, though undoubtedly Christian in faith, in his capacity of presbyter at Caesarea in Palestine, must have had frequent contact with scholarly Jews; thus, he mentions on numerous occasions his "magister Hebraeus," on whose authority he gives several "haggadoth."[40] He is cited by Jerome together with Clement and Eusebius as among those who did not disdain to learn from Jews.[41] The one Jew he mentions by name was Hillel, the Patriarch's son, or "Jullos," as he is called by Origen[42]; other Jewish friends were closely in touch with the Patriarch's family or were occupants of high official position because of their scholarship. Not only did Origen borrow from the current teachings of individual Jews, but he made use of exegetical methods employed by his Jewish contemporaries.[43] He seems also to have numbered among his friends a certain Hoshaya of Caesarea.[44] Eusebius not only engaged in controversy with Jews, even calling a Christian opponent Marcellus "a Jew",[45] but also studied with Jews and came under the influence of the Jewish tradition. Ephraem of Syrus makes his one-time personal

[39] Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 6; Goldfahn, "Justin Martyr und die Agada," in *Monatsschrift*, xxvii (1873), and reprinted.

[40] *De Principiis*, i, 3, 4; iv, 26. The so-called "Haggadah" played an important role in the works of the Church Fathers; see Ginzberg, L., "Die Haggada bei den Kirchenvaetern und in der Apokryphischen Litteratur" in *Monatsschrift* (1898), xlii *et seq.*, and reprinted Berlin, 1900; *idem*; *Die Haggada bei den Kirchenvaetern*, vol. i, Amsterdam, 1899.

[41] *Adversus Rufinum*, I, xiii. On Origen's treatment of Bible citations, see the works Koetschau, and Preuschen; his homily on Jeremiah is treated by Klostermann.

[42] Graetz, *Monatsschrift* (1881), xxx, 433 ff.

[43] Soury, *op. cit.*, p. 3, remarks: "Although Origen knew the Hebrew characters, he certainly did not know the Hebrew language. He confesses moreover his ignorance, like Augustine; and very like Jerome, he had little difficulty in mentioning the Jewish scholars who aided him." Soury believes that Origen was interested in Hebrew solely to enrich Christian polemics against the Jews.

[44] Bacher, W., *Agada der Palaestinischen Amoraer*, i (1892), 92.

[45] *De Ecclesiastica Theologica*, ii, 2, 3.

relationships with Jews the ostensible reason for his bitter animosity towards them.[46]

In Jerome we meet the foremost scholar among the Church Fathers, and the outstanding pupil of Jewish teachers during the early Christian epoch.[47] At Chalcis in the Syrian desert, Jerome began to study Hebrew with the aid of a baptized Jew,[48] doubtless the same who he says was regarded by Jewish scholars as a Chaldean and as a master in the interpretation of Scripture. In Bethlehem, Jerome was instructed by several Jews, one of whom taught him reading, and from whom he acquired the peculiar pronunciation of the Hebrew characteristic of him.[49] He was not satisfied with instruction by one Jew, but sought the aid of several, choosing always the most erudite;[50] though Jerome may exaggerate this point in order to inspire confidence in his exegesis, it is certain that he obtained the opinions of several Jews, to whom he often refers ("quidam Hebraeorum"); he even traveled with Jewish friends on his journeys through Palestine,[51] and one of them was his particular guide.[52] We have definite information concerning three of Jerome's Jewish teachers. A Jew from Lydda, whom he calls "Lyddaeus," explained to him the Book of Job, translating it into Greek, and expounding it in Latin; this teacher appears to have been expert in the Midrash, a fact which led to frequent disputes with his Christian pupil. For his second teacher, Bar Chaninah, a very eminent scholar, Jerome professed great attachment; Jerome spent much time and money before he could secure his aid. He recounts how Bar

[46] Cf. Gerson, *Die Commentarien des Ephraem Syrus in ihrem Verhaeltnisse zur Juedischen Exegese*, Breslau, 1868.

[47] Krauss, S., "Jerome," *JE*, vii, 115-118, together with an account of his relationship to Jewish literature and his scholarly activities, gives a bibliography, the most important works of which for our purposes are: Nowack, *Die Bedeutung des Hieronymus fuer die A. T. Textkritik*, 1875; Krauss, *JQR*, vi, 225-261; Rahmer, *Die Hebraeischen Traditionen in den Werken des Hieronymus*, Breslau, 1861; Berlin, 1898; and elsewhere; Siegfried, "Die Ausprache des Hebraeischen bei Hieronymus" in Stade's *Zeitschrift*, iv, 34-82; Bacher, W., "Eine Angebliche Luecke im Hebraeischen Wissen des Hieronymus," in Stade's *Zeitschrift*, xxii, 114-116; Krauss, "Die Juden in den Werken des Heiligen Hieronymos," in *Magyár Zsidó Szémle*, vii, 1890.

[48] *Epistolae*, cxxv, 12.

[49] Comm. on Isaiah 22:17.

[50] Preface to Hosea; *Epistolae*, lxxiii, 9.

[51] Preface to Chronicles.

[52] "circumducens;" Preface to Nahum.

Chaninah would not visit his disciple during the day, for fear of the Jews, but came, evidently from Tiberias, at night-time; on some occasions, he sent in his stead a certain Nicodemus.[53] Jerome's third teacher, known as "Chaldaeus," assisted him in a study of the Aramaic portions of the Bible and the Apocrypha.[54] During his forty years in Palestine, he appears to have studied continuously with Jews,[55] a fact which awakened the severe censure of his foes. Jerome in defense remarked: "How can loyalty to the Church be impaired merely because a reader is informed of the different ways in which a verse is interpreted by the Jews?"[56] Again he said:

> Why should I not be permitted to inform the Latins of what I have learned from the Hebrews . . . It is most useful to cross the threshold of the masters and to learn the art directly from the artists.

And again, he says:

> Why should I not be permitted . . . for the purpose of confuting the Jews, to use those copies of the Bible which they themselves admit to be genuine? Then when the Christians dispute with them, they shall have no excuse.

Because of his interest in Hebrew scholarship, for which it can be seen he was forced at times to apologize, Jerome not only availed himself of the aid of Jewish teachers, but in addition to their oral instruction, he appears to have read Midrashic works by himself. Nevertheless,[57] his knowledge of Hebrew was not sufficient to "permit him to interpret a text which had not first been explained to him by a Jew." Thus the widespread influence which Jerome exerted upon Christian scholarship throughout its history[58] by means of his *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim*, his work on Hebrew proper names and on the situation

[53] *Epistolae*, lxxxiv, 3.

[54] Preface to Tobit; cf. *Epistolae*, xviii.

[55] Commentary on Nahum 2:1 "a quibus (Judaeis) non modico tempore eruditus."

[56] *Contra Rufinum*, ii, 476. Jerome's defense was helpful to later Christian Hebraists; Zwingli cites it in connection with the charges against him because of his association with the Jew, Moses of Winterthur.

[57] Soury, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

[58] Even Jewish authors recognized his importance, among them David Kimchi, Abu al-Walid, Abraham ibn Ezra, Samuel ben Meir, Nachmanides, Isaac Troki and others; he figured in Jewish polemical works on several occasions.

of places mentioned in the Bible, his commentaries on most of the books of the Old Testament, and his chief work, the Vulgate, or Latin translation of the Bible from the Hebrew original, included important Jewish contributions.[59]

Augustine, Jerome's contemporary in Africa, was not so successful in his intercourse with Jews. When he questioned them concerning Biblical matters, they often either failed to respond, or, according to the standpoint of the Church Fathers, "lied," a word which must be interpreted to mean that they gave an answer different from what the Christians desired. In the correspondence between Jerome and Augustine, we learn that the former resented that the Vulgate should be ignored by the Jews,[60] and that among the Christians there was no one well enough acquainted with Hebrew to understand its value. It is recorded that in one instance, the bishop of a certain congregation was compelled to ask the Jews for a vindication of Jerome's translation of Jonah 4:6; they, however, affirmed that the Vulgate's rendition did not agree with the Hebrew, the Greek or (old) Latin codices. This consultation with Jews for the purpose of verifying a doubtful text did not end with the Church Fathers: Soury[61] is correct when he states:

> Faithful to the precepts of Augustine, who recommended the correction of copies of Scripture, the theologians of the twelfth century particularly sought to free the venerable monument from parasitic growths. The manner in which this work of revision and correction of the Latin text of the Bible was performed gives us an indication of the knowledge of the exegetes of this time. Whenever anyone felt impelled to correct certain obscure passages of the Vulgate or other ancient Latin versions on the basis of the Hebrew text, he summoned erudite Jews and addressed to them questions concerning these passages. The Jews brought their Scrolls of the Law, and when questioned, translated the Hebrew text into the vernacular tongue.

It was in this fashion, as we shall see, that Stephen Harding, Abbot of Citeaux, in 1109 made his famous revision of all the Books of the Bible.

[59] Krauss says: "Jerome's exegesis is Jewish in spirit, reflecting the Palestinian haggadists." "Jerome was no friend of the Jews, although he owed them much."

[60] Luther and other translators have in their day made the same complaint

[61] *Des Études*, p. 10.

2. *Hebrew Learning After the Church Fathers*

In the centuries immediately following the era of the great Church Fathers,[62] Hebrew learning went into a decline, but did not entirely vanish. Isidore of Seville (570-636) in his most famous work: *Originum sive etymologiarum libri XX*, completed by his disciple, Braulion, Bishop of Saragossa, shows that he had a little acquaintance with Hebrew;[63] he took part in a disputation with some Spanish Jews who, according to a tradition, conducted it in Latin.[64] Saint Camin (d. 653), a teacher on the Island of Loughdery, is said to have issued a critical edition of the Psalms after a careful use of the Hebrew text.[65]

a. The Venerable Bede. The Venerable Bede (672-735) is "the first English ecclesiastic in whose works a few stray allusions to Hebrew are met with." Whether he was acquainted with Hebrew to any degree has been a subject for discussion among historians. Hody, who published at Oxford in 1705 a work entitled: *De Bibliorum Textibus* wherein he reviewed the list of English theologians who in his opinion, possessed a knowledge of Hebrew prior to Roger Bacon, quotes several passages to prove that Bede was a "first-rate Hebraist."[66] This testimony has been disputed by Steinschneider[67] and others, who affirm that the *Expositio Nominum*, found among Bede's works, proves as little as any other dictionary of names a direct knowledge of

[62] In addition to the most learned Church Fathers whom we have considered among Christian Hebraists, we may mention others, among them Tertullian, Irenaeus, Aphraates, who had little, if any, knowledge of Hebrew, but who through their treatises and their disputations with Jews acquired some information concerning Jewish beliefs and customs outside of the Old Testament.

[63] Cassel; Frankel's *Zeitschrift*, iii, 229-230; Ersch and Gruber, ii, 27, p. 61, note 73; Steinschneider, *Hebraisten*, i, 54. See Michel, M., "Le livre des Origines d'Isidore de Séville," in *Revue internationale de l'enseignement*, 1891, p. 198; Brehaut, E., *An Encyclopedist of the Dark Ages; Isidore of Seville*, New York, 1912.

[64] Graetz, *Geschichte*, v, 77 ff. See Posnanski, A., *Shiloh*, Leipzig, 1904, pp. 288-290, 302-303, *et passim*.

[65] Poole, R. L., *Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought*, London, 1884, p. 12.

[66] p. 406. Roger Bacon, *Opus Minus*, p. 332, ed. Brewer, alludes to Bede as "most learned in grammar and languages in the original."

[67] *Hebraisten*, i, 53. Gottheil, *JE*, vi, 300 accepts this opinion. Hirsch, *Book of Essays*, p. 6, *JQR*, xii, 12, remarks: "I agree with Hody that Bede knew some Hebrew, but we are not able to judge as to the extent of his knowledge."

Hebrew. Soury remarks:[68] "Bede seems also to have learned from some Jew the first elements of the Hebrew language; he knew at least the form of the letters."

In *De Temporum Ratione* (ch. lxvii), Bede professes to base his chronological data directly upon the "Hebrew truth." It appears, however, from Bede's own words, that this phrase means to him nothing more than Jerome's Vulgate.[69] Nevertheless, though it is apparent that legitimate doubt exists as to the scope of Bede's knowledge, it is likely that for the information he possessed he secured the aid of a contemporary Jewish scholar,[70] or that the passages in his commentaries which include notes on the sound and shape of the Hebrew letters were in part taken from Jerome. Bede's exegetical works were numerous, including an explanation of the Pentateuch, Samuel, Ezra, Tobit, Proverbs, Song of Songs, and other Biblical writings. His influence was transmitted to other scholars, notably to Alcuin, Rabanus Maurus, and their contemporaries, who regarded Bede's labors with great veneration. They represent the Biblical and Hebraic revival of the Carolingian period, to a study of which we may now turn.

3. *The Carolingian Renaissance.*

The renaissance of learning and the sciences which occurred during the reign of Charlemagne (742-814) and in which noted Christian scholars participated, among them Alcuin of York, Paul, the Deacon, Peter of Pisa, and others, had its Old Testament and Jewish aspects as well. The Carolingian state was strongly theocratic in character, and looked back to the glories not only of imperial Rome, but also of Judea and Israel.[71] The Emperor was profoundly interested in Biblical studies and delighted to apply to himself and have others call him by the old Biblical names of heroes and warriors. Alcuin's Epistles addressed to Charlemagne are filled with quotations from

[68] *Op. cit.*, p. 33.

[69] Hirsch answers Hody, quoting from Bede: "Just as the Greek scholars based their chronological data upon the text of the seventy translators, so we, who drink from the pure source of Hebrew truth, are enabled through the industry of the Holy Jerome, to follow it."

[70] Diestel, p. 164 remarks: "Of Hebrew he appears to have understood only a few scanty elements." Hirsch rejects as "an interpolation into the text of a marginal note by some English reader," a comment on Psalm 126, which contains direct references to the Hebrew text.

[71] Diestel, pp. 150-156; Orr, *Der Carolinger Gottes-staat.*

the Bible and discussions of appropriate Scriptural passages. The Emperor is said to have ordered three German clerics to undertake the translation of the Scriptures into German.[72] In his "Capitularies" he insisted upon the duty incumbent on every Churchman diligently to cultivate a knowledge of the Bible.[73] Alcuin, as we shall see, was ordered by Charlemagne to revise the text of the Vulgate. Through the influence of the Emperor's activities, the Council of Tours decreed that those homilies addressed to the people and based on Biblical texts should be speedily translated into the vulgar tongue; this ordinance was renewed by the Council of Mainz in 847 and of Arles in 851.[74] Thus the enthusiasm for the revival of the ancient Latin classics was accompanied by an almost equally intense interest in the religious literature of Judaism and Christianity.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find that Charlemagne and his scholarly contemporaries had many points of contact with contemporary Jews. Many legends have sprung up concerning the role of Jews in the siege of the city of Narbonne in Provence.[75] The "Capitularies" of Charlemagne contain several important items for the regulation of Jewish affairs.[76] Extensive commercial privileges were given the Carolingian Jews, one of them being employed by the Emperor to go to Palestine and bring back precious merchandise.[77] When the Normans embarked on the coast of Narbonnese Gaul, they were taken for Jewish merchants.[78] Isaac the Jew was sent by the monarch in 797 with

[72] Usserius, *Historia dogmatica controversae inter orthodoxos et pontificos, de Scripturis et sacris vernaculis*, London, 1690, p. 111. The scholars assigned the task are said to have been Walafrid Strabo, Rabanus Maurus and Haimon. (or Hartmote?). Michel, Fr., *Libri Psalmorum Versio Antiqua Gallica*, Oxford, 1870, p. v.

[73] *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ann. 786, 789, i, 202, 257; ed. Baluz.

[74] Petavel, E., *La Bible en France*, Paris, 1864, pp. 29 ff., gives an account of Charlemagne's Biblical interests.

[75] "Roman de Philomène," in Vaissette, iii, 30; Meir ben Simon, *Milchemeth Mitzwah* (1240); *REJ*, x, 98-99, etc.

[76] Tangl, M., "Zum Judenschutzrecht unter den Karolingern," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft fuer aeltere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, xxxi, 1908, 197-200; Bédarride, I., *Les Juifs en France, en Espagne et en Italie*, Paris, 1859, pp. 73 ff.; Saige, G., *Les Juifs du Languedoc*, Paris, 1881, pp. 8, 42, 43, 79. See also Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, v, 182 ff.; Gross, H., *Gallia Judaica*, Paris, 1897, pp. 404, etc.

[77] *Monachus Sangallensis*, i, 16; *Monum. Germ. Scriptores*, ii, 737.

[78] *Ibid.*, ii, 14, 757. Compare the situation later when Lombard bankers

two ambassadors to the Caliph Harun al-Rashid, acting doubtless not only in the capacity of diplomatic, but of commercial representative as well.[79] Charlemagne is said to have had at his court a Jewish physician named Farragut.[80] It may well be that this Farragut, like so many other Jewish physicians in the midst of Christian scholars and potentates[81] proved helpful in the promotion of their Biblical and Hebrew studies; usually this occurred without any acknowledgment of indebtedness on the part of the recipients of such aid. Alcuin in 800 wrote to Charlemagne an Epistle wherein he described a disputation which he as a youth had witnessed at Rome between a Jew, named Julius, and Master Peter of Pisa, "the same one who shone at your court as a teacher of grammar." An important feature in Charlemagne's cultural program was the development of educational activities among the Jews of his Empire. This is confirmed by various bits of evidence, some historical and some apocryphal. There is a story that the Emperor asked the Bagdad Caliph for a Rabbi to instruct the Jews whom he had allowed to reside at Narbonne;[82] as a result, a certain Rabbi Makhir, who called himself a descendant of King David, settled in the city.[83] It is also reported that at the command of Charlemagne, Kalonymos of Lucca, or his son Moses, was ordered to Mainz to found a school.[84] It was at Lucca, at Milan and Pavia that noted schools in the time of Charlemagne existed. It is likely that this Kalonymos was known to the Emperor or his representatives, and was

were taken for Jews, and Jews disguised themselves as Lombards in order to gain entrance into England, after the Expulsion; *v. i.*

[79] *Annales Einhardi*, ad. an. 801; *Monum. Germ. Scriptores*, i, 190.

[80] Bédarride, pp. 72 and 459; Charles, the Bald also had a Jewish physician, whose enemies accused him of having poisoned the Emperor.

[81] Pope Gelasius in the 5th century had a Jewish physician named Telesinus, whom he styled "a very famous man" and "his friend;" Mansi, *Concilia*, viii, 131.

[82] "Sepher ha-Kabbalah," in Neubauer: *Medieval Jewish Chronicles*, i, 82.

[83] *Monatsschrift*, 1881, pp. 450-1; *REJ*, i, 235; Saige, p. 44.

[84] *Emek ha-Bakhah*, p. 13; though there is doubt as to the date of the departure of the Kalonymos family from Italy and their settlement in Germany, "Luzzatto and others think that it took place under Charlemagne, alleging that the desire to attract scholars to the empire was more in keeping with the character of that monarch;" *JE*, vii, 424. See also Aronius, J., "Karl der Grosse und Kalonymos aus Lucca," *Zeitschrift f. d. Gesch. d. Juden in Deutschland*, Brunswick, ii; Guedemann, *Erziehungswesen*, ii, 11 ff.

held in sufficiently great repute to bring about his appointment to the rank of educational official for the Jews. As in the case of Farragut, Kalonymos may also have aided contemporary Christian Biblical scholars and Hebraists in their labors; we know that Rabanus Maurus, Bishop of Fulda, was materially assisted by a "modern Jew," to whom he paid tribute in the Preface to his Commentary on Kings and Chronicles. In our study of the Old Testament and Jewish aspects of the Carolingian cultural renaissance, it is sufficient for us to point out the probable points of contact between Jewish and Christian scholars, and, on the basis of known instances of interchange of intellectual influence elsewhere, to offer the hypothesis that the same forces were at work then.

a. ALCUIN. In the person of Alcuin (735-804) the cause of Hebrew learning found a champion both in England and at the court of Charlemagne. A native of Northumbria, he was trained in the Cathedral School of York under the tutelage of the celebrated master, Aelbert, who in turn was a disciple of Bede, the English ecclesiastic and Hebraist.[85] Alcuin is believed to have learned Latin, Greek and Hebrew from Egbert and Aelbert, both of them Bishops of York.[86] In his description of the York Library, Alcuin refers to the relics of ancient Hebrew lore found there, together with those of Roman and Greek wisdom.[87] That he came into contact with Jews is apparent from a letter which he wrote to the Emperor Charlemagne in 800:

> When I as a young man journeyed to Rome and sojourned a few days in the city of Pavia, a Jew by the name of Julius held a disputation with Master Peter of Pavia. I have heard that this controversy was written

[85] For material concerning Alcuin, see Paetow, *Guide*, pp. 362-364, 367, with its valuable bibliographical references.

[86] Hirsch, S. A., "Early English Hebraists," in *A Book of Essays*, London, 1905, pp. 8-10.

[87] *De Pontificibus et Sanctis Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, vv, 1535-39. There is doubt as to whether Hebrew books were to be found at York; see R. L. Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought*, London, 1884, p. 21; Hirsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10. But compare the fact that Hebrew books were to be found at Oxford and other Christian centers prior to and after the Expulsion of the Jews from England; Burgess, Thomas, *Motives to the Study of Hebrew*, London, 1814, pp. 101-103 *et passim*.

down in the same city. Peter is the same who shone at your court as a teacher of grammar."[88]

Alcuin had gone to Rome with Aelbert in search of manuscripts, and again in 780 to fetch the *pallium* for Archbishop Eanbald; it is probable that on one or both of these journeys, like Reuchlin, the great Christian Hebraist of the Reformation, he met with Jewish scholars, and may even have studied Hebrew for a time under their tutelage. It is likely also that he was acquainted with the learned Jews whom Charlemagne called to his court by reason of his endeavour to revive learning; we know that Alcuin's disciple, Rabanus Maurus, had a Jewish collaborator and friend.

It was at the Imperial Court that Alcuin exerted his greatest influence on behalf of scholarship and culture. He became head of the Palace School and Abbot of St. Martin's of Tours. He had tremendous prestige because of Charlemagne's high regard for him, and, we are told, virtually turned the Court into an academy. We are particularly interested in Alcuin's contributions to the study of the Bible and of Hebrew. We know that he so inspired the Emperor and his courtiers that they affected Biblical or classical names in addition to their own. His letters, which are a mine of information concerning the literary and social conditions of the time and the most reliable authority for the history of humanism in the Carolingian age, are filled with references to

[88] *Epistolae*, Nr. 101. "Dum ego adolescens Romam perrexi, et aliquantos dies in Papia regali civitate demorarer, quidam Judaeus Julius nomine, cum Petro magistro habuit disputationem. Et scriptam esse eamdem controversiam in eadem civitate audivi. Idem Petrus fuit qui in palatio vestro grammaticam docens claruit." Migne, 100:313 has the following note on this passage: "*Ego adolescens*: O hoc nomen consentire non possum celebri Malibillonio qui Annal. Ben. lib. xxv. num. 22 et Act. SS. saec. iv in Elogio Hist. Alcuini cap. i, num. 26 judicat, *disputationem illam* contigisse in itinere Romano, quod Alcuinus anno 781 suscepterat ad impenetrandum pro Eanbaldo Eboracensi episcopo pallium. Vix enim credibile est Alcuinum voluisse se adolescentem profiteri dum jam vir esse saltem 40 annorum. Suspicor Alcuinum diu antea Roman profectum fuisse, tunc fortassis, quando primo venit in notitiam Caroli regis. Nam, referente anonymo Vitae Alcuini scriptore, Carolus antequam illum Roma cum pallio redeuntem Papiae exciperat 'noverat eum, quia olim a magistro suo ad ipsum directus fuerat.' Qua occasione adolescens adhuc Roman quoque adire et Papiae commorari potuit." See also Migne, 100:40 and 100.

the Old Testament.[89] His letters to Charles the Great are likewise replete with Biblical passages, thus indicating not only Alcuin's esteem for the Old Testament, but the Emperor's as well.[90]

Alcuin's exegetical labors proved to be considerable.[91] He wrote "Questions and Answers Concerning Genesis" in reply to certain interrogations addressed to him by the monk Sigvulgus.[92] A "Compendium" on the Song of Songs,[93] a Commentary on Ecclesiastes[94] and "A Brief Exposition of the Ten Words of the Law or the Decalogue"[95] were included in his works on the Old Testament. To the Psalms Alcuin gave attention in his "Enchiridion or Pious and Brief Exposition of the Penitential Psalms, Psalm 118 and the Psalms of Degrees."[96] In two liturgical works he discusses the place of the Psalms in the Church service.[97] The relationship between the Old and New Testament is considered in an Epistle on "The Comparison of the Numbers of the Old and New Testament,"[98] in a poem: "Historiae Variae Veteris et Novi Testamenti,"[99] and in a work on: "Interpretations of the Hebrew

[89] Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 100 and 101 contain Alcuin's works, reproduced from Froben: *Alcuini Opera*, Regensburg, 1777. For Old Testament references, see 100:343-344, 377, 399 *et passim*.

[90] Migne, 100:169 and 431 ff.

[91] "Opuscula Exegetica seu Commentationes in Sacram Scripturam," Migne, 100:515-1155; see also Lorenz, F., *Alcuin's Leben*, Halle, 1829, translated by Jane M. Slee, *The Life of Alcuin*, London, 1837; Tuefford, C. L., *Essai sur Alcuin*, Strassburg, 1830, and West, A. F., *Alcuin and the Rise of the Christian Schools*, New York, 1892, pp. 183 ff.

[92] Migne, 100:515-569. "The latter like the former betrays less anxiety for knowledge than grubbing subtlety, called forth oftentimes by Talmudic combinations." Diestel, L., *Geschichte des Alten Testaments in der Christlichen Kirche*, Jena, 1869, pp. 164-5.

[93] Migne, 100:639-664.

[94] Migne, 100:665-720. "Oratio Salomonis Quam Habuit in Dedicatione Templi," *ibid.*, 721-722.

[95] *Ibid.*, 567-570.

[96] *Ibid.*, 569-638. He mentions the "alphabet of the Hebrew language" (c. 572), and discusses the meanings of certain letters: "Aleph" (c. 597); "Gimel" (c. 599); "Daleth" (c. 601); "Yod" (c. 607).

[97] "De Psalmorum Usu Liber cum variis Formulis ad res quotidianas accomodatis," Migne 101:465-508; "Officia Per Ferias seu Psalmi Secundum Dies Hebdomadae Singulos Quibus in Ecclesia Cantantur, Dispositi cum Orationibus, Hymnis, Confessionibus, et Litaniis," Migne, 101:509-611.

[98] Epistola 203, Migne, 100:475-7.

[99] Migne, 101:735-8.

Names of the Progenitors of Our Lord, Jesus Christ."[100] Alcuin shows acquaintance with Jewish customs in his discussions concerning the Jewish Passover.[101] A final proof of Alcuin's interest in the Old Testament is seen in the fact that Charlemagne requested him, when an old man, to review the text of the Vulgate and to procure an improved Latin edition according to the best available sources.

The extent of Alcuin's Hebrew knowledge is as doubtful as in the case of Bede. We find in his works references to the tradition of the Hebrews[102] and citations from the Hebrew itself. Modern authorities disagree with reference to the point of Alcuin's Hebrew information.[103] The words: *Veritas Hebraica* when used by Alcuin seem to have the same meaning as in the case of Bede. Several authorities affirm that Alcuin was "skilled" in Hebrew.[104] Whatever be the decision on this point, however, the fact remains that Alcuin was a devoted student of the Scriptures, that he was interested in understanding the Hebrew original insofar as lay in his power, and that he communicated this Hebraic interest to the large group of disciples who succeeded him.[105]

[100] Migne, 100:723-734.

[101] "Appropinquante pascha Judaeorum, etc.," in Liber II. Cap. ii, and Liber, III. Cap. xi, and xii. See Epistola 80, Migne, 100:261.

[102] Migne, 100:539: "Dicunt autem Hebraei;" 541: "Tradunt Hebraei"; 561: "Utrumque enim significat Hebraeum verbum Aiala Selvha"; we have also instances where Hebrew letters are cited; and the tetragrammaton is discussed. Hirsch, pp. 8-9, discusses Alcuin's alleged use of Hebrew in his Commentary on Ecclesiastes.

[103] Steinschneider remarks that he knew no Hebrew, and Gottheil (*JE*, vi, 300) is in doubt. Diestel says: "His meagre acquaintance with Hebrew he used for considerable child's play [in exegesis]." Hirsch says: "Alcuin must have known some Hebrew, although his works show little trace of it." *JQR*, xii, 39, and *A Book of Essays*, p. 8.

[104] "Latinae, Graecae, Hebraicaeque linguae peritus, ut ejus scripta legentes passim deprehendent." "Ad Beatum Alcuinum Abbatem D. Andreae Quercatani Praefatio," in Migne, 100:109. Migne, 100:81, 82, refers to the testimony of several English writers, particularly that of John Bale on the authority of the Annuals of the School at Cambridge: "Consentiunt de hac re plerique scriptores Angliae, praeprimis Joannes Baelaeus, qui auctoritate Annalium gymnasii Cantabrigensis, nixus dicit: Alcuinum Latine, Graece et Hebraice peritum fuisse, quod nex Magdeburgenses diffitentur, cum cent. viii, col. 777, aiunt Alcuinum Latinae, Graecae et Hebraicae linguae sibi comparasse notitiam." See also Migne, 100: 32 and 38.

[105] Migne, 100:38; "Unde colleagas in schola beati Alcuini studium Hebraecae eruditionis non abfuisse."

b. Rabanus Maurus. Rabanus Maurus (c. 776-856), the pupil of Alcuin, Abbot of Fulda and later Archbishop of Mainz, was one of the most prominent teachers and writers of the generation after Charlemagne and Alcuin, and one of its most noted Hebraists.[106] He was a fellow student of Haimon (afterwards of Halberstadt) and instructor of Walafrid Strabo, himself a Hebraist. Soon after his ordination as a priest in 814, he took a pilgrimage to Palestine, to which he alludes in his commentary on Joshua. As Abbot of Fulda he found time to give instruction in the Scriptures, and by his preaching to the people and clergy awakened in them a like zeal. Through his manifold activities he was acknowledged as the leading authority on the Scriptures, later ecclesiastical literature and canon law in the entire Frankish empire. He won for himself the title: "primus praeceptor Germaniae."

His labors as exegete and commentator give him a distinguished place in the history of Biblical criticism.[107] His voluminous works[108] contain commentaries on Matthew, the Epistles of St. Paul,[109] including Hebrews, and various treatises relating to doctrinal and practical subjects, together with several series of Homilies. As an Old Testament student he showed himself well acquainted not only with Greek and Latin, but with Hebrew and Aramaic as well.[110] His encyclopedia *De universo libri xxii, sive etymologiarum opus*, a kind of dictionary designed as a help towards the historical and mystical interpretation of Scripture,[111]

[106] See the works of Tuernau, Duemmler, Kunstmann, Hablitzel, and others on his life and writings.

[107] Hablitzel, J. B., *Hrabanus Maurus, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Mittelalterichen Exegese*, Freiburg, 1906; Diestel, pp. 152, 156, 160, 162, 165, 175, 223; Migne, 107:14, 73.

[108] Migne, 107-112; many of his writings are still unpublished.

[109] Migne, 112:846 has a discussion of a Hebrew phrase.

[110] Baehr, *Geschichte der roem. Literatur im karoling. Zeitalter*, Karlsruhe, 1840, p. 427 and p. 431; Cave, W., *Historia literaria*, 1720, p. 456; Rittelmeyer, I. Ch., *De l'Interpretation de l'Écriture Sainte pendant le 9e siècle*, Strassburg, 1832. Migne, 107, 113, speaks of him as "skilled in Greek, Latin and Hebrew" to a degree unrivalled in the Church of his day; *ibid.*, 82 mentions also his knowledge of "Chaldaic", *i. e.* Bibical Aramaic; *Hist. Litt. de la France*, iii, 45 and v, 196. "Chaldaic" signifies henceforth in this study Biblical Aramaic.

[111] Diestel, p. 163, remarks that the fact that only a few scholars of this time knew Hebrew, and then merely the letters, oftentimes led them to play upon words and letters, in a manner characteristic of the Kabbalah.

contains numerous Biblical and exegetical references,[112] particularly concerning the explanation of names and numbers.[113] Rabanus' treatise: *De institutione clericorum*, a work on the training requisite for the right discharge of the clerical function, is replete with Old Testament and Hebrew citations: the Mosaic Law,[114] the time of the observance of Passover,[115] the relationship of the Trinity to the Jewish *Shema'*, the explanation of the word: *Alleluia*, as interpreted by Jerome in his translation of the Psalms,[116] the origin of the sacerdotal vestments,[117] the Bible readings in the Service,[118] the Books of the Two Testaments, the authors of the sacred books, the obscurities of Scripture, the method of reading Scripture, the canon of Jewish writings[119]—these are a few of the many themes to which Rabanus gives his attention. In the treatise: *De Laudibus Sanctae Crucis*,[120] we find pictures, numbers and figures which are strongly allegorical in character and pursue the method familiar to Jewish Kabbalists.[121] We have also a tract in which the Hebrew letters as written down by Rabanus have survived.[122]

The commentaries of the great Carolingian are, however, his most important contribution to learning. His Commentary on Genesis, written at the request of Frecolf,[123] a Bishop in Normandy, his former disciple, is a work in four parts, composed about the year 819. It contains many interesting remarks concerning the Jews, [124] references to "the Hebrew truth,"[125] and

[112] Migne, 111:242 with reference to the creation of the world, quotes Isaiah 6, Job 39, and Psalm 67, 17 and 138.

[113] Migne, 111:1; "De Numero," 487.

[114] Migne, 107:335.

[115] "Tessarodecaditae dicti, quod quartodecima luna paschalum Judaeis observandu contendum; nam tessaraquatuor, deca decem significat." Migne, 107:376.

[116] Migne, 107:323; see also 112:1166-1192.

[117] *Ibid.*, 306, 360.

[118] *Ibid.*, 358.

[119] *Ibid.*, 107:364-383. In "Liber de Computo" he discusses the "months of the Hebrews;" Migne, 107:683.

[120] Migne, 107:133 ff.

[121] *Ibid.*, 149, 150, 163, 164, 209, 210, 276, 278, 291. See Rabanus' "Allegoriae in Universam Sacram Scripturam," Migne, 112: 849-1088.

[122] Migne, 112:1579-1584: "B. Rabani de Inventione Linguarum ad Hebraea usque ad Theodiscam, et notis antiquis."

[123] Migne, 107:65.

[124] Migne, 107:440: "Et regio contigua axi occiduo fiet Judaea, nostrique Britonum vicini erunt Israelitae."

[125] *Ibid.*, 120.

explanations of Hebrew words and phrases;[126] the same can be said of his Commentary on Exodus in four books,[127] written in 834, wherein he makes use of the works of Augustine, Isidore and Jerome, whose epistle to Mariella concerning the names of God he quotes; and of his Exposition of Leviticus in seven books, written in 834,[128] his "Enarrationum" on Numbers in four books (834),[129] and his Commentary on Deuteronomy in four books (834).[130] Three books with a dedicatory epistle to Bishop Frederic were devoted by Rabanus to Commentary on Joshua (834).[131] He explained as well the "Four Books of Kings" (834), in the preface of which he pays a tribute to a Jew of his time who taught him Hebrew, and who aided him with information concerning the Hebrew tradition:

> Besides I have inserted the summaries of a certain Jew of modern times, skilled in a knowledge of the law, containing the tradition of the Hebrews, in not a few places together with his name.[132]

We shall have occasion to discuss this Jew in detail in a moment. Rabanus also wrote commentaries on the Books of Chronicles (834),[133] Judith,[134] Esther,[135] Canticles,[136] Proverbs,[137] Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus and Jeremiah,[138] Lamentations, Ezekiel[139] and Maccabees.

In addition to these exegetical works, Rabanus composed a

[126] Migne, 107:485, 501, 511, 527, 531, 538, 544, 545, 547, 559, 565, 566, 568, 570, 572, 582, etc.

[127] Migne, 108:9-246.

[128] Minge, 108:245-586. He calls the Pentateuch "Torach," c. 246 and, refers to the "Hebrew truth," c. 258.

[129] Migne, 108:587-858; see 714, 814, 815, etc., for discussion of Hebrew letters and words.

[130] Migne, 108:857-998; see cc. 895 and 968 for Hebrew phrases.

[131] Migne, 108:999-1108.

[132] Migne, 109:10: "Praeterea Hebraei cujusdam modernis temporibus in scientia legis florentis capitula traditionem Hebraeorum habentia non paucis locis simul cum nota nominis ejus inserui."

[133] Migne, 109:279 ff.

[134] Migne, 109:539 ff.

[135] *Hist. Litt.*, iii, 279.

[136] Rabanus used the version of Jerome, made on the basis of the Hebrew; Migne, 112:1089-1166.

[137] Migne, 111: 679-792.

[138] Migne, 111: 793-1272; for discussion of Hebrew words, see cc. 816, 817, 818, 835, 837, 845, etc.

[139] Written in 842, in twenty books; Migne, 110:493 ff.

polemical tract entitled: "Against the Jews and Judaizing Christians,"[140] one of the most forceful attacks upon the Jews and their beliefs during the Middle Ages.[141] In all his works, Rabanus made use of Jewish sources, calling not only upon the Old Testament, but also upon the works of Philo, Flavius Josephus[142] and the "modern Jew."

This Jew is one of the most interesting, and also one of the most mysterious figures in the history of medieval Christian Hebraism. Berger[143] and others see in him a Jewish convert to Christianity, trained in Talmud from his youth. He was apparently the author or the famous work: *De Quaestionibus Hebraicis in libros Regum et Paralipomenon*, fashioned after the manner and in the style of Jerome's *Quaestiones Hebraicae* and *Interpretatio Hebraicorum nominum*, but filled with Rabbinical traditions and interpretations.[144] To this baptized Jewish exegete is attributed also the work: *De Scholiis Hebraicis in Sacram Scripturam*, which contains glosses on most of the books of the Old Testament, including among others the Pentateuch, Joshua, Ruth, Samuel and Kings, Job, and Psalms. Rabanus made considerable use of these writings of his Jewish contemporary, as is clear from the frequent citations he gives upon the margin of his commentaries on the Bible.[145] Thus the custom which Christian Hebraists from earliest times throughout the Middle Ages and even in the present day have adopted, namely of turning for assistance to bona-fide Jews or Jewish converts in the translation and exegesis of the Old Testament, prevailed in the ninth century, in the case of Rabanus Maurus, a Carolingian schoolman, a student of the Old Testament, a scholar in Hebrew, and an exegete who at the same time that he assailed Jewish doctrines in a polemical tractate, nevertheless sought the aid of at least one Jew for the promotion of his Scriptural studies.

[140] Martene and Durand, v, f. 470 ff.

[141] For a discussion of the material added to it which belonged to an Inquisitorial tract of the twelfth or thirteenth century, see below.

[142] *Hist. Litt.*, v, 196 and 161.

[143] *Quam Notitiam Linguae Hebraicae Habuerint Christiani Medii Aevi Temporibus in Gallia*, Paris, 1893, pp. 1-4; *idem*, *La Bible Francaise au moyen âge*, Paris, 1884, pp. 6 and 52.

[144] Martianay, J., *S. Hieronymi opera*, Paris, 1693 and 1699; *idem*, "Prolegomena" to Vallarsi, D., *S. Hieronymi opera*, edition of 1770, Venice, ix, pp. ci to cxii.

[145] *Hist. Litt.*, iii, 45.

In the group of Hebraist disciples who rose about him and after his death, this tradition of scholarship was perpetuated.

c. Walafrid Strabo. Walafrid Strabo (c. 809-849)[146] continued the Hebraic tradition of the generation after Charlemagne and Alcuin. He was a pupil of Rabanus Maurus at Fulda from 826-829, Chaplain to the Empress Judith and tutor to her son, Charles, the Bald. Though he won renown as a classical poet, it is through his exegetical works that he found a place in Church annals. His chief writing in this field was the *Glosa Ordinaria*, a compilation of exegetical notes drawn from Biblical commentaries which remained for more than five centuries "the most widespread and important quarry of medieval Biblical science."[147] By the side of Strabo's work can be placed the *Glosa Interlinearis* of Anselm of Laon of the twelfth century. Both of these glossaries served as a substitute for scholarly investigation among the uninformed clergy, and aided their retention of Biblical knowledge.[148] Strabo's Glossary neglected the literal sense and in large measure followed the etymology given by Isidore and Bede; in the middle of the pages is the Latin text of the Bible; in the margins are the "glosses," consisting of a very full collection of Patristic excerpts in illustration and explanation of the text. In the re-editions of the work, it was usually accompanied with the *Postillae Perpetuae* of Nicholas of Lyra,[149] upon which the Jewish apostate, Paul of Burgos, had written comments.

Strabo compiled "glosses" upon almost all the books of the Bible and the Apocrypha.[150] These reveal considerable Hebrew knowledge, in the explanation of individual words and passages.[151]

[146] Eigl, L., *Walahfried Strabo*, Vienna, 1908; Jundt, A., *Walafrid Strabon; l'homme et le théologien*, Cahors, 1900.

[147] It survived even the Reformation and passed into numerous editions as late as the 17th century: *Hist. Litt.*, v, 59 ff.; Soury, p. 34; Diestel, 165.

[148] Reuss, "Glossen " in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopedie*; also, xx, 790; see works of Paul Warnefrid and Smaraguds for comparison with Strabo's.

[149] Migne, 113:11-20, and 23-36.

[150] Migne, 113 and 114, *passim;* Potthast, *Bibliotheca hist. med. aevi*, Berlin, 1894, p. 1102 ff., gives a bibliography of his historical works.

[151] In "Liber Genesis," Migne, 113:67, 70, 100, 103, 104, 115, 117, 122, 124, 133, 134, 136, 137, 138, 141, 147, 148, 155, 157, 158, 159, 160, 168, 169; in "Liber Exodus," *ibid.*, 183, 263, 266, 295; "Liber Leviticus," *ibid.*, 295, 325; "Liber Numeri," *ibid.*, 379, 427; "Liber Deuteronomi," *ibid.*, 448, 449, 456, 488, 492, 493, etc.

Other works of Hebraic interest from his pen were: "Exposition of the First Twenty Psalms;"[152] "Epitome of the Commentary of Rabanus Maurus on Leviticus,"[153] and "A Sermon or Tractate on the Destruction of Jerusalem."[154]

d. Haimon of Halberstadt. Haimon of Halberstadt (died 853), a schoolfellow of Rabanus Maurus and a disciple of Alcuin, made Bishop through an appointment of Louis the German, wrote several important works in the field of homiletics and Biblical exegesis.[155] These include explanations of the Psalms,[156] the Song of Songs,[157] and, according to Trithemius, the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, and other books of the Bible and Apocrypha; concerning the authenticity of some of these works there is doubt. There are ascribed to him also a Commentary on Isaiah in three books,[158] and on the Twelve Minor Prophets.[159] In his *Historiae Sacrae Epitomae*, (ch. v) Haimon deals with the interpretation of the Septuagint, and in his discussion concerning the date of Easter he explains that the Christian practice arose in order that the Church might not fall into "Judaizing."[160] In all his works, Haimon distinguishes himself by his endeavour to present the sense of an entire verse through paraphrase and explanation; the usual ecclesiastical practice of mystical and allegorical interpretation does not play so important a part.

e. Paschasius Radbertus. Paschasius Radbertus (786-865), one of the most distinguished writers of the Carolingian period, deserves a place among its Hebraist scholars. He had a wealth

[152] Migne, 114:751-794; published by Pez, *Anecdota nova*, iv.

[153] Migne, 114:795-850.

[154] Migne, 114:965-974.

[155] Migne, 116, 117, 118 contains his collected works: see Schaff-Herzog, v, 118 for brief biography.

[156] Migne, 116: 191-696; edited in 1561 at Cologne with remarks by Desiderius Erasmus; see also Migne, 116:695-714.

[157] Migne, 117:295-358.

[158] Migne, 116:713-1086.

[159] Migne, 117-11:294.

[160] Migne, 118:848: "Mihi autem videtur Romanam ecclesiam prudenti consilio et saniore sententia hoc potius elegisse, *ne judaizare videremur* et Mosaicum adhuc vel figurativum Pascha observare si super quartadecima luna solemnitatem Paschae celebremus . . . Itaque et illam quartidecimi diei observantiam cum Judaeis non facimus, sed die resurrectionis Domini novum potius nostrum Pascha celebramus."

of acquaintance with the classical authors and the Church Fathers. His views concerning the Eucharist and the doctrine of transubstantiation became a subject of controversy not only during his lifetime, but for many years after his death. It is interesting to observe that in characteristic ecclesiastical mood he warns against the opinions of those who tend to "lapse into Judaism."[161]

Whether Paschasius was familiar with Hebrew is a matter of debate. Hauck affirms that "he probably knew neither Greek nor Hebrew."[162] However, it is certain that he sought to expound Scripture on a strict literal basis, without being interested in the allegorical significance of the text,[163] and there is sufficient evidence in his writings to warrant the opinion that he was acquainted with both Greek and Hebrew.[164] In his "Exposition of Psalm 44",[165] he not only refers to the Hebrew text, but also includes Hebrew words in their Latin transliteration.[166] Confirmatory evidence is found in his Commentary on Lamentations,[167] in the Prologue of which, addressed to Odilmann Severus, he refers to the importance of explaining the individual Hebrew letters, and then proceeds to give the significance of each.[168] Thus, despite the meagre quality of his knowledge,

[161] Migne, 120:1141: "Quantum conspicio in hac quasi funebri totius corporis lamentatione profundiora de Christo et ejus corpore aperiuntur mysteria; ita ut vicissum luctuosa vertatur oratio, nunc ad Synagogam, nunc specialiter ad Ecclesiam . . nunc et moralia miscet, luctificia tamen ex omnibus, si quo modo moestitia cordis augeatur, ut pro his qui labuntur de Christi corpore aut qui lapsi sunt in Judaismo."

[162] Schaff-Herzog, ix, 380-1.

[163] *Hist. Litt.*, v, 310.

[164] *Ibid.*, 311: "Wishing to make a particular study of Scripture and to read in the original the Greek works as well as the Latin, he commenced to learn the Greek and Hebrew languages. There are few of his works in which he does not make use of the knowledge which he had of one or the other, a fact which was very rare in his century."

[165] Migne, 120:993-1060. "Sed sicut in Hebraeo habetur" (c. 1027); "Quod idcirco dixerim, ne quis putet in Hebraico vitium scriptoris esse."

[166] "Nam quod in quibusdam codicibus scriptum est *gutta*, vel *stractam* in Hebraico habet, *Ahaloth*;" (c. 1035). He refers also to the "Hebraicam veritatem," and says: "quia verbum Hebraicum," etc. cc. 1046, 1047, 1050, etc.

[167] Migne, 120:1059-1256; published at Basel, 1502, and Cologne, 1532. Diestel, p. 166.

[168] "Ex quo etiam apud Latinos per singula sententiarum principia, singula Hebraeorum litterae praenotantur, a quibus in sua propria lingua, et fertur unusquisque versus incipitur." "Aleph," c. 1063; "Beth," c. 1066, etc.

Paschasius may still be included among the Carolingian Hebraists.

f. Claudius of Turin. Claudius of Turin (died c. 832), born in Spain, for a time priest at the court of the King of Aquitania, where he instructed his fellow-clergymen in Scriptural learning, was appointed Bishop of Turin by Louis the Pious with the two-fold task of coping with the piratical Mohammedans in the maritime Alps and of instructing the population in the Bible. Denying that Peter had received the power to bind and to lose, he likewise disapproved of the increasing homage paid to the Bishop of Rome. He spoke of a double primacy among the Apostles: one given to Paul for the heathen, and one to Peter for a Jewish mission. His removal of images and even crosses from his churches and his views on Church doctrines drew upon him the suspicion of heresy; Theodemir wrote to him that it was alleged he had founded a new sect "against the rule of the Catholic faith." While there is little support for the view that he was the real founder of the Waldensian sect, "he may, in a sense, be numbered among the precursors of the Reformation."[169] He also may be reckoned among the iconoclastic group in the Church which assailed the veneration of images, thus being a precursor of Zwingli, Calvin and their contemporaries.

It is not surprising therefore to find that Claudius was a Hebrew scholar. He wrote commentaries on Genesis (811), Exodus (821), and Leviticus (825), as well as on some of the Gospels. At the request of Theodemir, he wrote "Thirty Questions on the Books of Kings,"[170] which contain evidences of his Hebrew knowledge; it makes use also of the material gathered by other Hebraists, including Isidore, Bede and Rabanus.[171] He appears in his exegesis to protest against a "Jewish" type of exegesis popular among his contemporaries.[172]

[169] Foss, R., in Schaff-Herzog, iii, 131; Lea, i, 217.

[170] Migne, 104:623-684. See *ibid.*, 627, note b; 635, note a; 642, note e; 655, note b; etc.

[171] See "In Libros Informationum Litterae et Spiritus Super Leviticum," Migne, 104:615-620. Cave, W., *Historia Literaria*, p. 442; Oudin, *De Eccles. Antiq. Scriptores*, ii, 29.

[172] *Max. Bibl.*, xiv, f. 144: "Usque hodie autem qui Judaico sensu scripturas intelligent, persequuntur ecclesiam Christi et depopulantur illam, non studio legis, sed traditionibus homimun deprabit." Cf. Hahn, *Geschichte der Ketzer*, ii, 55.

g. Engelmann of Luxueil. Engelmann of Luxueil (Angelomus Luxoviensis; c. 830) in his Commentary on Genesis[173] followed the model of Jerome's work, and sought insofar as possible to find the literal meaning of Biblical texts. "He employed in several places the tradition of the Jews, and speaks of them as one who is not ignorant of their original language."[174] In addition to references to Alcuin, he mentions several items which have an Hebraic interest;[175] similiar items are found in his commentaries on the Book of Kings,[176] and the Songs of Songs,[177] the latter being dedicated to the Emperor Lothair.

h. Remi of Auxerre. Remi (Remigius) of Auxerre (850-908), teacher at Rheims where he reorganized the two schools located there, and at Paris, where he taught liberal arts and probably theology, counting among his scholars the famous Odo of Cluny, was also a Hebraist. In addition to his works on grammar, dialectic and music, Remi wrote several commentaries: on Genesis,[178] Psalms,[179] and perhaps on the Songs of Songs,[180] and the Minor Prophets.[181] In all of these he gives evidence of Hebrew knowledge. "If the explanations which he gives of several Hebrew words in some of his commentaries are original with him, one may say that in addition to his knowledge of Greek, he had some familiarity with Hebrew."[182] This is borne out by an examination of his works. In his commentary on Genesis he gives the Hebrew name of the Biblical book, refers to the "Hebrew truth" and to the Septuagint.[183] He criticises the translation of Theodotion as the work of a Jew who "juda-

[173] Migne, 115:107-244.

[174] *Hist. Litt.*, v, 136; Diestel, p. 166.

[175] Migne, 115:180; 153, 154, 169, 229, 234.

[176] Migne, 115:243-551.

[177] Migne, 115:551-627.

[178] Migne, 131:51-134.

[179] Migne, 131:133-844.

[180] Migne, 117:295 ff., where they are edited under the name of Haimon of Halberstadt. Schmidt, R., in Schaff-Herzog, iv, 480, assigns them to Remi; see Migne, 131:47-50.

[181] Migne, 117:9 ff., also edited under the name of Haimon of Halberstadt.

[182] *Hist. Litt.*, vi, 58.

[183] Migne, 131:52: "nova pro veteribus sudere, id est, Hebraicam veritatem pro veteribus, id est, LXX interpretibus."

ized" in many of his errors of translating.[184] Remi cites in several places the traditions of the Jews, and believes that the Jews will be converted only at the end of the world, and that the Antichrist will arise from the tribe of Dan. In his work on the Psalms he refers to the version of Aquila and its reliance on the Hebrew.[185] He discussed in detail the Hebrew alphabet[186] in his work: "Interpretation of Hebrew names in Alphabetic Order."[187] Though doubt envelops the authenticity of a few of the works assigned to Remi, it is nevertheless apparent that he had some knowledge of the Hebrew language and the Hebrew Bible.

i. Notker Balbulus; Bruno of Wuerzburg. The same may be said of Notker Balbulus (840-912), librarian at St. Gall, and credited with being the teacher and adviser of Solomon III, Bishop of Constance. In addition to his poetry, Notker's fame rests largely upon a "Notatio" of Biblical expositors, entitled: "Concerning Illustrious Men Who Have Expounded Holy Scripture."[188] Among others, he recommends the works of Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Bede, Origen, Chrysostom and Gregory; he lists the names of those who issued commentaries upon the works of the Old Testament, and refers to Jerome's work: *Quaestiones Hebraicae.* Though we have little evidence as to his Hebrew knowledge, the fact that he dealt so largely with works on the Bible leads to the supposition that he was not unfamiliar with Hebrew words and phrases as he found them in the writings of Christian Hebraists.

Bruno of Wuerzburg (c. 1045) was perhaps acquainted with

[184] *Ibid.*, 53: "Theodotio Judaeus fuit, qui transtulit divinas Scripturas, sed in multis erravit judaizans. Illius translationem Origenes immiscuit translationi LXX . . . et emendatiora sunt exemplaria Latina quam Graeca, Graeca quam Hebraea. Unaquaeque enim res quo frequentes transfertur, ei firmius emendabitur." *Ibid.*, 56, 61, 95, 113: "Hic locus varie ab Hebraeis exponitur."

[185] Migne, 131:135, 138, 139. "Nobis nil horum videtur, cum Aquila, qui verborum Hebraeorum diligentissimus explicator est, verbum Hebraicum *sela* semper transtulerit . . . . "

[186] He refers to the "Epistola B. Hieronymi ad Paulum de Alphabeto Hebraeorum," *ibid.*, 145.

[187] Migne, 131:50, remarks that this work is popularly attributed to Bede, in whose works it appears, iii, 371. Oudin testifies that in the codices of the best scholars, it is attributed to Remi.

[188] Migne, 131:993-1004

this work, for in his Commentary on the Pslams he made use mainly of extracts from older authors, including Cassiodorus, Augustine, the Pseudo-Bede, and the "Breviarum in Psalmos" ascribed to Jerome. In this Commentary, he noted the additions and omissions in the Septuagint.[189]

j. Hartmote; Christian Druthmar, and Others. More authentic is our knowledge concerning the Hebrew scholarship of a few other ecclesiastics of the Carolingian and Post-Carolingian period. Thus Hartmote, Abbot of St. Gall, is said to have possessed not only skill in the sciences, but could make his way among works written in Greek, Hebrew and even Arabic.[190] Among his writings are to be reckoned several commentaries on the Scriptures, "on the basis of the Hebrew."

Christian Druthmar is supposed to have known both Greek and a little Hebrew, and to have been a capable Bible exegete.[191] Agobard, Bishop of Lyons, and a vigorous adversary of the Jews, shows in his tractates a knowledge of their traditions, even of their mystical lore, the Kabbalah. He remarks at one point in his treatise: *De Judaicis Superstitionibus*: "I speak almost daily with Jews and hear the mysteries of their error."[192] Agobard was hence acquainted even with details of Jewish worship and belief: thus he knew Rabbinical prescriptions concerning ritual slaughtering; he was informed concerning a number of "Midrashim," mentions a certain work entitled: *Toledhoth Yeshu*, giving an alleged Jewish account of the life of Jesus, and shows familiarity with the methods and doctrines of the Kabbalah.[193]

[189] *Max. Bibl.* xviii, 65 ff.

[190] *Hist. Litt.*, v, 611, 613.

[191] *Ibid.*, v, 84; Trithemius, J., *Annales hirsaugienses*, 1514, i, 18; *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, 1494, c. 280. In Migne, 106:1260, we have this passage: "De aetate hujus Druthmari monere juvat, eam a viris doctis communiter referri post saeculum medium nonum, quod ipse cap. 56 mentionem facit Bulgarorum ad Christi sacra adductorum ac quotidie solitorum baptisari, quod Adrenus ab an. 845. (1) Cap. 56 ad Matthaeum, tom. xv, Biblioth. Patrum, p. 158: 'Nescio ham gentes sub caelo, in qua Christiani non habeantur. Nam et in Gog et in Magog, quae sunt gentes Hunnorum, quae ab eis Gazari vocantur. Jam una gens, quae fortior erat, ex his, quas Alexander conduxerat, circumcisa, est, et omnem Judaismum observat. Bulgarii quo que, qui et ipsi ex gentibus sunt, quotidie baptizantur." Migne, 106:1456; 1449.

[192] "Se quotidie paene cum Judaeis loqui et mysteria erroris ipsorum audire;" *Opera*, i, 75, edited by Baluz.

[193] Loeb, I., *La Controverse Religieuse*, p. 21.

Amolo, his disciple, and Bishop of Lyons after his death, also wrote vigorous polemical works against the Jews in which he demonstrates some acquaintance with Hebrew words and their interpretation.[194] Florus of Lyons, who is reported to have been successful in the conversion of fifty-three young Jews,[195] received for his studies in Hebrew, according to an account of his life, the aid of a Jewish teacher.[196] During the ninth and tenth centuries, other references to Christian Hebraists occur,[197] but the information is by no means decisive. However, we have enough material concerning the Hebrew scholarship of the great Carolingian teachers and their successors to appreciate the fact that the revival of science and education under Charlemagne gave momentum to a genuine renaissance of Biblical and Hebraic studies, wherein Jews and Judaism played an important role.

5. *The Centuries of the Heresies*

a. Aids to Christian Study. The interest in Hebrew scholarship which accompanied the Carolingian epoch continued with more or less intensity in the centuries immediately prior to and during the heresies which for a time threatened the supremacy of the Catholic Church. Those Christians who on the Continent, in France and in England cultivated Hebrew learning were handicapped by a lack of glossaries, dictionaries, grammars and commentaries, and were compelled to find their own means for the study of Greek, Hebrew, Arabic and Syriac. With the advent of the Crusades, forces began to operate which promoted the development of linguistic studies. The many pilgrimages to the Orient brought East and West into contact, and fostered among Christian travelers an interest in the laws, customs, religion and history of the peoples they encountered in Syria and Palestine. The Crusades accentuated this interest, and not

[194] See chapter xxx of his *Contra Judaeos*; Loeb, p. 20, and below. *Hist. Litt.*, v, 105, 110-111, on the basis of information furnished by Trithemius.

[195] *Hist. Litt.*, v, 225-6.

[196] Traube, L., *Einleitung in die lateinische Philologie des Mittelalters*, Munich, 1911, p. 90; Hablitzel, J. B., *Hrabanus Maurus*, Freiburg, 1906, p. 9.

[197] Steinschneider, *Hebraisten*, i, 53, refers to an anonymous Hebrew-Greek-Latin Glossary; the manuscript dates from the ninth century in Montpellier. An Abbey of Montfaucon addressed to Wilfrid, Bishop of Verdun, a letter which showed indications that he possessed not only a knowledge of Greek, but of Hebrew; *Hist. Litt.*, vi, 409-10.

only for military, but for economic and social reasons, European Christians, particularly the French and English, undertook the study of Greek and the Oriental tongues.[198]

Certain local factors played a part in this activity. Thus, for example, the presence of certain foreigners, among them Greeks and Armenians, helped further the study of Greek. A scholar named Simeon, who is said to have known Egyptian, Greek, Latin, Syriac and Hebrew, spent several years at Rouen as protégé of Duke Richard II, after which he retired to Verdun and Treves, where in 1035 he died. Pope Leo IX (1048-1054) is reported to have studied Greek at the Ecole of Toul, and to have been able to read the Bible in the Septuagint version. By the side of these foreigners in Europe stood the Jews who, by reason of their residence in strategic cultural centers on the Continent, proved materially helpful in the expansion of Hebrew learning. These local ("regnicoles") Jews at Metz, Paris, Orleans, Rouen, Chartres, Lyons, Limoges, Bordeaux, Avignon and other principal cities offered Christian scholars constant opportunity for first-hand research in the Biblical tongue. "The path by which Christian scholars attained a knowledge of Hebrew was usually through intercourse with Jews or Jewish Christians."[199] The Jewish academies which flourished in France served as agencies whereby Christians might secure information concerning Jewish Biblical and also Talmudic and Rabbinic knowledge.[200] Hebrew manuscripts through censorship or confiscation found their way into Christian possession; very frequently single pages of Hebrew texts have been found glued in the cover of the binding of medieval Christian manuscripts; sometimes they have been used for the binding itself, thus giving a clue to the low regard in which the Christian clergy and laity for the most part held them. In the case of Roger Bacon and his English contemporaries, however, we shall have occasion to indicate the attitude of some enlightened Christian students towards Jewish books.

The desire of the Church to convert Jews and to use Hebrew information for polemical purposes served as a potent stimulus to the study of Jewish literature during the twelfth, thirteenth

[198] *Hist. Litt.*, vii, 113.

[199] Walde, B., *Christliche Hebraisten Deutschlands*, Muenster, 1916, p. 5.

[200] Renan-Neubauer, "Sur Quelques Rabbins de la Fin du siècle," *Hist. Litt. de la France*, xxi, 506-513; "Les Rabbins Francais du commencement du quatorzieme siècle," *ibid.*, xxvii, 430-728, etc.

and fourteenth centuries. Long before the Council of Vienne in 1311 decreed that chairs of Hebrew and cognate languages should be established at the great universities of England and the Continent, many Christian ecclesiastics prized a knowledge of Hebrew as an aid in public and private controversies and disputations with Jewish opponents. Just as Jews were prompted to study Latin in order to defend Judaism against Christian attack, so Christians were moved to study Hebrew for both apologetical and polemical purposes. The same impulse played a part in Christian study of Arabic, and in the translation of the Koran by Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny.[201] During the thirteenth century the great debates over the burning of the Talmud stimulated Christian scholars, largely under the guidance of Jewish apostates, to devote themselves to Hebrew literary sources.

From about the eleventh century onward attempts were made, doubtless with the aid of Jews, to gather together material for grammatical works and other writings which might furnish auxiliaries to Christian students. For these the works of Jerome served as a basis.[202] The *Interpretatio nominum Hebraicorum* had awakened a philological interest among several Christians, including Ambrosius, Isidorus, Remi of Auxerre, Rabanus Maurus and others;[203] the Venerable Bede is said to have given it considerable attention, and during the thirteenth century at least one revision of it was made, apparently at Paris during the reign of Louis IX, by a Christian skilled in Hebrew. Treatments of the *Interpretatio* were usually accompanied by the addition of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet in Hebrew characters with transcription, sometimes with, sometimes without explanation.[204]

[201] *Hist. Litt.*, xxiv, 387-8; vii, 113-116; ix, 153; xvi, 140-1; xxvi, 510-11, 523. See Demimuid, M., *Pierre le Vénérable*, Paris, 1876, *passim.*

[202] On Jerome, see Migne, 23:771 ff.; Berger, *Quam Notitiam*, p. 16 ff.; Martianay, J., *S. Hieronymi Opera*, Paris, 1693-99; Vallarsi, D., *S. Hieronymi Opera*, Veronica and Venice, 1735 *et seq.*; Lagarde, Paul de, *Psalterium juxta hebraeos Hieronymi*, Leipzig, 1874; *idem*, *Onomastica Sacra*, 1870, Goettingen, 1887; Wutz, F., *Onomastica Sacra. Untersuchungen zum Liber interpretationis nominum Hebraicorum des hl. Hieronymus*, 1 Haelfte, Leipzig, 1914.

[203] *REJ*, iv, 261-266; Darmsteter, A., "Un Alphabet Hébreu-Anglais au xiv siècle."

[204] Berger, *Quam Notitiam*, p. 5 ff.; Walde, p. 3; Rose, V., *Verzeichnis der lateinischen Handschriften der K. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, Berlin, 1893-1905, ii, 1. Abt 7, Nr. 231. See also Steinschneider, *Hebraisten*, i, 89; Radulphus Niger, a thirteenth century Hebraist and Richard (1335) mention certain *Interpretationes.* The works of Roensch are helpful on this point.

There exists an old memorial of Hebrew studies in the form of a Hebrew translation of the "Paternoster," written in Latin characters in a Missal from the region of Essen, dating perhaps from the ninth century; we find also similar translations of the "Symbolum" and of the "Magnificat." In addition to the grammatical works of certain Carolingian Hebraists, we may cite a work of Ekkehart IV of St. Gall (c. 1060),[205] of Siegebert of Gemblours (c. 1113), the Englishman Andrew (c. 1150), Duns Scotus (1308), author of *Recollectio Linguae Sanctae* and John de Helden (1292). A certain Latin hymn, a Breton manuscript in Luxembourg with evidence of Hebrew knowledge, and the Hebrew grammar attributed to Roger Bacon indicate that efforts were made during this period to make Hebrew knowledge accessible not merely to disciples of Jewish instructors, but to the pupils of Christian Hebraists as well.

An important factor in the development of medieval Hebrew scholarship was the translation of several Hebrew works into Latin, particularly in Spain and Italy, through the cooperation of bona-fide Jews and converted Jewish-Christians.[206] In the twelfth century Peter the Venerable in his tractate against the Jews translated certain parts of the Talmud and held them up to Christian ridicule; in the thirteenth century the campaign against the Talmud resulted not only in its frequent destruction, but in the translation of large sections into Latin with the help of Jewish apostates; in the fourteenth century, extracts of a Latin translation of the Talmud appeared, in the introduction to which the translator referred to two earlier translations of the Talmud "in hebraea lingua quam plurimum eruditos"[207] Far more important were the translations of Jewish philosophical works, from which Christian scholastics obtained their considerable information concerning Jewish teachings, particularly those of Isaac Israeli, Solomon ibn Gabirol and Moses Maimonides.[208]

[205] Duemmler, E., "Ekkehart IV von St. Gallen" in *Zeitschrift fuer Duetsches Altertum*, xiv (1869), 1-73; Specht, F. A., *Geschichte des Unterrichtswesens in Deutschland von den aeltesten Zeiten bis zur Mitte des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart, 1885, p. 104.

[206] Steinschneider, *Die Hebraeischen Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1893; *idem*, *Hebraisten*, i, 51 ff.; 86 ff.; v, 86 ff.

[207] Rose, *Lateinische Handschriften*, Nr. 559.

[208] Karpeles, G., *Geschichte der juedischen Literatur*, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1909, ii, 31 ff.; Joel, M., *Verhaeltniss Albert des Grossen zu Maimonides*, Breslau, 1876; Rohner, A., *Das Schoepfungsproblem bei Moses Maimonides, Albertus Magnus und Thomas von Aquin*, Muenster, 1913. See also below.

It was natural that the Jewish tradition should be more widely and effectively transmitted to Christian scholars through these translations than through the medium of the original Hebrew texts.

Nevertheless the tendency to refer to the Hebrew version of the Bible proved a powerful incentive to Christian Hebraism. We may at this point mention only a few who followed this practice: thus St. Camin (653), a teacher on the Island of Loughdery is said to have prepared a critical edition of the Psalms directly from the Hebrew. The pseudo-Jeromian *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Libros Regum* and the *Scholia Hebraica in Sacram Scripturam* by the Jewish-Christian friend and collaborator of Rabanus Maurus were based upon the Hebrew text; the works of Florus of Lyons who is reputed to have received the aid of a Jewish teacher were also doubtless built upon the original. During the tenth century, part of the Hebrew text of Psalms 2 and 44 (45) was transcribed, and there are codices of various books of the Bible which are clearly the result of reference to the Hebrew text.[209] In our description of the activities of various Christian Hebraist individuals and groups, we shall have occasion to discuss this point in greater detail.

b. Hebraists of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries. At the time when the heretical movements were first gaining adherents in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, we find several references to Hebrew scholars in orthodox Christian circles. Thus Alduin, Bishop of Limoges, one of the first ecclesiastics of the Middle Ages to employ Hebrew in public disputation, engaged in controversy a group of Jews, according to an account which has come down to us, for a whole month during 1010; despite the assemblage of "doctores divinos" who were reported to be skilled in Hebrew, and the threat that unless they accepted baptism the Jews would be exiled from the city, only three of four converted.[210] Fulbert of Chartres (d. 1028), "the greatest light of the Gallican Church in his time," displayed a little acquaintance with Hebrew in his treatise against the Jews, par-

[209] Berger, *Quam Notitiam*, pp. 7-15, and 49-53.

[210] *Hist. Litt.*, vii, 46, 115. "Chronicles of Adhemar of Chabannes," Ed. Bouquet, x, 142; "Chronicle of William Godelius," *ibid.*, 262.

ticularly in his exposition of the famous passage in Gen. 49:10.[211] When he left the School at Rheims, Fulbert retired to Chartres where he opened a School and became associated with a certain Herbert, formerly a Jew, who had turned Christian, attaining a reputation as one of the most learned men of his day; doubtless this Herbert furnished Fulbert with considerable information for the writing of the polemical work against his former co-religionists.[212] Alpert, a monk of St. Symphorien in Metz (c. 1030), in describing the history of a cleric who had turned Jew, took occasion to combat Jewish opinions in general, and their interpretation of Scripture in particular, demonstrating in this task much Biblical and a little Hebrew knowledge.[213] Sigon, monk at the School of Marmoutier, later Abbot of St. Florent of Saumur (1055), was reputed to be skilled in grammar, rhetoric, arithmetic and other fields of learning: "he acquired likewise—a fact that was extremely rare in his century—a special knowledge of Greek and of Hebrew, which he wrote perfectly;"[214] when elevated to the Abbotship, he made particular use of this talent.

No one during this epoch "studied Hebrew with more profit than Siegebert (1035-1113), monk of Gemblours and pupil of St. Vincent of Metz. He had so perfect a knowledge of Hebrew that he was able to correct Scriptural versions according to the original text. Several times he worked on it with the Jews, who had conceived great affection for him because like them he preferred the Hebrew text to the versions."[215] Siegebert was an example of the capable and learned Benedictine monks who devoted themselves to classical scholarship. Theofrid, Abbot of Epternac,[216] a contemporary of Siegebert, knew both Greek and Hebrew, maintaining the tradition of Benedictine learning. We have already referred to the works of Ekkehart IV of St. Gall (c. 1060), which show traces of Hebrew scholarship.

[211] Posnanski, *Shiloh*, pp. 318-320; Migne, 141:167, 306-318; *Max. Bibl.*, xviii, 42-46.

[212] *Hist. Litt.*, vii, 262. On the Dominican Hebraists of Chartres in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, see *Biblioth. de l'École des Chartres*, 4th series, iii, 159.

[213] *Hist. Litt.*, vii, 250.

[214] Martene and Durand, iii, 848; *Hist. Litt.*, vii, 56, 115.

[215] *Spicilegium*, vii, 536; *Hist. Litt.*, vii, 115; Steinschneider, *Hebraisten*, i, 89; see an article mentioned, by Zunz and Jaffe, *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, xxix (1859), 309.

[216] Mabillon, J., *Annales Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, Paris, 1703-39, i, 65, n. 46.

During the twelfth century the numbers and importance of Christian Hebraists increase. Odo, Bishop of Cambrai (1105-1113), an opponent of the heretical parties which were rapidly coming to the fore, and participant in a controversy against a Jew named Gerson ha-Zaken, caused the "Tetraples of the Psalter" to be copied, giving the text in four columns: the Gallican, Roman, Hebrew and Greek, thus lending credence to the report that these four languages were cultivated in the monastery of which he was a member; he also wrote an introduction to theology which contained several Scriptural passages with citations in Hebrew characters.[217] In the history of Christian Hebraism the activities of the Cistercian monks during the early part of the twelfth century demand special notice. Numerous attempts were made during the Middle Ages to improve the Vulgate, the official Latin version of the Church, the most important occuring during the thirteenth century.[218] In 1109, Stephen Harding, Abbot of the Cistercians, undertook a correction of the Latin text: "a manuscript edition of the Bible, written under the eye of our Abbot himself, was preserved with great reverence at Citeaux up to the time of the French Revolution. Not content with consulting Latin manuscripts, he even had recourse to the Rabbins, in order to settle the readings of the Old Testament."[219] In Stephen's own words, we have the story of his consultation with the Jews; though apparently he knew little Hebrew, the Jews explained to him in Latin the Hebrew and Aramaic of several questionable passages and verses, and he

[217] *Hist. Litt.*, vii, 116.

[218] Berger, S., *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen âge*, Paris, 1893; bibliography, pp. xxii-xxiv; *idem*, *De l'histoire de la Vulgate en France*, Paris, 1887; *idem*, "Des Essais qui ont été faits à Paris au xiii siècle pour corriger le texte de la Vulgate," *Revue de Theologie et de Philosophie*, Lausanne, 1883, xvi, 41. Denifle, H., "Die Handschriften der Bibel-Correctorien des 13ten Jahrhunderts," *Archiv fuer Literatur-und Kirchengeschichte*, iv (1888), 263 and 471. Martin, J. P. P., *La Vulgate Latine au xiii siècle*, Paris, 1888. See also the works of Kaulen, Sabatier, Vergellone and others.

[219] Newman, J. H., *The Cistercian Saints of England*, London, 1844, p. 129. We know that at least two Cistercian monks in England during the twelfth century became Jews, a fact which provoked a satiric remark from the famous Walter Mapes; see below. On Stephen Harding, see Martin, J. P. P., "S. Etienne Harding," Ambian, 1887, in *Revue des Sciences Ecclesiastiques*; Hirsch, *Essays*, pp. 10-11; *REJ*, xxviii, 151; Buchberger, M., *Kirchliches Handlexikon*, Munich, 1907, and 1912, ii, 2205.

caused all such as could not be found in the original to be erased from the Latin text.[220]

The famous Abelard and Heloise were reputed to possess knowledge of both Hebrew and Greek. Abelard, author of a dialogue between a Christian, a philosopher and a Jew, complained that the study of the classical tongues and of Hebrew was neglected. Heloise was criticised by her contemporaries for her devotion to Hebrew:[221] "one sees then an Abbess, to the shame of the clergy and the monks, conducting a School of Greek and Hebrew in her monastery . . The enthusiasm for this study was so great among her daughters that in a short time they produced a work which demonstrated the rapidity of their progress. This was a collection of the difficulties which had confronted them in the Old and New Testament. They sent it to Abelard under the title: 'Problems of Heloise,' with a letter asking for a reply." Hugo of Amiens and a certain anonymous author of a tractate against the Jews, like other controversialists, seem to have given attention to the study of Hebrew. A certain Plato of Tivoli in Barcelona (c. 1116), the earliest known translator from the Arabic, perhaps with the aid of a Jew, Abraham bar Chiyyah, called "Savasorda," translated the latter's Hebrew work on Geometry, under the title: "Liber Embadorum".[222] Peter the Venerable, to whom we have already referred, speaks of his Hebrew teachers with whom he discussed religious questions;[223] these undoubtedly were for the most part baptized Jews, who aided him to translate into Latin passages from the Talmud; one of the most striking selections he cites is the legend concerning the journey of Joshua ben Levi to Heaven and Hell, in a form

[220] Berger, *Quam Notitiam*, pp. 9-11. "Unde nos multum de discordia nostrorum librorum, quos ab uno interprete suscepimus, ammirantes, Judeos quosdam in sua scriptura adivimus, ac diligentissime lingua romana ab eis inquisivimus de omnibus illis Scripturarum locis, in quibus illae partes et versus habebantur quos in nostro praedicto exemplari inveniebamus, et jam in hoc nostro opere inserebamus, quosque in aliis multis historiis latinis non inveniebamus. Qui suos libros plurimos coram nobis revolventes et in locis illis ubi eos rogabamus hebraicam sive chaldaicam scripturam romanis verbis nobis exponentes, partes vel versus, pro quibus turbabamur, minime repperer-unt . . . "

[221] *Hist. Litt.*, ix, 152 and xii, 642: "literis tam Hebraecis adprime eruditam."

[222] Steinschneider, *Hebraisten*, i, 88; *Hebraeische Uebersetzungen*, p. 971.

[223] Loeb, *La Controverse Religieuse*, p. 20.

which is not found in Hebrew texts that have come down to us;[224] he appears to have received considerable aid in the investigation and reproduction of Midrashic material, a fact which is paralleled in the case of Agobard and Amolo of Lyons.

By the side of the Cistercian Stephen Harding must be placed Nicholas Manjacoria, a scholar of the twelfth century, who like his predecessor turned in his study and correction of Scripture to the Jews, and made use of the works of their Rabbis.[225] In his own description of his method of exegesis, he tells how he refers to books in Hebrew libraries, how he compares the Latin readings with the Hebrew text, and how he does not hesitate to make corrections on the basis of the Hebrew codices. He refers to Jerome's *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim*, and the *Quaestiones Hebraicae in libros Regum*, the work of the anonymous Jewish neophyte and collaborator of Rabanus Maurus. Nicholas makes numerous references to the "traditions of the Jews," and borrows extensively from Talmudic and Midrashic literature which became accessible to him through the writings of Rabbi Solomon Isaac (Rashi of Troyes).[226] That the practice of Stephen Harding at the commencement of the century and of Nicholas Manjacoria at its close was fairly widespread is seen from the note in the Statutes of 1198 which condemned a certain Cistercian monk of Poblet in Catalonia to penitence because he had studied Hebrew under the instruction of a Jewish teacher; his punishment was fixed by the Abbot of Clairvaux.[227] It is thus evident that a fear existed in orthodox circles that association with Jewish scholars would lead believers into the ways and beliefs of infidelity.

c. Hebraists of the Thirteenth Century. A discussion of Christian Hebraism during the thirteenth century must be

[224] Migne, 189:631; Jellinek, *Beth ha-Midrasch*, ii, 1853.

[225] Berger, *Quam Notitiam*, pp. 12-15; *REJ*, xxviii, 151.

[226] In speaking of the auxiliaries used by him in his labors, Nicholas says: "Hoc tamen causa tibi, karissime, cujus in Scripturis laudabile sum expertus ingenium, quam mei similibus studui promulgare, commonens eos pariter et adjurans ut, si quos libros transscripserint cum emendatis exemplaribus eos conferant et emendent, nec tam pulcros velint habere codices quam veraces. His eciam conatus sum primo quidem catalogum canonicorum ordinare columninum, deinde nonnullis eorum difficultatibus, nun beati Jeronimi vel aliorum patrum, nun Hebrei quo dissertore utor (ope) historicum solummodo intellectum breviter summatimque perstringere et queque corruptibilia consignare."

[227] Martene and Durand, iv, 1292.

divided into two parts: first, the names and works of Christian Hebraists in the orthodox group; second, the Hebraists among the heretical parties. Whether the Popes during this period knew Hebrew is a subject for debate. Innocent III in his essay on the Trinity speaks of the Tetragrammaton and quotes the Hebrew word for Lord.[228] Rabbi Jechiel of Paris in his controversy in 1240 with several Christian Churchmen over the Talmud stated that Pope Gregory IX, who presided over the sessions, knew Hebrew perfectly and was acquainted with Talmudic literature.[229] It is certain that several Popes, among them those who had Jewish physicians or finance-ministers, interested themselves in Hebrew; their motives were, however, conversionary and polemical, with little of a scientific impulse. Pope Clement IV, the friend and correspondent of Roger Bacon, seems to have encouraged the English Franciscan in the researches which proved so valuable for learning in general and Hebrew in particular.

The development of Hebrew scholarship during the thirteenth century was intimately linked up with the increase of facilities for the study of the Biblical tongue. Jerome's *Interpretatio nominum Hebraicorum* and *De situ et nominibus locorum Hebraicorum* served as the foundation for several imitations and revisions which produced important glossaries, some from Hebrew into Latin; others from Hebrew into French.[230] During the reign of Louis IX, under the auspices of the University of Paris, a type of "Interpretations" arose, contained in almost all the codices of the Scripture dating from this period, which give ample proof that the study of Hebrew flourished during the thirteenth century. For this activity it is indubitable that the increasingly numerous polemics against Jews and Judaism were responsible. Following in the footsteps of Agobard, Amolo,

[228] Hahn, *Geschichte der Ketzer*, iii,363

[229] *Wikkuach Rabbenu Yechiel mi-Paris*, Ed. Thorn, 1873, p. 2, 1, 5; Loeb, *La Controverse Religieuse*, p. 21, doubts the accuracy of Jechiel's statement.

[230] Berger, S., *De Glossariis et Compendiis Exegeticis quibusdam medii aevi*, Paris, 1879; Darmsteter, A., *Gloses et Glossaires hébreux-francais au moyen âge*, Paris, 1878; Lambert, M. and Brandin, L., *Glossaire hébreu-francais du xiii siècle*, 1905; Lambert, *Gloses hébraiques du Glossaire hébreu-francais du xii siècle*, Paris, 1909; *REJ*, lxii, 132; Porges, N., "Fragment d'un glossaire hébreu-francais du xiii siècle," *REJ*, lxvii, 183; Berger, *Quam Notitiam*, pp. 16-25. See Schwab, M., "Mots hébreux dans les Mystères du moyen âge," *REJ*, xlvi, 148.

Rabanus Maurus, Odo, Alduin and numerous others, the controversialists of the thirteenth century, particularly the adversaries of the Talmud, sought to acquaint themselves with the Jewish writings they attacked. In this labor the services of baptized Jews, as we shall see later, proved most important; their activity laid the basis for the studies which Christians undertook when they no longer were willing to trust themselves so freely to Jewish guidance and instruction. In 1240, Jechiel comments on the many priests at Paris "who knew how to read in the books of the Jews," having received their training at the hands of Jews.[231] An example of this group was Therebald or Theobald, Sub-Prior of Paris, alleged to have been born a Jew,[232] who in addition to participating in the correction of the Vulgate during the reign of Louis IX, aided in the preparation of the *Extractiones de Talmut* which, after the condemnation of the Talmud in 1248, was issued by two Christians skilled in Hebrew, one of whom doubtless was a Dominican.[233] Raymond de Pennaforte, General of the Dominican Order (d. 1275 at Barcelona), also became an advocate of Hebrew learning because of his hostility to the Talmud. He served as Chaplain to Pope Alexander IV and confessor of James I of Aragon. His principal aim was to convert Jews and Mohammedans to Christianity, and for the furtherance of this cause he introduced the study of Arabic and Hebrew into the higher schools conducted by the Dominicans. He was responsible for the famous disputation at Barcelona in 1263 over the Talmud, and encouraged his protégé, Paul Christian, an apostate Jew, in his assaults upon his former co-religionists. Raymond himself was deeply interested in Rabbinical studies,[234] doubtless through his association with Paul and his activity as a censor of Hebrew books. He is regarded as the founder of the scientific study of Oriental languages in Europe, and of the system of Inquisitorial condemnation known as the Index. His contemporary, Raymond Martin (d. 1286), followed the lead of

[231] Loeb, *La Controverse Religieuse*, p. 20; *Wikkuach*, p. 10, ii.

[232] Steinschneider, *Hebraisten*, i, 90; *REJ*, i, 249, iii, 142.

[233] Quétif and Echard, *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum*, ii, 821, 822; Denifle, H., *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, i, 211, n, 12. One codex has the words: "Isti sunt errores Judaeorum in libro Thalemut, quorum translationem fr. Theobaldus suprior ord. pred. in villa Parisiensi, qui quondam erat Judaeus, transtulit de judaico in latinum;" Berger, *Quam Notitiam*, pp. 30-1.

[234] Steinschneider, *Hebraisten*, i, 89; Gesenius, p. 104; Graetz, vii, 142 ff.

Pennaforte in his promotion of Hebrew studies for polemical purposes. Thus in 1250 he was selected with seven other monks by the provincial chapter sitting in Toledo to study Oriental languages at a Dominican school for the express object of combatting Jews and Moors. He aided the Dominican censorship of Hebrew books in 1264, and was the author of two anti-Jewish books, one of which was the "Capistrum Judaeorum,"[235] the other the noted "Pugio Fidei," the chief source of later Dominican polemics. Martin had a wide acquaintance with Jewish authorities, quoting not only from the Talmud and Midrash, but from Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Maimonides and Kimchi. It is certain that he had the help of Jewish apostates, among them Paul Christian; he may even have been born a Jew.[236] Martin's refutation of the Koran has been lost. His "Pugio" exerted great influence on later authors: Geronimo de Santa Fé used it in his "Hebraeomastix;" it was plagiarized by Petrus Galatinus, and was one of the recognized sources of the "Victoria adversus impios Hebraeos" (Paris, 1520) by Salvagus Porchetus. How this practice of employing Hebrew for conversionary ends developed in the fourteenth century at the instigation of Raymond Lully we shall see in a moment.

1. *Christian Hebraists as Translators.* Numerous efforts were made during the thirteenth century to translate the Hebrew Scriptures and post-Biblical Jewish books into Latin. There were several translations from Latin into Hebrew: thus, an anonymous scholar in the province of Orange about the year 1197-99 translated certain works on medicine,[237] and a Jew named Faragut, at the command of Charles of Anjou, translated Rhazes on medicine into Latin. Christians, Jewish-Christians and Jews participated in activity of this character. John of Capua, born a Jew, translated from the Hebrew: *Kalilah we-Dimnah* under the title: *Directorium vitae humanae*; in Italy under Urban IV in 1262, John applied himself to the development of

[235] This is still in manuscript at Bologna and has never been printed.

[236] Steinschneider, *Hebraisten*, i, 89; Gesenius, p. 195; Graetz, vii, 48, 124, 150, 171; see also the works of Schiller-Szinessy, Neubauer, Touron, Quétif, and others.

[237] Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, p. 18; Steinschneider, *Archiv*, xxxviii, 326; *Monatsschrift*, 1879, p. 326.

Hebrew learning.[238] Matthew of Paris mentions a Hebraist by the name of Robert of Arondel.[239] King Manfred (d. 1286) is said to have been the Latin translator of a Pseudo-Aristotelian work (Hebrew from the Arabic of Abraham ibn Chisdai) under the title: *De Morte*.[240] Henry Bates (1281 in Mecheln) translated "ex Hebraico," according to report, the work: *De Mundo* by Abraham ibn Ezra; it seems, however, to have been made on the basis of the French version of the Jew Hagin (Chayyim). Petrus Aponensis (d'Abano), translator of the astrological work of Abraham ibn Ezra, also apparently made his translation not from the Hebrew original but from the French of Hagin.[241] Peter of St. Omer, evidently Chancellor of Notre Dame (1296), revised the work on Quadrants by Jacob ben Makhir, under the title: *Ars et operatio novi quadrantis*.[242] Armengaud Blasius of Montpellier (d. 1314) also translated in 1299 the section of Prophatius (Jacob ben Makhir) on the Quadrants, with the aid of the author;[243] elsewhere it was translated from the Arabic, with the help of Jews. Arnold of Vilanova, the famous physician, to whom we shall later allude, was esteemed as a Hebraist, though it is likely that his translations were made through the Arabic.[244]

An important group of works were translated by anonymous scholars during this century. Thus an anonymous writer translated into Latin Moses Maimonides' *Dux Neutrorum* on the basis of Judah Al-Charizi's Hebrew translation of the *Dalalah*; it is doubtless true that this was done with the approval and under the auspices of Emperor Frederic II.[245] Chapters nineteen and twenty of Maimonides' *Aphorisms*, his discussion on Hygiene,

[238] *Hist. Litt.*, xvi, 140-1; Steinschneider, *Uebersetzungen*, p. 875; *Hebraisten*, i, 86.

[239] *Hist. Litt.*, xvi, 140.

[240] Steinschneider, *Hebraisten*, i, 87; *Uebersetzungen*, p. 268 doubts this.

[241] *Zeit. der Deutschen-Morgenlaend. Gesellschaft*, xviii, 190 ff.; Sprengel, in Ersch and Gruber, i, i, 33; Steinscheider, in Pagel, *Chirurgie des H. Mandeville*, Berlin, 1892, p. 592.

[242] Steinschneider, *Hebraisten*, i, 88; *Uebersetzungen*, p. 610.

[243] *Ibid.*, p. 608.

[244] Gebhardt, *Graeco-Veneta*, p. lxvi; *Hebraisten*, i, 83.

[245] Steinschneider, *Uebersetzungen*, p. 432; *Hebraisten*, i, 52. We know that in Salerno at the time of Frederic II, Jews were active in the medical schools and held lectures for their co-religionists in Hebrew. Ant. Mazza; "Urbis Salernitanae historia," in Graevius, *Ant. Ital.*, 9, 6, 3; Raumer, 3, 417; Erler, 48:30.

on Hemorrhoids and "De Coitu" were translated into Latin by anonymous authors.[246] To these Hebraists of the thirteenth century we may add the names of John Duns Scotus, the Scholastic (d. 1308), author of *Recollectio Linguae Sanctae*,[247] and John de Helden (c. 1292), a member of the Minorite Order at Cologne who worked thirty years on his *Speculum grammaticalum dictionum*, in the composition of which he made use of much Greek and Hebrew knowledge.[248] In our discussion of the contributions of Jews and Judaism to medieval Christian philosophy, we shall have occasion to touch upon the career and labors of other Christian scholars who employed Hebrew sources.

2. *The School of Roger Bacon.* A group of Christian scholars during the thirteenth century whom modern investigators have classified under the name of "the School of Roger Bacon" numbered many of the most important Hebraists of the time These included the Churchmen who during the reign of Louis IX endeavoured on several occasions to correct from the Hebrew the Latin text of the Vulgate.[249] Among these were Theobald, to whom we have already referred, Hugo of St. Caro (c. 1263), who speaks of the "books of the Hebrews and the most ancient versions,"[250] William de Mara (c. 1298) and Gerard de Hoyo (c. 1300). William de Mara, a member of the Franciscan Order, appears to have been a disciple of Roger Bacon, the Englishman; he showed acquaintance with Hebrew, Syriac and Greek; he distinguished among the Hebrew codices between "hebraeos modernos, antiquos hebraeos gallicanos" and "hispanica exemplaria;" he cited among other Rabbinical works the Hebrew glossary entitled:

[246] *Uebersetzungen*, p. 767; p. 711; p. 763; p. 764.

[247] Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, Hamburg and Leipzig, 1715-1733, iv, 284; Guttmann, *Monatsschrift*, xxxviii, 26 and xl, 316; *Hebraisten*, i, 89.

[248] Falk, F., *Historisch-politische Blaetter*, lxxvii (1876) 296: "Scivit enim grecum et multa de hebreis." Walde, p. 5.

[249] Berger, S., "Des Essais qui ont été faits a Paris au xiii siècle pour corriger le texte de la Vulgate," *Revue de Theologie et de Philosophie*, Lausanne, 1883, xvi, 41; Denifle, H., "Die Handschriften der Bibel-Correctorien des 13ten Jahrhunderts," *Archiv fuer Literatur-und Kirchengeschichte*, iv (1888), 263, and 471; Berger, *Quam Notitiam*, pp. 26-36; Buchberger, M., *Kirchliches Handlexikon*, ii, 487.

[250] Michael, E., *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*, Freiburg, 1897, iii, 221 ff.; Hurter, H., *Nomenclator litterarius*, Innsbruck, 1906, ii, 339; Berger, *Quam Notitiam*, pp. 28 ff.

Machbereth, compiled by Menachem ben Saruk, the Spanish Jew of the tenth century, and highly praised by Rashi; his use of the method of explanation called by him "perus" shows that he was acquainted with the "perush" employed by Rashi.[251] Gerard de Hoyo was the author of the "Liber Triglossos," combining commentaries in Greek, Latin and Hebrew, based largely upon a discussion of the Hebrew alphabet. An anonymous scholar, whom some investigators surmise may have been Roger Bacon himself showed in his "Epistolae" considerable acquaintance with Jewish literature; thus he refers to Hebrew books which he possesses, sent to him from Germany, one of them apparently the *Kiddush ha-Chodesh*, part of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* or *Yad ha-Chazakah*,[252] the other a work by Abraham bar Chiyyah,[253] a Spanish Rabbi of Barcelona who died about 1198. In a very remarkable passage[254] this anonymous Christian tells of his correspondence with Jews in Germany and Spain, his admiration for astronomical works by Jewish authors, and his desire to make the utmost use of them. In addition he reveals himself as a student of Syriac and "Chaldaic." His comments upon the astronical learning of the Jews lead him to cite a Hebrew work

[251] Berger, *Quam Notitiam*, pp. 34-5. See the remarks of Roger Bacon in his *Opus minus*, p. 33, 88 and 89.

[252] *De consecratione novilunii*, Ed. L. C. de Veil, Paris, 1669; Ugolinius' *Thesaurus*, xviii; *Novilunii initiatio*, Ed. B. Witter, Jena, 1703.

[253] Perhaps the *Sepher ha-'Ibbur*, an astronomical work; see Loeb, I., in *La grande Encyclopédie*, i.

[254] "Queritis a me utrum uiderim librum qui intitulatur *De Canonibus hebreorum*, in quo certificatur quantitas anni. Respondeo: Habeo libros hebraicos de hac materia, potissime de primatione lune, que cercius longe excogitata est ab hebreis uel quam ab arabibus uel a latinis. Et sciatis quod missi sunt michi quidam libri hebraichi de Alemannia a quodam judeo ingeniosissmio qui me nouit ex fama tantum et iam aliquotiens scripsit michi in hebreo et ego sibi. Illos autem libros composuit Abraham, et est in eis plus de littera quam in Prisciano maiori, exceptis tabulis multis que site sunt in diuersis partibus libri, sicut apud nos uidemus factum in Almagesti Ptholomei. Et sunt illi libri astronomici subtilissimi et pulcherrimi et utiliores quam alias uiderim, et loquitur de theorica astronomie et de indicis astronomicis, et sunt ibi multa mirabilia. Et diu laboraueram ad habendum aliquid de libris illis, quia per alia scripta iudeorum noueram eos esse editos, et pluries scripseram cuidam iudeo noto meo qui moratur in ciuitate tholetana in Hispania, ut quereret michi libros illos, et iam semel rescripserat quod non inueniebantur Tholeti nisi pauca capitula ex eis. Modo habeo eos perfecte, benedictus Deus, et intendo eos transferre cum tempus habuero. Ualete."

on the "Tetragrammaton," a "Liber Semamphoras"[255] by a certain Solomon.[256] It is entirely clear that the anonymous Christian scholar was acquainted with the Kabbalah or Jewish mystical lore: he mentions the "ars notoria" or "ars notarica," associated with Kabbalistic lore; he quotes certain legends connected with the magical properties of the "Ineffable Name,"[257] the building of the Temple, the miraculous name of the Messiah awaited by the Jews; and he includes important items which indisputably were drawn from Jewish sources, the works of Rashi, Kimchi and others.[258] It is thus evident that this anonymous scholar was more versed in Jewish and Rabbinical learning than any Christian since the days of Charlemagne; his reliance upon the Rabbis, particularly upon Rashi, makes him a distinguished and worthy predecessor of the great Nicholas of Lyra, who, in the fourteenth century, was destined to reveal the treasures of Rabbinical exegesis to the Christian scholarly world. Whether the anonymous Hebraist of the thirteenth century was Bacon or William de Mara or even another disciple of the great English Franciscan, we cannot here decide.[259] It is sufficient to indicate and pay tribute to his learning.

3. *Hebraism Among the Waldensian and Other Heretics.* In our detailed discussion of the several movements of dissent which arose during the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we shall have occasion to describe the many factors which played a

[255] "Et scitote quod in hebreo habetur liber unus a Salamone quodam compositus de hoc nomine et uocatur *liber semamphoras*, id est liber nominis explanati et est liber multus uelatus et occultatur a sapientibus iudeorum, nec umquam potui de ipso uidere nisi paruam particulam, licet multum laborauerim et eum totum uiderem" . . . .

[256] Berger remarks, p. 41, that there are several works among the Jews on the "Ineffable Name." He cites from Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, iv, 983: *Semiphoras et Schemhamphoras Salomonis*, Basel, 1686, and *Clavicula Salomonis seu occulta occultorum, orationes Semisoras, liber secreti secretorum*, in Wolf, iv, 982; i, 1047; iii, 1033.

[257] Luther later knew these; see his *Schemhamphorasch*, Erlangen, 1543. See Wolf, i, 1048; Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm.*, under "Schamir," and the stories of Solomon and Asmodeus. On the "ars notarica," see *Stein der Weisen*, Hamburg, 1702; Munk, *Palestine*, p. 521.

[258] "Et scitote quod glosa hebraica semper per Ydumeos intelligit christianos et per regnum Edom regnum christianorum" . . . The anonymous author cites: "Liber de serie mundi," by which was meant: *Sedher 'Olam.*

[259] Berger, *Quam Notitiam*, pp. 37-45.

part in their career; for the present we may refer to only one: namely, their interest in Hebrew scholarship. At Milan, the center of the Catharist heresy, there are indications that a theocratic state existed for a considerable period which not only borrowed many of its official terms from the Old Testament, but developed the titles "Capitaneus" and "Barba" from the Hebrew words: *Rosh* and *Zakkan* respectively.[260] The Catharist heretics designated the two wives of the Evil God, known as the Devil, Lucifer or Luciabel, by the names: "Collant" and "Collibant," taken from Ezekiel 33:4 ff., but different in the reading of the first syllable from the forms in the Greek, Latin and Hebrew versions;[261] this fact has provoked several scholars to a discussion as to the probable pronunciation of the Hebrew alphabet in the region where Catharist terms originated.[262] Whether the Catharists whose accent may have been derived from Slavic or Oriental lands consulted the Hebrew text is a matter of debate. In the person of Godfrey of Viterbo (d. 1190) we find a Christian scholar, residing in an active center of the Catharist heresy, who was acquainted with Hebrew, Syriac and Greek.[263] It was at Viterbo that Peter the Lombard, Catharist opponent of John, the Jew, Bishop of another Catharist sect, found almost the entire population favorable to his cause.[264] Whether Godfrey, living in the midst of the Catharists, shared their views or was affected by their doctrines, is not known: he may have found aid in his Hebrew knowledge from Jews in nearby communities, or from members of the Judaizing party called the Passagii. Godfrey may have encouraged the orthodox opposition to the Catharists, for in the time of Innocent III we find the Pope summoning the clergy

[260] Heber, P., *Waldo . . . und die aelteren Waldenser*, Basel, 1858, pp. 16, 29 ff., and 57. That there were Jews in Milan who may have aided in the study of Hebrew is seen from the note in Muratori, v, 513 on the word "Circumcisi" (*v. i.*): "Num Judaeos Mediolani tunc degentes innuit Auctor noster. Eos certe in hac urbe constituisse retroactes seculis, probat rescriptum Theodorici Regis 'Judaeis Mediolanensibus' datum quod lib. v, variar. Cassiodori legitur . . . Connotari in hac periodo Manichaeos."

[261] Schmidt, C., *Histoire et doctrine de la secte des Cathares ou Albigeois*, Paris, 1849, ii, 12.

[262] Schmidt, *Katharer in Sued-Frankreich*, p. 87; see Petrus Vallium Cernai, "Historia Albigensium" in Duchesne, *Script. hist. Franc.*, v, 556.

[263] Sandys, J., *A History of Classical Scholarship*, Cambridge, i, 535; Grandenigo, *Litt. Greco-Italiana*, 1759, pp. 76-83; Muratori, vii, 347.

[264] *Acta SS.*, May, v, 87; Schmidt, *Histoire des Cathares*, i, 83.

and populace of the city to combat the Catharists; in 1267, Pope Clement IV issued his Bull against the Judaizing Christians from Viterbo. We know that other adversaries of the heretics employed Hebrew knowledge to refute them: thus Lucas of Tuy, a foe both of Jews and heretics, appears to have been acquainted with the Bible language.[265]

Among the Waldensians evidence of Hebrew scholarship is not much more explicit. We shall in detail describe the pro-Biblical activities of Waldo and his followers in a special chapter dedicated to the Waldensians. We do not know, however, to what extent their wide Biblical knowledge exemplified by their ability to repeat whole sections of the Scripture from memory, and by their several translations into the Provencal vernacular, was based upon consultation with the Hebrew text.[266] In the considerable Waldensian literature of the thirteenth century and thereafter, we find references to the Hebrew original, particularly the translation of the Psalms; these, however, are difficult to trace to their foundation.[267] When we come to the epoch immediately preceding the Reformation and during the Reformation itself, there is unmistakable evidence that the Waldensians not only were familiar with the Jewish sources, but were also instructed both by Jews and Jewish Christians. As for the Middle Ages, the most that can be done is to show the Old Testament background of the Waldensian movement, the points of contact which its adherents had with Jews and Jewish communities, and to offer the hypothesis that, just as orthodox Christian Biblical scholars sought the assistance of Jewish scholars for the interpretation of doubtful Scriptural passages, so too these dissenters did not hesitate to avail themselves of Jewish aid. The destruction in days of persecution, of many Waldensian documents which may have contained material on this point, has complicated the problem of investigators, and prevented them from doing more than to

[265] *Max. Bibl.*, xxv, 237-9: "Ubi enim Latini dicimus adorari Hebraei dicunt 'histahavot,' quod est incurvare."

[266] On Arnold of Bonn's knowledge of Scripture, see Schmidt, i, 95; he was burned at the stake in 1163 near the Jewish Quarter in Cologne.

[267] Berger, S., *Les Bibles provencales et vaudoises*, Paris, 1889; *idem*, *La Bible Francaise au moyen âge*, Paris, 1884, Preface, p. xii. Berger affirms that the French versions of the Middle Ages were not made from the Hebrew or Greek, but from the Latin. On the "Psautier Hébraique," see Berger, *La Bible Francaise*, pp. 1-9; 409-10.

indicate lines of further research. That Waldensians and Jews had personal and literary affiliations, we shall see below.[268]

d. Hebrew Studies in the Fourteenth Century. 1. *Raymond Lully and the Universities.* Raymond Lully (1235-1315) is the first important figure in the history of Christian Hebraism in the fourteenth century, not so much because of his own knowledge, but because of his activities on behalf of the introduction of Hebrew studies in the universities of Europe. Several factors contributed to form the background for his efforts. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the contacts of Occidental Christians with the Orient had become more frequent; the Crusades, the establishment of the Empire of Constantinople, the sojourn at Paris of young ecclesiastics who had come from Greece and Asia to study at the university, helped in considerable measure to foster interest in the Oriental languages. These factors, however, were inconsequential by the side of the dominant motive which impelled the two great Orders, the Dominican and Franciscan, to cultivate Hebrew, Arabic and the cognate languages, namely the polemical-conversionary purpose. These Orders, thanks to their favorable status in the eyes of the Papal See, had obtained many churchmen from Greece, Asia Minor and Syria, among whom were numbered several Hellenists and Arabists. The latter proved helpful in the endeavours of the Friars to win converts among the Saracens of the Orient and near-by Mediterranean lands. To spread Christian propaganda among the Jews, however, who resided in the midst of Christian countries, it became necessary to resort to other methods. The importation of foreign scholars was not necessary when it was realized that close at hand means might be found to train a group of the Christian clergy to whom the task of refuting Jewish opinions and winning Jewish converts might be entrusted.

During the thirteenth century, as we have already noted, the Dominicans and Franciscans undertook steps to bring this to pass. In Paris, there already existed an Oriental Seminary for the education of the Oriental clergy, who later were to continue their activities at home as missionaries.[269] Humbert de Romans,

[268] The Chapter on "The Pro-Biblical and Waldensian Heresies."

[269] Jourdain, Ch., "Un collège oriental à Paris au xiii siècle," in *Excursions historiques et philosophiques à travers le moyen âge*," Paris, 1888, p. 223 ff.

General of the Dominicans in 1255, commanded that Greek, Arabic and Hebrew be studied in the Order. We have commented upon the activities of Raymond de Pennaforte and Raymond Martin. In 1291, the Dominicans ordained that in the monasteries of Catalonia there should always be a chair of Hebrew and Arabic.[270] In the person of Raymond Lully, this tendency found its most ardent advocate.

Lully had studied in the Jewish and Arabic schools at Cordova, where he had combatted "the Mollas and the Rabbis." Convinced that Saracens and Jews could be won to Christianity only if its teachings were presented to them in their own tongue, he undertook a vigorous campaign which ultimately was crowned with a degree of success.[271] Though Lully was not a skilled Hebrew scholar according to certain accounts, we know that he was able to use in his writings Arabic, Greek, "Chaldaic" and Hebrew. For a period of many years he addressed vigorous appeals to the Popes, to King Philip the Fair of France, and to the University of Paris, urging upon them the necessity for instruction in Oriental languages as a weapon for the conversion of the infidel. In 1311 at the Council of Vienne, under the leadership of Pope Clement V, a plan was adopted which provided the following:[272] at the Papal Court, in the Universities of Paris, Oxford, Bologna and Salamanca, schools for the teaching of Hebrew, Arabic, and "Chaldaic," were to be established; two teachers in each tongue were to be provided, for whose maintenance at the Papal Court the Holy See, at Paris the King of France, and at the other places the clergy of the countries in question, were to care; this was done in order to make faithful translations of books in these languages into Latin, to teach other students and to make possible the propagation of the Catholic faith among the infidels who spoke these tongues.[273] At Paris, it appears that this decree was fulfilled, for in 1319, we have a reference to

[270] *Hist. Litt.*, xxiv, 386.

[271] Steinschneider, *Hebraisten*, i, 86 ff.; Guttmann, J., "Ueber einige Theologen des Franziskanerordens und ihre Beziehungen zum Judentum," *Monatsschrift*, xl (1896), 314-329; Jourdain, "Un collège oriental," p. 222.

[272] Clementinarum, 5, 1, 1; Hefele, vi, 482; Richter, A. L., *Corpus Iuris Canonici II*, Leipzig, 1839, pp. 1095-97; Michael, E., *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*, Freiburg, 1897, iii, 222; Bauch, G., "Die Einfuehrung des Hebraeischen in Wittenberg. Mit Beruecksichtigung der Vorgeschichte des Studiums in Deutschland," *Monatsschrift*, xlviii (1904), 24 ff.

[273] *Chartularium Univ. Paris*, 695 (A. D. 1312).

a certain John Salvatus, "formerly a Jew converted from the error of Jewish blindness to the Catholic faith, well informed in both the Hebrew and Chaldaic;" Pope John XXII ordered the Bishop of Paris to provide for his maintenance and to inquire diligently if he had pupils.[274] A Bull of this same Pope in 1325 ordered that the teachers of Hebrew should be kept under strict surveillance. Whatever the difficulties in teaching Hebrew[275] except under suspicion of seeking to "Judaize" the instruction, with varying fortunes the practice of maintaining a chair at Paris continued, and at least one instructor in the subject was not lacking until the time of Francois I, when it became necessary to renew the edict permitting the course.[276] The decree of the Council of Vienne was renewed September 7, 1434, at the nineteenth session of the Council of Basel.[277] The center of gravity of Hebraic scholarship shifted from France to Germany in the last part of the fifteenth and throughout the sixteenth century;[278] almost all the great Reformers were accomplished Hebraists. The story of Hebrew studies by the leaders of religious thought during the period of the Renaissance is one of importance in an analysis of the causes which led to the Reformation; we shall have occasion to touch upon it at various points in this work. The number of Christian Hebraists during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries becomes so large that we need not do other than mention the fact here. To complete our discussion, however, of Hebrew scholarship on the Continent during the centuries of the Pre-Reformation heresies, as an agency by which Jewish literature became available to Christian scholars, we may turn to its leading figure prior to the days of Reuchlin and his contemporaries, namely Nicholas of Lyra.

2. *Nicholas of Lyra.* Through the works of Nicholas of Lyra, "the greatest exegete of the Middle Ages," the content of the Jewish literary tradition was more effectively transmitted to the

[274] Jourdain, "Un collège oriental," *passim*; the works of Denifle; and Berger, *Quam Notitiam*, p. 58.

[275] *Hist. Litt.*, xxiv, 386.

[276] Jourdain, Ch., "De l'Enseignement de l'hébreu dans l'Université de Paris au xv siècle," *Excursions*, Paris, 1888, pp. 233-245.

[277] Bauch, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

[278] Bauch, p. 22: "The study of Hebrew in Germany was not originally a foster-child of Humanism, but of the 'Ecclesia militans'."

Christian world than in any other instance prior to the Reformation. His name must be written high on the roll of Christian Hebraists. He was born at Lyre, near Evreux, Normandy, about 1270 (the date is uncertain) and died at Paris, Oct. 23, 1340.[279] He entered the Franciscan Order at Verneuil, about 1291, just as his great Hebraist predecessor, Roger Bacon, had done in England. Lyra studied at Paris where he became a doctor of theology, and taught at the Sorbonne until 1325. He was Provincial of his Order in France, and was present in that capacity at the general chapter at Pérouse (1321). In 1325 he was Provincial of Burgundy, and as executor of the estate of Jeanne of Burgundy, widow of King Philip VI, he founded the college of Burgundy at Paris. He died there in the autumn of 1340, being buried in the chapter hall of the convent of the Cordeliers.

A tradition has long obtained credence in many quarters that Lyra was born of Jewish parents and became a convert to the Church. The evidence, however, does not seem to support this view, which many investigators have discussed.[280] It appears to have arisen after Lyra obtained his reputation as a Hebraist, and it gained acceptance because of his extensive familiarity with the Hebrew language and Jewish literature. Luther speaks of Lyra as "an admirable man, a good Hebraist and a faithful Christian."[281] In his epitaph at Paris, which gives a resumé of his life and work, no mention is made of his conversion; it doubtless would have been touched upon had he renounced Judaism for Christianity. The accusation that Lyra was of Jewish origin is as interesting in his case as in the case of other Christian scholars and Reformers who sought aid from Jewish literary sources or Jewish teachers; it demonstrated that orthodox Christians were quick to sense any Judaic inclinations in their midst.

[279] Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, v, 264 ff.; vii, 237 ff.; Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Latina*, xiii, 350 ff.; Labrosse, H., *Positions des thèses de l'École des Chartres*, 1906, *passim*; *Jewish Encyclopedia*, viii, 231-2; Herzog-Hauck, *Real Encyclopaedie*, xii, 28 ff.; Neumann, in *REJ*, xxvi and xxvii, and the works of Richard Simon, Moustier, Reuss, Sbaraglia and others.

[280] Richard Simon; L. Cappellus; Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, i, 912; Graetz, *Geschichte*, vii, 573; Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, p. 309; Berger, *Quam Notitiam*, p. 54.

[281] *Von den letzten Worten Davids*, ed. Erl., xxxvii, 4; Reinhard, M. H., *Penatus Conatum Sacrorum*, Leipzig, 1709, p. 147: "Nic. Lyranus nunquam judaeus."

a. *Lyra as a Controversialist*

In addition to his work: *Contemplatio de vita S. Francisci*, and a theological treatise, as yet unpublished, on the Beatific Vision, directed against Pope John XXII, Lyra was the author of two polemical tractates combatting the Jews. He is said to have written: *Disputatio contra perfidiam Judaeorum*, composed about 1305, the material of which occurs again in his famous *Postillae*; this work was answered by the Jewish apologist, Chayyim ibn Musa, in 1456;[282] it proved useful to several Christian adversaries of the Jews who quoted from it freely, citing particularly the comments on the famous passage in Genesis 49:10.[283] A second polemical work is attributed to Lyra, namely: *De Messia eiusque adventu una cum responsione ad Judaeorum argumenta quatuordecim contra veritatem Evangeliorum*,[284] written about 1309. Other controversial writings against the Jews have been assigned to him,[285] but incorrectly. This doubtless grew out of the fact that the works of Lyra are permeated by a strongly anti-Jewish spirit, despite his thorough-going indebtedness to Jewish authorities.

b. *Lyra's Exegetical Works; His Hebrew Knowledge*

It is not as controversialist, but as exegete, however, that Lyra has acquired fame. In this field, he wrote: *Tractatus de differentia nostrae translationis ab Hebraica veritate* (1333), wherein he made a careful comparison of the Vulgate with the text of the Hebrew Old Testament. Like Roger Bacon, he disliked translations, and sought constantly to use the original texts of the Old and New Testaments rather than the corrupt Latin translations. It was in his work on the differences between the Latin and Hebrew texts that Lyra defended his Hebrew knowledge, spoke

[282] Posnanski, *Shiloh*, pp. 251 ff.; Loeb, I., *La controverse religieuse*, p. 37; Kaufmann, *Beth Talmud*, ii (1882), 110-125; De Rossi, *Bibliotheca*, p. 24, nr. 27; Graetz, 490, and viii, 165 and 423.

[283] Posnanski, p. 367-9. Lyra's work was published *sine loco* in 1508; it was used by Salvagus Porchetus of Genoa, in his *Victoria adversus impios Hebraeos*, Paris, 1520, part i, chapt. 2. nr. 4-6; by Paul of Burgos in his *Scrutinium Scripturarum contra perfidiam Judaeorum*, Mantua, 1474; by Alphonso de Spina, *Fortalitium fidei contra Judaeos, Saracenos aliosque Christianae fidei inimicos*, Nuernberg, 1494, and by others.

[284] Ed. Hebraeomastix, Frankfurt, 1602, p. 140.

[285] See below, the section on "Christian Controversial Tracts."

of his consultation of men "skilled in Hebrew" and of his reliance upon "Rabbi Solomon," namely Rashi, "whose teaching is reputed to be most authentic by modern Jews."[286] Lyra seems to have had a modest opinion of his Hebrew knowledge,[287] a fact which has perhaps led some later biographers and commentators astray: Paul of Burgos, the Jewish convert, who, as we shall see, edited Lyra's *Postillae* with his own *Additiones*, criticised the French exegete's Hebrew scholarship[288] in terms which drew a reply from Matthias Doering, the German Minorite monk, who on other points as well was Lyra's defender against Paul. Soury, a recent student of the history of French Hebraism, remarks that Lyra did not know Greek, and knew Hebrew merely as scholars knew it in his time: namely, he interpreted a text only after it had been explained to him by a Jew. Whatever be our decision on the extent of Lyra's Hebrew knowledge, it is certain that it surpassed by far that of any of his precedessors since the days of Jerome; its very scope prompted scholars to judge it by the highest canons of Hebrew schoalrship. Moreover it is apparent that Lyra relied with uniquely intelligent appreciation upon the best Jewish authorities.

c. *The "Postillae Perpetuae"*

Lyra's most noted work is his *Postillae Perpetuae, sive Brevia Commentaria in Universa Biblica*, "the only truly important monument of Christian exegesis since the epoch of the Church Fathers."[289] It is divided into the *Postilla litteralis* (1322-1331), which followed the literal sense in Biblical interpretation, and

[286] "Possent autem aliqui credere quod in hoc opere et in Postillis super Uetus Testamentum multa posuerim de hebraico aliter quam sint in ueritate, cum in hac lingua non sim multum sed modicum instructus. Propter quod omnes uolo scire quod in dictis operibus nichil posui de hebreico ex capite proprio tantum, sed cum directione et collatione atque consilio uirorum in hebraico peritorum . . . Sciendum etiam quod apud Hebreos multa sunt nomina equivoca . . . Ego uero in talibus communiter secutus sum Rabi Salomonem, cuius doctrina apud Iudeos modernos magis autentica reputatur."

[287] In his chapter, the second prologue, "De intentione auctoris et modo procedendi," he confesses: "Quia non sum ita peritus in lingua hebraica vel latina, quin in multis possim deficere."

[288] "In litera hebraica non sufficienter eruditus, quasi illam a pueritia didicisset; sed de illa videtur habuisse notitiam, quasi ab aliis in aetate adulta mendicato suffragio acquisitam;" *Additiones super utrumque prologum.*

[289] Soury, p. 36.

the *Postilla mystica seu moralis* (1339), following the mystic sense; it contains fifty books of commentary on the entire Old and New Testaments and the Apocrypha; there are also thirty-five books of "Moralities" ("Moralia"). The work appeared in numerous editions, in whole or in part: thus, Rome, 1471-2; Cologne, 1478; Venice, 1482; Douai, 1617; Antwerp, 1634. It obtained wide currency, but "produced few imitators." After Lyra's death, the *Postillae* were supplemented by several additions, such as the general introduction: "De Libris Canonicis et Non Canonicis," and by numerous prefaces. Paul de Santa Maria of Burgos, a Spanish Bishop, who as the Jew Solomon Levi had been converted to Christianity, wrote the *Additiones ad Postillam Nicolai de Lyra super Biblias*, about 1429;[290] and prior to 1469, Matthias Doering published his *Replicae Defensivae* in answer to Paul's criticisms of Lyra. The *Postillae* had great influence among contemporary and later scholars;[291] for example, Lyra's explanation of Gen. 49:10 was imitated and approved in part, if not in entirety, by Paul of Burgos,[292] Matthias Doering,[293] Dionysius, the Carthusian of Roermonde (1403-1471),[294] Alphonse Tostatus, Bishop of Avila (1414-c. 1454),[295] Peter George Schwarz, Peter Galatinus, and numerous others.[296]

Lyra's exegesis was characterized by a very independent attitude towards traditional interpretations, by a remarkable historical and critical sense, and by a fidelity to the literal meaning of Biblical texts. In the latter tendency, he closely followed Jerome. Of the four methods of interpretation indicated in the mnemonic verse:

> "Littera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria
> Moralis quid agas, quo tendas anagogia"

he was among the first Christian commentators to emphasize as

[290] An important edition was published at Antwerp, 1634; see Migne, 113:11 ff.

[291] Fischer, M., "Des Nicolas von Lyra Postillae Perpetuae" in *Jahrbuch fuer Protestantische Theologie*, 1889.

[292] Posnanski, *Shiloh*, pp. 339-341; 341-2;

[293] *Ibid.*, p. 342.

[294] *Ibid.*, p. 343-5; from *Enarrationes in Genesin*, Cologne, 1554, Art. C, fol. 123. Dionysius was dependent upon Raymond Martin as well as Lyra.

[295] Posnanski, p. 399; from *Commentarius super Genesim* (1436), Cologne, 1613, i, 739 ff.

[296] Walde, B., *Christliche Hebraisten Deutschlands*, Muenster, 1916, pp. 7, 8, 31, 32 *et passim.*

the most important that dependent upon the literal sense ("sensus litteralis"); even in passages which tradition had interpreted mystically he gave predominance to the literal significance; in his infrequent use of esoteric explanations he is motivated by a Christological tendency, seeking, as did his fellow-Christians, to find a fulfilment of the words of the Old Testament in the deeds of the Gospels.[297] The reputation which Lyra won as an exegete was based upon his "sound scholarship, judicious interpretation and freedom from dogmatic prejudice."[298]

d. *Lyra's Indebtedness to Jewish Sources*

For the enrichment of his works Lyra drew upon many sources: Raymond Martin's writings served him for authoritative information concerning Aramaic and Arabic; he sought the aid of Thomas Aquinas' comments on the Book of Job. It was, however, to the "treasures of the Synagogue"[299] that he turned most frequently, making direct use of available Jewish sources. We have already mentioned his reliance upon the commentaries of the great Jewish exegete of Troyes, Rabbi Solomon Isaac, or Rashi. Like Roger Bacon, he spoke of the latter only in terms of praise, saying in the second prologue to his *Postillae*:

> I intend to use for the declaration of the literal sense not only the words of the Catholic scholars, but even of the Hebrew, especially Rabbi Solomon who is said to be the most reasonable among the Hebrew scholars.[300]

Thus Rashi's works passed almost entirely into the writings of the Franciscan monk who, like the Hebraists of the Reformation,

[297] Lyra presents his point of view in the three prologues to his *Postillae*, particularly in the second: "De intentione Autoris et Modo Procedendi;" Migne, 113; 29-34.

[298] *JE*, viii, 232; Diestel, pp. 195 ff.; Merz, A., *Die Prophetie des Joel und ihre Ausleger*, 1879, pp. 305-366; Davison, S., *Sacred Hermeneutics*, Edinburgh, 1843; Farrar, F. W., *History of Interpretation*, New York, 1886, pp. 274-8; 'Nicholas von Lyra und Seine Stellung in der Geschichte der Mittelalterlichen Schrifterklaerung," in *Katholik*, ii (1859), 940 ff.; Hurter, H., *Nomenclator litterarius theologiae catholicae theologos exhibens aetate, natione, disciplinis distinctos II*, Innsbruck, 1906, pp. 558-562; Kaulen, F., *Wetzer und Welte's Kirchenlexikon*, ix, 321-329; Steinschneider, *Christliche Hebraisten*, i, and v, 87, Nr. 36.

[299] Soury, p. 36.

[300] "Intendo non solum dicta doctorum catholicorum sed etiam hebraicorum, maxime Rabbi Salomonis, qui inter doctores hebreos locutus est rationabilius, ad declarationem sensus literalis inducere."

may be called "a disciple of the Rabbis".[301] Lyra transcribes him almost word for word, finding inspiration for the method of literal exegesis in Rashi's use of "peshat", and making him the source for most of his information concerning Jewish traditions and customs.[302]

e. *Lyra's Influence in the Christian World*

From the moment of their first appearance and dissemination until even the present day, Lyra's works have exerted a profound influence in the Christian world. The translators of the Latin and Hebrew Bible into the vernacular languages of Europe turned to his commentaries for assistance: thus in several of the English versions, in the writings of the Bohemian, John Huss, the literature of the Waldensian heretics, and numerous French translations, we find clear instances of indebtedness to Lyra.[303] For example, a translation made into French by Raoul de Presles during the reign of Charles V made abundant use of the Franciscan's notes.[304] Other French translations borrowed heavily from his comments.[305] The German Reformers, among them Melanchthon, Urbanus Rhegius and others, consulted Lyra repeatedly, and Luther owed to him much of the knowledge he possessed of Rabbinical literature, particularly of Rashi; in his interpretation of Genesis he followed Lyra point by point.[306] The famous couplet

"Si Lyra non lyrasset
Lutherus non saltasset"

[301] Soury, p. 36.

[302] Siegfried, C., "Raschi's Einfluss auf Nicolas von Lyra und Luther" in *Archiv fuer Erforschung des Alten Testaments*, i, 428; ii, 36; Maschkowski, "Raschi's Einfluss auf Nicolas von Lyra in der Auslegung des Exodus" in Stade's *Zeitschrift*; Berger, *Quam Notitiam*, pp. 54-5.

[303] A version posterior to 1380 declares in the preface to Genesis: it wishes "extraire le francoys du latin du livre de la Genese, selon l'exposition de maistre Nicole de Lira, selon aussi l'exposition que fist ung venerable docteur, maistre Jacques Le Grant, qui translata ce livre de Genesis de latin en francois avec son exposition." Berger, S., *La Bible Francaise au moyen âge*, Paris, 1884, p. 308.

[304] *Ibid.*, pp. 248-9, 251, 252, in the prologue to Leviticus, Ruth and Numbers; the second book of Maccabees is merely a translation of Lyra's work.

[305] Thus a translation of the Psalms about 1487 cites the authority of Lyra with reference to the composition of some of the Psalms; Petavel, E., *La Bible en France*, Paris, 1864, p. 55.

[306] Siegfried, C., "Raschi's Einfluss auf Nicolas von Lyra und Luther;" *v. s.*

may be an exaggerated statement of the Franciscan's influence upon the German Reformer's works; it indicates, however, the attitude which in the popular mind was associated with Lyra's role in Christian Biblical scholarship. In the writings of Servetus, Zwingli, Calvin and many others, Lyra is constantly cited, a fact which is ample indication of his importance, not only in orthodox Catholic, but in Protestant circles as well. In fact, it may be said that prior to the Reformation and the rise of scientific grammatical aids to Christian Hebraists, no single individual made the imprint of Jewish and Hebraic scholarship upon Christian interpretation and doctrine so profound as did Nicholas Lyra. The Jewish tradition found in him one of its most powerful bearers and transmitters; the more Jewish his scholarship, the more potent was his influence.

e. The Christian Hebraists of England. 1. *The Predecessors of Roger Bacon.* In England, the history of Hebrew scholarship among Christians revolves about the personality and achievements of Roger Bacon, the great Franciscan scientist of the thirteenth century. It is an error, however, to imagine that interest in Hebrew among English Christians began or ended with him. In our endeavour to trace the history of English Hebraism, we shall consider the presence of three influences which are, as we have seen, discernible in Christian Hebrew learning wherever it is to be found: first, the influence of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament; second, the influence of Jewish teachers of Hebrew upon Christian opinions; third, the influence on Christian Biblical exegesis of Jewish commentaries, studied either through first-hand acquaintance with Rabbinical literature, or through vernacular works by Christians making available Jewish sources to scholars unacquainted with Hebrew.

Among the predecessors of Roger Bacon we have already referred to the Venerable Bede who in his *De Temporum Ratione* professed to have based his chronological data directly on the "Hebrew truth." Scholars disagree whether by this is meant the Hebrew Bible or only Jerome's Vulgate.[307] Alcuin, the Carolingian, a native of Yorkshire, must be reckoned among

[307] Hirsch, S. A., "Early English Hebraists; Roger Bacon and His Predecessors," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Oct., 1899, pp. 6-7; same in *A Book of Essays*, London, 1905, pp. 6-7; see also Hody, H., *De bibliorum sacrorum textibus originalibus, versionibus graeca et latina vulgata*, Oxford, 1705.

English Hebraists, for he is said to have learned Hebrew from Egbert and Aelbert, Bishops of York. There is a tradition in the name of William of Malmesbury that Athelstan, King of England, who flourished in the tenth century, had the Bible translated into Anglo-Saxon from the Hebrew original, with the assistance of some converted Jews.[308] In the eleventh century, "the accession of William, Duke of Normandy, to the throne of England, contributed greatly to the advancement of sacred learning in this country, by the introduction of learned foreigners into the highest stations in the Church. Lanfranc who succeeded to the see of Canterbury in 1070, and Anselm, his immediate successor, appear from their writings to have been well versed in the original languages of Scripture; and the former indeed, to have corrected the Vulgate version of the Bible by the Hebrew text."[309] During the reign of the Norman, William Rufus, who is said to have endeavoured on several occasions to induce Jewish converts to return to their original faith, there was arranged by royal command the famous disputation at London between several Rabbis and Bishops, one of the most interesting events in the history of controversies between medieval Jews and Christians; like their colleagues on the Continent, the Christian apologists doubtless made use of their Scriptural knowledge, reinforced by whatever Hebrew they knew, to refute their Jewish opponents. Moreover, the large settlement of Jews who had come to England through the invitation of William the Conqueror, rapidly increased and spread throughout most of the cities and leading towns: "hence it was that many of the learned English ecclesiastics of these times became acquainted with their books and language."[310] "In the Jewish synagogues and schools learned men expound the opinions of the Rabbins, to the great relief of the academicians."[311]

[308] Hody quotes this from John Bale, but says that no such passage can be found in Malmesbury's works.

[309] Hody, p. 416; quoted by Burgess, Th., *Motives to the Study of Hebrew*, London, 1814, p. 95 in chapter: "Fragments of the History of Hebrew Learning in England." Cf. *Jewish Historical Society of England Transactions*, viii, p. lxxix ff.

[310] Warton, *History of the English People*, i, Diss. ii; in Burgess, p. 96.

[311] "Linguam Hebraicam praemonstrabant, et dogmata Rabbinica haud levi academicorum emolumento exponebant." Wood, Anthony à, *The History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford*, edited by J. Gutch, Oxford, 1792, i, 129.

In the twelfth century, we may include among English Hebraists the noted Cistercian Abbot, Stephen Harding, an Englishman by birth, who was brought up in the monastery of Sherborne in Dorsetshire. We have already described his endeavours to establish a correct text of the Old Testament, and his consultation with Jewish friends, about the year 1109.[312] Gilbert, a monk of Westminister, on his return in 1117 from a visit to the Universities of France, travelled through Italy and Germany; at Mainz, he met "with a certain Jew, most skilful in the Old Law and the Hebrew tongue, with whom he had a most learned disputation, which he afterwards reduced to an excellent dialogue, and published, dedicating it to Anselm (Archbishop of Canterbury, his instructor) under the title: *Of the Faith of the Church Against the Jews*.[313] Athelard, or Adelard, a monk of Bath (c. 1130), famous as a traveller in many lands, including Egypt and Arabia, became "well versed in many languages," among them Arabic, and, we may surmise, Hebrew.[314] Daniel Morley or Merlac (c. 1185), a student in Arabia and at Toledo in Spain, also became a scholar in Arabic, which, in company with Athelard and a certain Robert, he publicly read and used in England; these three helped expound Arabic philosophy and literature, a work in which the activities of Jewish scholars doubtless proved eminently helpful as they had on the Continent. Roger Bacon mentions in his writings a certain Andrew ("Andreas quidam") who made a few changes in the Bible translations "quite in accordance with the Hebrew text;" Bacon criticised these as "nothing but a literal construing of the Hebrew text." Although, he says, Andrew was undoubtedly a well-read man "and probably knew Hebrew," he had no real authority, but the Hebrew text must be consulted, to see whether he was right or wrong. If he be right, credence was due to the Hebrew, but not to him; if wrong, he involved us in the danger of taking his text for ours, the authorized text, the Vulgate. Nevertheless, Bacon proceeds, Andrew does us the great service of instigating us to consult the Hebrew text when-

[312] Berger, *Quam Notitiam*, p. 9 ff.; Newman, J. H., *The Cistercian Saints of England*, 1844, p. 129.

[313] Stevens, *History of Ancient Abbies*, i, 199. Whether Gilbert through this disputation himself acquired a knowledge of Hebrew is uncertain; it did, however, bring him face to face with a controversialist who relied on Hebrew sources. On this published tractate, see below.

[314] Stevens, *op. cit.*, i, 200; Wood, *Antiquitities*, i, 394-7; Burgess, p. 99 and p. 108.

ever we meet in our translations with some difficulty.[315] This Andrew, who had the capacity and courage to amend the Latin translation after the original Hebrew of the Bible, was, according to Hirsch, not the Jew Andrew, who, Bacon declares, assisted Michael Scot in his translations, but the Englishman Andrew, who lived about 1150, and was a pupil of Hugo of Saint Victor. He is said to have written commentaries on the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Kings, Chronicles, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Daniel, Isaiah, Jeremiah, the Minor Prophets and the Books of the Maccabees. His commentaries won considerable repute; they are quoted by Nicholas of Lyra and others.[316]

Among the distinguished English Hebraists of the thirteenth century, the great Bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grosseteste (d. 1253), deserves mention. He was "a universal scholar," author of nearly two hundred books, instructor in the School of Franciscan Friars at Oxford, patron of the study of Greek, and a great patriot and humanist. "He is also said to have been profoundly skilled in the Hebrew language."[317] It was at his instance that in 1244 it was decided that in disputes between Jews and scholars at Oxford, jurisdiction should rest with the Chancellor of the University. He was also consulted on the correct attitude to be adopted towards Jews.[318] The influence of Grosseteste upon Roger Bacon doubtless contributed to the growth of the latter's interest in Hebrew, and indicates the extent to which the Bishop himself was occupied with this and other languages.[319]

2. *Roger Bacon.* Roger Bacon (1214-1294) is unquestionably the leading English Hebraist of the thirteenth century.[320] The

[315] Hirsch, *Essays*, p. 13, gives this paraphrase of Bacon's words.

[316] Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Latina Mediae et Infimae Aetatis, s. v.*; Quétif, J., *De Scriptis Dominicanorum*, i, 479.

[317] Warton, *Op. cit.*, i, Diss. ii; Cave, *Hist. Lit.*, ii, 294; Wood, i, 193, 397.

[318] Hyamson, *A. M.*, *History of the Jews in England*, London, 1908, pp. 145-6.

[319] Paetow, *Guide*, pp. 411, 416, 426, 430, 437, and 241, 258, and 437, gives valuable references to the works of and on Grosseteste; he refers, p. 431, to a typewritten master's thesis deposited in the University of California Library, by H. S. Willett, *Robert Grosseteste's Interest in Natural Sciences and Languages*, Berkeley, 1913.

[320] Hirsch's discussion in *Essays*, pp. 15-72, has furnished the bulk of the material summarized here; see also Steinschneider, *Hebraisten*, i, 53; Burgess, *Motives*, pp. 103-4; Paetow, *Guide*, pp. 411, 413, *et passim*, with important bibliographical references; *JE*, ii, 423-4, with bibliography.

facts of his life have been so often described that we need not dwell upon them here. We may, however, mention the fact that the famous trilogy of works: the *Opus Majus*, the *Opus Minus* and the *Opus Tertium* in which the evidences of his Hebrew scholarship appear, arose through his acquaintance and correspondence with Pope Clement IV, who as Cardinal Guy le Gros, or De Foulques, Bishop of Sabina, had been sent to England by Pope Urban IV, to intervene in the controversy between Henry III and his barons. The motives which impelled Bacon to advocate the study of Hebrew were of a complex nature. First and foremost stood the religious impulse: Hebrew was to him what it was later to Johann Reuchlin, the language in which God had revealed himself to his Chosen People:

> God revealed philosophy first to his saints, to whom he also gave the Law. He did so, because philosophy was indispensable to the understanding, the promulgation, the acceptance, and the defence of the Law, and in many other ways also: and it is for this reason that it was delivered, complete in all its details, in the Hebrew language.[321]

The origin of all wisdom and knowledge must therefore, in Bacon's estimation, be sought in the Hebrew writings, as divulged by Hebrew saints and sages, and the Bible is the ever-flowing mainspring from which all human enlightenment issued.

The fact, however, that the Bible was known only through translations was strongly repugnant to Bacon, for two reasons: first, it was impossible to reproduce the exact meaning of the original in translations; second, the existing translations were of inferior quality because of the incompetency of the translators. All texts, he said, were originally either Hebrew, Greek or Arabic; if the Latins wished to drink the pure and wholesome liquor from the fountain of wisdom, they would be obliged to turn their attention to these three languages. Like Reuchlin, Bacon had unbounded veneration for Jerome, but did not hesitate to say that the Vulgate was overrun with errors, and most of all, in the Parisian copy.[322]

[321] *Opus Tertium*, x, 32, in Brewer, J. S., *Opera quaedam hactenus inedita*, London, 1859; see Paetow, pp. 436-7 for further bibliography.

[322] Gasquet, F. A., "Roger Bacon and the Latin Vulgate" in *Roger Bacon Essays*, edited by A. G. Little, Oxford, 1914, pp. 89-99; and in his *The Last Abbot of Glastonbury and Other Essays*, London, 1908, pp. 113-140, "English Biblical criticism in the thirteenth century," first published in *Dublin Review*, 1898. Hirsch, "Roger Bacon and Philology" in *Roger Bacon Essays*, pp. 101-

He vigorously condemns all translations from Greek authors, saying that only two versions were of real value, that of Boethius and of Robert Grosseteste. In speaking of the method of translating, Bacon mentions Bishop Herman the German, who he says did not even have a sufficient knowledge of Arabic; when in Spain, he employed certain Saracens, who were the real authors of his translations of some Arabic works on logic; the same must be said of Michael Scot, whose translations for the most part were the work of a certain Jew, Andrew. Greeks, Arabs, and Jews did not give Christians who applied to them the genuine works, but only mutilated and corrupted copies, especially when they perceived that they had ignorant people with whom to deal. The consequence was that the few translations which had been made of the many Hebrew, Greek and Arabic works that existed were unintelligible. What was true of Aristotle, was true also of the text of Scriptures. Jerome, who had courageously pointed out numerous errors in the Septuagint and the versions of Theodotion and Aquila had been called a falsifier and corrupter of Scripture. Because theologians understood neither the text nor the commentaries, the text of the Bible was altered according to the fancy of the particular student. To improve this situation, therefore, a knowledge of Hebrew was essential.

Other reasons prompted Bacon to urge its study. He saw the value of languages for the conversion of infidels and schismatics, not, however, by violence, but by the light of the Church's wisdom.[323] In addition, Bacon believed, like Reuchlin in his Kabbalistic works: *De Verbo Mirifico* and *De Arte Cabbalistica*, that Hebrew words and letters had a spiritual and occult meaning; with his encyclopaedic knowledge, Bacon sought to go to the root of the conceptions of miracles, magic and mystical words, in order to promote the triumph of the Church. Moreover, the Franciscan was moved by a strong philological sense which led him to the study of grammar. He affirmed that is was necessary that the Latins should possess a short and concise treatise on

151; Jarrett, B., "A thirteenth century revision committee of the Bible," in *Irish Theological Quarterly*, iv (1910), 56 ff.; see *Catholic Encyclopedia*, article on "Vulgate, revision of;" Paetow, p. 413.

[323] The tendency to find a source for all knowledge in the Bible is seen in Bacon's remark on the invention of gunpowder: by some such explosive, flashing forth suddenly from broken pitchers, by the application of torches, Gideon was able to destroy, with only 300 men, the innumerable army of the Midianites.

the other languages, particularly on Greek, Hebrew and Arabic, to serve as an introductory manual to the grammar of their own (Latin) language. This statement has led to the belief that Bacon was the author of a Hebrew grammar, a theme on which there has been considerable debate among modern scholars.[324]

Bacon was greatly troubled by the difficulties of obtaining the books needful for his multifarious scientific research. He complained that the cost of making manuscripts was prohibitive, and that he had searched for books in every nook and corner with only occasional success. Reuchlin likewise deplored the difficulty of obtaining books, particularly Hebrew writings such as Kabbalistic and Talmudical works; he even suggested that Jews should be compelled to lend books on good security, for the purpose of learned research, till the universities should have obtained books of their own by printing, or by the purchase of manuscripts; and he declared that he would be willing to pay twice over the price of a copy of the Talmud. Nevertheless, Bacon appears to have secured some important Jewish books. We know that in England "the Jews did not keep their learning to themselves, and in the happier periods they had schools at Oxford, for instance, where Christian scholars studied Hebrew and other subjects;"[325] they also secured from the local Jews copies of their books.[326] When the Jews were expelled from England in 1290, an opportunity presented itself to interested Christians to acquire their literary treasures. The circumstance of the Expulsion "was highly favorable to the circulation of their learning in England. The suddenness of their dismission obliged them for their present subsistence or other reasons, to sell their moveable goods of all kinds, among which were large quantities of Rabbinical books."[327] Many Hebrew books were of course, taken away by the fugitives, but some remained behind. The monks in various parts of the country "availed themselves of these

[324] Charles, E., *Roger Bacon: sa vie, ses ouvrages, ses doctrines*, Bordeaux, 1861, p. 263; Nolan, E., and Hirsch, S. A., *The Greek Grammar of Roger Bacon and a Fragment of his Hebrew Grammar*, Cambridge, 1902, p. 27; Steinschneider, *Hebraisten*, i, 53; Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, iv, 276. On Bacon as a philologist, see Fluegel, E., "Roger Bacon's Stellung in der Geschichte der Philologie," in *Philosophische Studien*, xix (1902), 164-191.

[325] Hyamson, p. 112.

[326] Wood, *Antiquities*, i, 394, 397.

[327] Leland, *De Script. Britan.*, p. 332; Warton, *History of the English People*, i, Diss. ii, and 291; Burgess, pp. 104-5.

treasures." At Huntington and Stamford, there was a "prodigious sale of their effects, containing immense stores of Hebrew manuscripts, which were immediately purchased by Gregory of Huntington, Prior of the Abbey of Ramsey." It is asserted that Gregory thereupon speedily became an adept in language; it is more likely that he had previously concerned himself with a study of Jewish literature, and that his knowledge became vastly improved upon his acquisition "by favor or by purchase" of all the Hebrew books he could find throughout England.[328] Gregory stored these books in the library of his monastery, as its catalogue demonstrates, and on his death bequeathed them to it. In consequence of these advantages, other members of the same convent are said to have become equally proficient in Hebrew soon after the death of Prior Gregory. Among these was Robert Dodford, librarian of Ramsey, who after having devoted himself to the study of the Scriptures undertook the study of Hebrew in order to obtain mastery of the Biblical text; he prevailed upon the Abbot to place him in charge of all the Hebrew books which had been assembled and stored in the library of Ramsey by Gregory of Huntington. Robert appears also to have been a benefactor to this collection by volumes which he acquired and donated. Laurence Holbech (c. 1410), a monk of Ramsey, was led to the study of Hebrew by discovering in its library, the Hebrew books placed there. He is said to have found among them a part of a Hebrew Lexicon which Gregory had begun and which Laurence completed with great care and exactitude.[329]

Roger Bacon, living at the time when English Jewry was expelled, did not hesitate to benefit by this fact. At Oxford great multitudes of books fell into his hands, and "he furnished himself with such Hebrew rarities as he could not find elsewhere." When he died, Bacon left them to the Franciscan Library at Oxford, and the Friars are said to have combined their valuable library with these and other important works which they had procured from the Jews.[330] Whereas in other countries Jewish books were despised, and after censorship and confisca-

[328] "By these books, he gained a thorough knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, and was much assisted in expounding several difficult passages in Scripture." Leland, p. 321; Stevens, i, 205; Burgess, pp. 101-2.

[329] Burgess, pp. 112-113.

[330] Wood, *Antiquities*, i, 328; Burgess, pp. 104-5; Leland, p. 332.

tion, were used in the covers of the binding of medieval manuscripts and even for the binding itself, in England, among a small circle of Christian scholars at least, Hebrew volumes were apparently prized. Roger Bacon's attitude seems to have been echoed by others: while the Expulsion robbed Christian Hebraists of an opportunity to consult with Jews in person, it threw into their hands the great wealth of Jewish books which in part compensated for the loss.

a. *Bacon's Association with Jews*

It was this personal consultation with Jewish scholars which played an important part in Bacon's Hebrew learning, as it did in the case of Reuchlin. "Both Bacon and Reuchlin were of opinion that there was no better plan than learning Greek from the Greeks and Hebrew from the Jews. Reuchlin, when staying at Basel, grasped the opportunity of learning Greek from Andronicus Contablacas, a born Greek. As envoy to the court of the Emperor Maximilian, he became acquainted with the Jewish body physician of the emperor, Jacob Jechiel Loans, who became his first teacher in Hebrew. At a later period, when at Rome, Reuchlin obtained instruction in Hebrew from Rabbi Obadiah Sforno, who was a classical scholar, a physician, a philosopher and a Kabbalist. It was in the same way that Bacon obtained a knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, by taking instruction from Greeks and Jews."[331] He declared that

> Jews were to be found everywhere, and that their language was substantially the same as Arabic and Chaldaean. There were besides people in Paris, in France (*sic*), and in other countries whose knowledge was sufficient for this purpose.[332]

"We do not know whether Bacon's intercourse with Jews constituted a count in the indictment on the strength of which, it is said, he was condemned and thrown into prison."[333] When we remember the experience of the Cistercian monk, condemned by the Abbot of Clairvaux; of John Huss, burned at the stake, because "he consulted with the Jews;" and the accusations of Judaizing raised against independently-minded scholars in both

[331] Hirsch, pp. 41-8.
[332] *Compendium Studii Philosophiae*, vi, 434; Berger, *Quam Notitiam*, p. 56.
[333] Bridges, Introduction to the *Opus Majus*, p. xxxi; Hirsch, p. 48.

orthodox and Protestant Christendom, it is entirely plausible to surmise that the same methods were employed against Bacon by his adversaries.

Just as Reuchlin was upbraided for not sufficiently hating the Jews, so it is clear that Bacon must have suffered the same criticism, for "is it noteworthy that not a single expression is found in his writings disparaging to the Jews of his time." This is all the more remarkable in view of the campaign which was being waged against them and which resulted in their expulsion from England in 1290, four years before Bacon's death. Though he maintained the typically Christian point that Judaism was inferior to Christianity, there is no venom in his attitude toward the Jewish faith and no bitterness against its adherents. "He must have known many of them; he made use of them in his Hebrew studies, and says that they were to be found everywhere, yet not a single insulting epithet escapes him. He goes even so far as to deprecate any attempt to convert them."

In a remarkable passage, Bacon has a good word to say concerning the Jews who lived at the time of Jesus, and who were vigorously condemned by orthodox Christians:

> There were at the time of the crucifixion many holy and good men among the Jews; and nevertheless, they all rejected the Lord, except his mother, and John, and the Marys; nay, it is even said that nobody really believed in him except his mother.

These words must have figured in Bacon's condemnation at the hands of his opponents. If we recall the activities of the so-called "School of Roger Bacon" among the Hebraists of France, we have evidence concerning the friendly associations and opinions which were inspired directly and indirectly by Bacon's activities; and if the *Epistolae* of the anonymous scholar during the thirteenth century be attributed to Bacon himself, it would be additionally clear that, like Reuchlin, he stood in intimate affiliation with Jews, not only quoting from the contents of Rabbinical literature, but corresponding with them in the Hebrew language and securing Hebrew books with their help.[334] His information concerning the Jews is borne out by his statement:

> We see many laymen who speak Latin very well, and yet have no notion of the grammatical rules of that language; the same is the case with almost

[334] Berger, *Quam Notitiam*, p. 39.

all the Jews and real Greeks, let alone the Latins who know Greek and Hebrew. Only very few of the former class are able to teach grammar efficiently and in a methodical and rational manner, as we Latins are able to do by means of Priscian's books. We must, therefore, look out for men who have a scholarly knowledge of those languages, but this would entail great expense.[335]

b. *Bacon's Attitude on Methods of Learning Hebrew*

Bacon was careful to mark out the limits to be reached by those seeking Hebrew knowledge, and classified the proficiency attainable under three heads:

> I do not mean to say that everyone should completely master the learned languages, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic and Chaldaean, and know them as he knows his mother tongue; as we speak English, French and Latin. I do not even demand the student to be proficient enough to be able to translate scientific books from such languages into his [Latin] mother tongue. It is better to be satisfied with a third degree of knowledge, which could be easily acquired under a proper teacher. It is enough for us to master so much Greek and Hebrew as to read and to know the accidence, according to the theory of Donatus. Once this is learned and a proper method followed, the construing and understanding of the words becomes easy.[336]

To attain a maximum knowledge of Hebrew, thirty years' study was necessary; a minimum, three days. This minimum would "rescue the student, when, in the commentaries of the Bible, especially those of Jerome, he came across some exposition based on a derivation from the Hebrew."

Opinions vary on the extent of Bacon's Hebrew knowledge.[337] It is clear however that "Bacon had sufficient knowledge of Hebrew to satisfy his own demands of a third-rate and even of a second-rate Hebrew scholar." He had a knowledge of Jewish Post-Biblical writings, perhaps from Latin translations: thus, he quotes from the "Liber Febrium" of Isaac Israeli;[338] from the "Fons Vitae" of Solomon ibn Gabirol, without the author's name;[339] moreover, he had unbounded admiration for the Jewish

[335] *Opus Tertium*, x, 34.

[336] *Compendium Studii Philosophiae*, vi, 433.

[337] Steinschneider, *Hebraisten*, i, 53; Guttmann, J., "Ueber einige Theologen des Franziskanerordens," *Monatsschrift*, xl (1896), 323; Hody, pp. 418-429.

[338] *Opus Majus*, i, 246; Bridges, *Epistola de Secretis Operibus Artis et Naturae et de Nullitate Magiae*, p. 532; Brewer.

[339] Charles, p. 324.

calendar. Bacon's pronunciation of Hebrew is a theme of interest: "his knowledge of these matters was derived, partly from instruction received from Jews, and partly from Jerome's commentaries. It appears that the Jews consulted by him must have used the so-called Sephardic pronunciation," as in the case of the Italian Jews whom Reuchlin knew. Bacon's references to Hebrew, although showing no originality, yet prove that he had a full knowledge of the subject; he examined with utmost care not only the Greek Septuagint but the Hebrew text of the Bible, a fact which, together with his instruction by Jews, should have given him more knowledge of Hebrew accents than he seems to possess; it is supposed that a discussion of the latter may have been included in portions of Bacon's Hebrew Grammar which have been lost. In summary, it is evident, then, that Bacon was a proficient and courageous Hebraist; at one point, he remarks "that although he referred elsewhere to the Arabic language, yet he did not write it like Hebrew, Greek, and Latin."[340] His researches, being of a pioneer character, deserve rank of first importance in the history of Christian Hebraism, not only in their own right and merit, but because of their relationship to the growth of interest in Hebrew studies which during the Rennaissance and Reformation contributed so largely to the revolution in Christian belief and practice.

3. *English Hebraists After Bacon.* The number of English Hebraists contemporary with and after Bacon is not large, but fairly significant. Thus Radulphus Niger during the thirteenth century composed a work on the *Interpretatio hebraicorum nominum.*[341] In the fourteenth century, we find a reference to a Hebrew-English Alphabet.[342] After the promulgation of the decree at the Council of Vienne in 1311, the decision was put into force at Oxford ten years later, when, at a synod convened by Archbishop Reynold at Lambeth, a Hebrew lectureship was established and endowed by a tax of a farthing in the pound on all the livings within the province of Canterbury. John of Bristol,

[340] *Opus Tertium*, xxv, 88.

[341] Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, ii, 569; Imbonatus, p. 212b; Steinschneider, *Hebraisten*, i, 89.

[342] Bonnard, J., and Darmesteter, A., "Un Alphabet hébreu-anglais au xiv èsicle," *REJ*, iv (1882), p. 255; v, 285; *Reliques scientifiques*, i, 204; i, 107; Berger, *Bible Francaise*, pp. 230 and 324-5.

a converted Jew, was appointed lecturer, and for several years taught many pupils with great success.[343] The scholarly relationship between the Universities of Paris and Oxford for a long period was very close; it was first interrupted by the controversies during the time of Wycliffe and afterwards broken off by the wars in France and the civil wars in England. Richard de Bury, known also as Richard Aungerville, Bishop of Durham (c. 1345), founded a large library at Oxford for the public use of the students. Concerning the establishment of this library, and his love for books, he wrote his work: *Philobiblon*, wherein he expressed regret at the ignorance of Greek and Hebrew which commonly prevailed at this time; he adds, however, that he had provided for the students of his library both Greek and Hebrew grammars.[344]

William Breton (c. 1356) wrote a treatise: *De Nominibus Hebraicis Veteris Testamenti et Graecis Novi T. ac librorum Apocryphorum V. T., qualiter debent scribi et prononciari*, in which he gives evidence that he had devoted considerable attention to the Hebrew text of the Bible.[345] Richard, Archbishop of Armagh (c. 1359), quotes the authority of a Hebrew manuscript of the Bible at Bologna because of its differences from the Vulgate; the latter translation he thinks was derived from a Hebrew copy corrupted by the Jews; he emphasizes the necessity of having recourse to the Hebrew original in doubtful passages.[346] Adam Eston[347] (c. 1397), in his youth a Benedictine monk at Norwich, later a great scholar at Oxford in mathematics, philosophy, Greek and Hebrew, and Cardinal of the Church, is said to have translated the entire Old Testament from the Hebrew into Latin, with the exception of the Psalter, and to have written added works on the "Alphabet of the Jews," "The Hebrew works of Rashi," and other themes.[348] Nicholas of Lyra and Paul of Burgos, two great Hebraists of the fourteenth and fifteenth, are said to have visited England during their lifetime. When we come to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the names of important English

[343] Wood, *Antiquities*, i, 401.

[344] *Hist. Litt.*, xxiv, 386-7; Hody, p. 433; Warton, P. i, Diss. ii.

[345] *Hist. Litt.*, xxiv, 386-7; Hody, p. 433; Burgess, p. 110.

[346] Hody, p. 437; Burgess, pp. 110-11.

[347] Steinschneider, *Hebraisten*, i, 51; Hody, p. 440; Stevens, i, 210.

[348] *Alphabetus Judaeorum hebr. Postilla*; *Hebraica Saraceni*, and *Hebraica Yarchi Salomonis*; see Imbonatus, pp. 2 and 298.

Hebraists become so numerous that we can mention only a few here: Robert Wakefield (d. 1537), Robert Shirwood, Thomas Wakefield, Paul Fagius (pupil of the celebrated Rabbi, Elias Levita), and others.[349] The several translations of the Bible into English which appeared during this period contributed largely to the spread of Hebrew scholarship. To a discussion of them we may for a moment give our attention, viewing them particularly in the light of their dependence on the Hebrew original, the aid of Jewish teachers, and their employment of Rabbinical commentaries.

a. *The Translation of the Bible into English*

The epoch from the end of the fourteenth through the seventeenth century was marked by several remarkable translations of the Bible into English.[350] Before the first complete English edition of the Bible, that of John Wycliffe, portions, particularly the Psalms, had already been rendered into Anglo-Saxon and English. Alfred the Great was deeply interested in the Ten Commandments and their value for the development of a legal system in his kingdom. As far as we know, however, these early translations had no connection of a Hebrew or Jewish interest. John Wycliffe, whose fame rests largely upon the fact that he was the first to translate (about 1381) the entire Bible into English, does not seem, with his collaborators, Hereford and Purvey, to have had access to the Hebrew original of the Old Testament. The translators were aware that the Vulgate did not faithfully represent the Hebrew, but this information was gathered second-hand, chiefly from the commentaries of Nicholas of Lyra. They did not therefore venture to correct the errors, but contented themselves with notes in the margin; Purvey, the curate, an intimate friend of Wycliffe and a leader of the Lollards, remarked in the Prologue to the work which he completed (about 1388-90), after Wycliffe's death:

[349] William Grey, of Balliol College, and later Bishop of Ely, was eminent for his knowledge of Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and was a zealous collector of manuscripts in Italy, Wood, *Antiquities*, i, 207.

[350] Hyamson, *The Jews in England*, pp. 145-157, has an important chapter on this theme; my own material was gathered prior to consulation of it, and has been amplified later on the basis of it.

Where the Ebrue, by witnesse of Jerome, or Lire and other expositouris discordith from our Latyn biblis, I haue set in the margyn, bi maner of a glose, what the Ebru hath, and how it is understondun in the same place; and I dide this most in the Sauter, that of all oure bokis discordith most fro Ebru.[351]

William Tyndale (1484-1536), in his monumental translation of the Bible into English, made ample use of the Hebrew text, which through the medium of several notable publications at the end of the fifteenth and the commencement of the sixteenth centuries had become available to Christian scholars. The Hebrew Bible over a period of several years had been published in separate parts; an entire Hebrew Bible appeared at Soncino in 1488, and another at Brescia in 1494. Luther made use of the Brescia edition for his German translation. Bomberg's Hebrew Bible was published in 1518, the great Rabbinical Bible in 1519 and 1523. Tyndale, however, whose first edition appeared in 1526, the second in 1534, could have had but few helps. The epoch-making Hebrew grammar of Conrad Pellican, the first of any consequence written by a Christian, was published in 1503; Reuchlin's Dictionary followed in 1506, and Muenster's Grammar in 1525. The Latin translation of the Hebrew Bible by Pagninus was published at Lyons in 1528, the result of twenty-five years' labor; his *Thesaurus Linguae Sanctae* in 1529. The Complutensian Polyglot, 1517-1520, contained both a Hebrew grammar and Lectionary. Though Tyndale was unable to take full advantage of many of these aids, nevertheless, he translated his version of the Pentateuch from the original Hebrew, just as he translated the New Testament from the Greek. Despite the hostile testimony of Fuller, Anthony Johnson, MacKnight, Bishop Marsh, Archbishop Newcome and Bishop Grey, who sought to prove that Tyndale was ignorant of Hebrew, and that he used either the Vulgate or Luther's German translation as the basis of his own, it is none the less certain that he employed the Hebrew text. He solemnly avows in the Preface to the Pentateuch that he made his translation from the Hebrew, and by various incidental remarks demonstrates his acquaintance with the original text. A letter written during his imprisonment, and found in the Archives of the Council of Brabant, contains these words:

[351] Newth, S., *Lectures on Bible Revision*, London, 1881, pp. 16-17.

But above all, I entreat and beseech your clemency to be urgent with the Procureur, that he may kindly permit me to have my Hebrew Bible, Hebrew grammar and Hebrew Dictionary that I may spend my time with that study.[352]

Tyndale's translation of the Pentateuch shows clearly that he employed the Hebrew; his explanation of fifty Hebrew words in his writings does not betray profound Hebrew scholarship, but indicates decisively personal investigation and treatment. After the publication of the Pentateuch, Tyndale was proceeding with the Bible historical books, also on the basis of the original text, when his work was brought to an abrupt termination by his martyrdom at Vilvorde (Oct. 6, 1536).[353]

The translation by Miles Coverdale, despite conflicting evidence, does not appear to have been made from the Hebrew. Blunt, Anderson, Whittaker and others affirm that Coverdale was acquainted with the original, and used it by reason of his acquaintance with the Hebrew language. Though it is asserted that he had sufficient information to enable him to discriminate between various renderings,[354] Coverdale's title-page and his own assertion give evidence that his Bible is only a secondary translation, based chiefly on the Swiss-German or Zurich Bible.

The Bible of Thomas Matthews, edited by John Rogers in 1537, according to Bale and Fuller was translated from the Hebrew; two-thirds of the work, however, appear to be the work of Tyndale, and one-third of Coverdale. In his revision of Matthews' Bible to make "The Great Bible" of 1539, Coverdale announced that he followed "a standing text of Hebrew," evidently having acquired in the three years since his first edition a working knowledge of the Hebrew language.

The Genevan Bible, prepared by a group of English exiles, and published in 1558-60, made good use of the various editions of the Hebrew text which had already appeared. The Genevan Old Testament represented a great advance over the "Great Bible"; though the version was more in accordance with the Hebrew, its English style did not suffer. The Bishops' Bible of 1568 sought to make an Old Testament translation even closer to the Hebrew. Their method was illustrated in a statement by Fulke: "We never flee from the Hebrewe and Greeke, in anie

[352] Demaus, R., *Tyndale*, London, 1871, p. 476.
[353] Eadie, J., *The English Bible*, London, 1876, i, 209-215.
[354] Brown, J., *History of the English Bible*, Cambridge, 1912, pp. 54-5.

place, much less in places of controversie; but we alwaies hold, as near as we can, that which the Greeke and Hebrewe signifieth."

The Douai Bible, published in 1609-10, diverged from the now established principle of direct reference to the original. The Old Testament "was diligently conferred with the Hebrew, Greek, and other Editions in diuers languages," but the Hebrew text was in large measure subordinated. Lindanus, Bishop of Ruremond in Holland, had published a work in Cologne in 1558, wherein he remarked that the Vulgate was superior to the Greek and Hebrew originals.[355] Lathomas, another Papist, had attacked Erasmus and affirmed that a knowledge of Hebrew and Greek was unnecessary for an understanding of Scripture. The complaint had been raised by the Catholic party that Jerome's version was being crucified between two thieves, one thief being the Hebrew, and the other the Greek text. This statement was part of a general campaign by certain illiterate and suspicious monks to arrest the growth of the Hebraic movement by means of various utterances in pamphlets and from the pulpit. They declared:

> There was now a new language discovered called Greek, of which people should beware, since it was that which produced all the heresies; that in this language, there came forth a book called the New Testament, which was now in everybody's hands, and was full of thorns and briers; that there was also another language, now started up, which they call Hebrew, and that they who learned it were turned into Hebrews.[356]

Before the time of the Douai Bible, any translation other than the approved Vulgate had been condemned by the ecclesiastical party. The Wycliffite translation gave rise to the promulgation of a Canon in the 7th Constitution at the Oxford Convocation, January, 1409:

> We therefore decree and ordain that no man shall hereafter, by his own authority, translate any text of the Scripture into English, or any other tongue, by way of a book, libel or treatise, now lately set forth in the time of John Wycliffe, or since, or hereafter to be set forth, in part or in whole, privily or apertly, upon pain of greater excommunication, until the said translation be allowed by the ordinary of the place, or if the case so require, by the council provincial.[357]

[355] *De Optimo Scripturas interpretandi genere*, Cologne, 1558.
[356] Hody, p. 465; Mombert, *English Versions of the Bible*, London, 1907, p. 77.
[357] Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 317.

The clergy rightly feared that the widespread dissemination of the Scriptures in vernacular translations would stimulate dissent. An unintelligible Latin version was felt to be harmless in the hands of the people, though indeed William Butler[358] remarked: "The prelates ought not to allow that any person should reason the Scriptures translated into Latin at pleasure." The Church for a long time had been reluctant to place vernacular Bible translations in the hands of believers: the Council of Toulouse in 1229 issued a stern prohibition against this, and the Council of Trent in 1564 followed the same course.[359] An attack upon English Bible translations was launched at Rheims in 1582 by Gregory Martin, a Papist, under the title: *Discoverie of the Manifold Corruptions of the Holy Scriptures by heretickes of our daies, especially the English sectaries, in their English Bibles, used and authorized since the time of the Schism.* In order to prepare an English version satisfactory to the Papists, a group of English Catholics issued the so-called Douai Bible, the source of which was not the Hebrew, but the Latin text:

> But here the translators say in the address prefixed to the Old Testament, another question may be proposed: Why we translate the Latin text, rather than the Hebrew, or Greeke, which Protestants preferre as the fountaine tongs, wherein holie Scriptures were first written? To this we answer that if indeed those first pure editions were not extant, or if such as be extant were more pure than the Latin, we would also preferre such fountaines before the riuers, in whatsoeuer they should be found to disagree. But the ancient best learned Fathers and Doctours of the Church, doe much complaine and testifie to vs, that both the Hebrew and Greeke editions are fouly corrupted by Jewes and Heretikes, since the Latin was truly translated out of them, whiles they were more pure; and that the same Latin hath been farre better conserued from corruptions. So that the old Vulgate Latin Edition hath been preferred and used for most authentical about a thousand and three hundred yeares.

The Genevan version was attacked about the year 1611 by a certain Dr. Howson, in a sermon preached at St. Mary's, Oxford,

[358] Vaughan, R., *Wycliffe*, London, 1831, ii, 50.

[359] This act was confirmed by Pope Clement VIII in 1596, by Benedict XIV in 1757, by Pius VII in 1816, by Leo XII in 1824 and by Gregory XVI in 1844; the last-named in 1778 in an Encyclical letter told his "venerable brethren" to seize out of the hands of the faithful "Bibles translated into the vulgar tongue." But Pius VI in 1778 wrote to Martini a commendation of his Italian version, and the letter, translated into English, is found in many modern editions. Eadie, ii, 112.

his charge being that it contained misinterpretations, leading to a denial of the Divinity and Messiahship of Jesus, and thus favoring Arianism and Judaism; the preacher was suspended for the publication of what was generally regarded as a libel. The fear, even among Protestants, that vernacular Bible translations, based on the original Hebrew text, would lead to Judaism, is one of the important facts in a study of the history of Bible versions. Erasmus, with some accuracy, had prophesied in 1516: "I fear two things—I fear that the study of Hebrew will promote Judaism, and that the study of philology will revive paganism." It is certain that a return to the Hebrew original of the Old Testament promoted a certain reaction against Christian doctrines which had been accepted for centuries, and stimulated what may be called the Judaizing rationalistic tendency in Christendom. "If the Arian heresy was propagated and rooted by means of beautiful vernacular hymns," says F. W. Faber, "so who will say that the uncommon beauty and marvelous English of the Protestant Bible is not one of the great strongholds of heresy in this country?" The Authorized Version of 1611 laid great store by the Hebrew and Greek originals; the translators had before them a choice of Hebrew Bibles, published by both Jewish and Christian scholars. With the spread of Hebraic studies and increased zeal for accurate Bible translation in England, the Hebrew text attained its rightful place as the best available source for a true knowledge of the Scriptural word. Despite the uncertainty of many passages in the "Textus Receptus" of the Jewish canon, it has served as the foundation for Christian Biblical scholarship, and has aided in a reconstruction of many doctrines based upon misreadings and misinterpretations of Old Testament verses.

b. Jewish Teachers of English Hebraists

English Hebraists came into possession of Hebrew knowledge through two agencies, first the instruction of Jewish teachers, and second, the instruction of Christian teachers who had on their own initiative acquired this knowledge. Jewish teachers first appear among the translators of the Anglo-Saxon Bible of King Athelstan in the tenth century; the reference here, however, is incomplete. Stephen Harding had recourse to the Rabbis on doubtful passages, and Roger Bacon obtained a knowledge of

Greek and Hebrew by tuition from Greeks and Jews. He declared "that Jews were to be found everywhere and that their language was substantially the same as Arabic and Chaldaean. There were, besides, people in Paris, in France (*sic*), and in other countries whose knowledge was sufficient for this purpose." Bacon's intercourse with Jews, as we have remarked, may have constituted a count in the indictment, on the strength of which, it is said, he was condemned and thrown into prison.[360] Like Reuchlin, he was upbraided for not sufficiently hating the Jews; he extolled the superiority of Christianity over Judaism, but nevertheless recognized the higher claims of Jewish beliefs over those of any other religion. Though he knew many Jews, he never maligns or insults them; he even deprecates attempts to convert them, hoping only for the theoretical conversion ultimately to occur with the rest of mankind. He affirms that "there were at the time of the crucifixion many holy and good men among the Jews," an assertion which may have brought upon him the accusation of philo-Judaism. Bacon sought Jewish instructors, but, perhaps from experience, remarked that only very few of the Jews "are able to teach grammar efficiently and in a methodical and rational manner . . . . We must therefore look out for men who have a scholarly knowledge of those languages (Hebrew and Greek), but this would entail great expense." Bacon's relationship with Jews may have been closer than the records show: there is a suggestion that, like Reuchlin, he corresponded with Jews in the Hebrew language.[361]

The first lecturer to hold a chair of Hebrew at Oxford, established by a decree of a Synod convened at Lambeth under Archbishop Reynold in 1320, and supported by the tax of a farthing in the pound on all the livings in the province of Canterbury, was John of Bristol, a converted Jew.

William Tyndale did not learn Hebrew in England, but on the Continent studied with Hermann von dem Busche, a friend of Reuchlin, and one of the three authors of the trenchant: *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*, who had accepted a professorship in Hebrew at the newly founded University of Marburg in Hesse.[362] Tyndale may also have learned his Hebrew from Bugenhagen or

[360] Bridges, Introduction to the *Opus Majus*, p. xxxi. Hyamson, *History of the Jews in England*, p. 38 ff.

[361] Berger, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

[362] Mombert, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-115, explains this thesis and then refutes it.

Luther and his friends at Wittenberg. It is suggested that he may have studied with Jews in the continental countries where he sojourned. "There were in Worms many Jews whose tuition Tyndale probably enjoyed."[363]

Instruction of English Hebraists by Christian scholars is more frequent than by Jews. Alcuin in the eighth century, himself a native of Yorkshire, is believed to have learned Latin, Greek and Hebrew from Egbert and Aelbert, Bishops of York. Bacon, though instructed by Jews, was also taught by Christian Hebraists on the Continent. At a general Council held under Clement V at Vienne in 1311, it was provided that Hebrew should be taught in Paris, Oxford, and other universities. This decree, however, coupled with the decision of the Synod at Lambeth, remained in a sense a dead letter in England for a long time. In 1524, Robert Wakefield, a friend of Reuchlin, and occupant of the chair at Tuebingen, was sent down by the King to teach Hebrew at Cambridge. Thereafter the number of Christian Hebrew students and instructors increased manifold. With the publication of grammars and dictionaries in modern languages, Hebrew study became the possession of the learned European world, and was no longer the monopoly of Jews. Jewish scholars assisted Christians to master the Biblical tongue, but once the Chritians Hebraic tradition was established, it advanced far beyond its original Jewish foundation. English Hebraists studied at German and French universities, but found adequate facilities for research in England itself. Thus the list of translators of the Authorized Version presents a notable array of Christian-taught English Hebraists. Among them were Hadrian Saravia, King, Spalding, Chatterton, Harrison, Byng, Harding, Kilbye, Miles Smith, John Bois, and Edward Lively, next to Pococke reputed by some "the greatest of Hebraists." Hugh Broughton, a critic of the Authorized Translation, was so famous for his learning that "when he went to the Continent, it was said that he had gone to teach the Jews Hebrew." Since the foundation of the Regius Professorships at Oxford and Cambridge, English Hebrew scholars and students have made notable contributions to the science of Biblical and Semitic studies.[364]

[363] Eadie, i, 208.

[364] Cheyne, T. K., *Founders of Old Testament Criticism*, London, 1893.

c. The Influence of Jewish Commentaries in England

The third factor in the development of English Hebraic studies was the influence of Jewish commentaries upon Christian exegesis. The works of Rashi, David Kimchi, Ibn Ezra and other medieval Rabbis were made available to Christian scholars, not so much through the original Hebrew texts, which few Christians, even though well versed in Hebrew, were able to consult, as through the writings of medieval Latinists, among them Nicholas of Lyra, who revealed to the Christian world the commentaries of Rashi; moreover, the editions of Christian Hebraists, such as Muenster, Pagninus, Reuchlin and others who compiled dictionaries, grammars and material from the commentaries, placed the works of medieval Jewish exegetes at the command of non-Jewish scholars.

Mention has already been made of Stephen Harding's consultation with Rabbis of the twelfth century, and of Roger Bacon's association with Jewish instructors. Purvey, the co-editor of Wycliffe's Bible, made frequent use of Nicholas of Lyra's short comments in the *Postillae*, and thereby was influenced by the explanations Lyra had borrowed from Rashi; Hereford also uses the phrases "Lire here" and "Lyra" in several of the Biblical books.[365] Thus from Lyra, Wycliffe's collaborators learned the incorrectness of many current Christian Biblical interpretations. The Bible of Thomas Matthews, which appeared in 1537, contained notes at the end of the chapters which Chester has called the first general English commentary; they form a running comment, and are gathered from several sources; many are from the grammar of Conrad Pellican, who drew profusely from Jewish sources; others are taken from the original. Rogers, editor of this Bible, made direct use of Jewish commentaries; thus in the margin of Numbers 33:52, two Rabbis are cited for the alternate reading: "paving stones." At the end of Psalm 3, the word: "Selah" is explained as follows:

> This word, after Rabbi Kimchi, was a sygne or token of lyftynge up the voyce, and also a monission and advertisement to enforce the thoughts and mynde earnestly to give hede to the meanynge of the verse whereunto it is added. Some will that it sygnifye perpetuallye or verily.

Coverdale in his address sent to Cromwell in the revision of Matthews' Bible, announced "some notable annotations which

[365] Eadie, i, 68-9.

we have written without any private opinion, only after the best interpreters of the Hebrews, for the more clearness of the text." These interpretations Coverdale may have secured, not from the originals which he was unable to use, but from the Complutensian Polyglot. Muenster's translation of the Bible with notes from the Rabbinical commentaries also influenced Coverdale considerably. Bishop Sandys complained that "the setters forth of this our common translation (the 'Great Bible') followed Muenster too much." Muenster made use of the commentaries of Rashi, David Kimchi, Ibn Ezra, Rabbi Menachem, "Abraham Hispanus", Moses Nachmanides, the famous controversialist and author of the *Bi'ur*, and others. The popularity of Muenster's Bible served to make way for the entrance of Jewish exegesis into Christian thought.

The use of chapter and verse divisions in Stephen's Greek Testament of 1551 followed the example of "Rabbi Nathan" in his Hebrew Bible.[366] The Geneva Bible was shaped in part by the works of Pagninus, Muenster and Leo Judah, all of whom were indebted to Jewish authorities. Archbishop Parker, a co-editor of the Bishops' Bible, recommended Muenster's works with enthusiasm; in 1527, the latter published a Hebrew dictionary to which he prefixed an elaborate dedication to Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. For the Authorized Version Rabbinical commentaries were frequently consulted. Chatterton was familiar "with the numerous writings of the Rabbis"; Kilbye was author of a Commentary on Exodus, chiefly drawn from Rabbinical sources; Miles Smith "had Hebrew at his finger ends" and was "well versed in Patristic writings and Rabbinical glosses." In the Preface the translators record the fact that they used other helps: "Neither did wee thinke much to consult the translators and commentators—Chaldee, Hebrewe, Syrian, Greeke or Latin, no nor the Spanish, French, Italian or Dutch."[367] An example of Rabbinical influence in the Authorized Version can be found in Lev. 11:22, where the translation: "bald locust" represents a "mere Rabbinical fiction."[368]

[366] Eadie, ii, 9.

[367] Versions of the Authorized Translation which appeared after 1611 were condemned, one of 1656, by Mr. Robinson, a "Scotch Rabbi", for having 2000 faults, besides base paper and printing.

[368] Eadie, i, 322.

The works of Tremellius, an apostate Jew, exerted a signal influence on the Authorized Version, expecially in the Hagiographa and the Apocrypha.[369] In 1579 Tremellius had published an original translation of the Old Testament with a commentary which had rapidly attained great popularity; his son-in-law Junius added a translation of the Apocrypha at Amsterdam in 1628. The influence of Tremellius is discernible in the rendition of several passages of the Bishops' Bible, for example in Isaiah 53:2 and 9. On the Continent the works of Tremellius were valuable in the campaign against the Vulgate, and prepared the way for the vernacular versions which accompanied the reform movements in various European countries.

Thus through the adherence of Jews to the Hebrew as the correct and original text of the Bible, through their teaching of Hebrew to Christians, and by their interpretations in Biblical editions and commentaries, Jewish scholars in England and on the Continent gave important aid to the rise and development of the Hebraic movement which played so vital a role in English Christianity. These phenomena were not confined to England alone, but characterized the reform tendencies throughout all Christendom. The brief study presented here has afforded a glance into the forces which were at work.

d. JEWISH ELEMENTS IN CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY

The Jewish tradition was effectively transmitted into Christian life and thought not only through the medium of Christian study of Jewish literature in the Hebrew original for the purpose of Bible interpretation and exegesis, but also through the influence of Jewish philosophical writings upon the works of Christian philosophers, particularly during the Middle Ages. Jewish contributions to Christian philosophy constitute a signal part of the Jewish elements in the intellectual and religious life of Western Christendom. It is appropriate, therefore, that we present a summary of the abundant material which has been written on this theme.[370]

[369] 2 Esdras 8:19-31; Mombert, *op. cit.*, pp. 377-9.

[370] The best work has been done by Jacob Guttmann, *Die Scholastik des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts in ihren Beziehungen zum Judenthum und zur juedischen Literatur*, Breslau, 1902. (Cf. *REJ*, xlv, 140.) *Idem*, "Ueber einige Scholastiker des 13ten Jahrhunderts in ihren Beziehungen zur juedischen Literatur," *Monatsschrift*, xxv (1917), 247-262. The works of Munk, Deutsch,

1. *Jewish Influence in Pre-Medieval Christian Philosophy*

The history of Christian philosophy revolves about the works of the two Greek thinkers, Plato and Aristotle. In each instance Jewish influence was responsible for introducing to Christian philosophers the thought of the Greeks. For it was through Philo that Platonic ideas entered Christianity and held their sway until the end of the twelfth century. Moreover, it was through the mediation of Jewish philosophy, based upon the writings and translations of the Arabs, that the world of Aristotelian ideas was opened up to medieval Christendom. In the person of Philo, the Neo-Platonism of Greece and Egypt was synthesized with Judaism, forming the Hellenistic-Jewish School of Alexandria from which nascent Christianity took many of its most important doctrines.[371] The theology of the Church Fathers, particularly of Augustine, was permeated with Alexandrian Platonism, and virtually all Christian thought was subject to the same influence for several hundred years. The earlier leaders of the Scholastics, among them Anselm, Bernard, John of Salisbury and Abelard, were Platonists, and whatever association they had with Jewish subjects emphasized the Platonic tradition. In the field of Jewish thought, the Neo-Platonism likewise persisted. The earlier Jewish philosophers, among them Saadia, Bachyah,[372] Abraham bar Chiyyah, Moses ibn Ezra and Abraham ibn Ezra, stressed the Neo-Platonism which had been transmitted to them through Arabic agencies; Solomon ibn Gabirol (c. 1050)

Neumark, Husik and others contain important information; cf. Simon, M., "Jewish Philosophy in the Middle Ages," *Jewish Review*, i, 242 ff.; Pollak, J., *Entwicklung der arabischen und der juedischen Philosophie*, 1904; O'Leary, Rev. de Lacy, *Arabic Thought and Its Place in History*, London, 1922, *passim* for material on the transmission of Arabic philosophy through Jewish intermediaries. See Jacobs, "Influence of Jewish Thought in the Middle Ages," *Jewish Contributions*, pp. 164-189. Joel, M., *Beitraege zur Geschichte der Philosophie*, Breslau, 1876; Paetow, *Guide*, pp. 405-410 *et passim*.

[371] In addition to the works we have mentioned above in connection with Philo, see Morgan, C., *An investigation of the Trinity of Plato and Philo Judaeus*, Cambridge, 1853; Fairweather, W., *The Background of the Gospels*, 1908, pp. 349-361; *REJ*, lix, 286-7; *Hibbert Journal*, viii, 465; ix, 219 ff.; *Am. Journal of Theology*, ix, 491 ff.; Windisch, H., *Die Froemmigkeit Philos und ihre Bedeutung fuer das Christentum*, Leipzig, 1909.

[372] Hertz, J. H., "Bachyah, the Jewish Thomas à Kempis," in *Proceedings of the Jewish Theological Seminary*, vi; for bibliography on the other philosophers mentioned, see Guttmann, *Scholastik*, p. 4.

was the foremost representative of Jewish Neo-Platonism, and exerted under the name of Avicebron (Avicembron and Avencebrol), a powerful influence on the Scholasticism of the thirteenth century.

2. *Jewish Factors in Medieval Thought*

The Aristotelian philosophical tradition which had become predominant in Arabic thought through the works of Avicenna and Averroes soon found Jewish exponents and through them Christian champions.[373] The first vigorous representative of Aristotelianism in Jewish religious philosophy was Abraham ibn Da'ud (1110-1180) of Toledo.[374] Gradually the authority of Aristotle in Jewish circles obtained ascendancy, and a conflict arose between the pro-Platonists and the pro-Aristotelians. This struggle was duplicated in Christian philosophy on a much larger scale, but nevertheless through the stimulus and influence of Jewish works. The chief Jewish thinkers whose writings played a part in this controversy were Solomon ibn Gabirol, Isaac Israeli (c. 900), known to Christians as "Rabbi Isaac", Saadia (892-942) and Moses Maimonides (1135-1204), known as "Rabbi Moyses Aegyptius"; the outstanding Christian philosophers who partook of Jewish influence during the reign of Scholasticism were William of Auvergne, Bishop of Paris (1228-1249); Alexander of Hales (d. 1245); Albertus Magnus, Count of Bollstaedt (1193-1280); Thomas Aquinas (1225-1270); Vincent of Beauvais (d. 1264); Bonaventura (1221-1274); Roger Bacon (1214-1294); Raymond Lully (1235-1315); and John Duns Scotus (1266-1308).

a. Jewish Intermediaries. 1. *Solomon ibn Gabirol.* Through two channels Christian philosophers were touched by Jewish thought, namely: first, through the medium of Latin translations of Jewish philosophical works, and second, through the personal assistance of bona-fide Jews or Jewish converts to Christianity who acted as their instructors or collaborators.

[373] For works of Jewish interest on Aristotle, see Samter, N., "Der 'Jude' Aristoteles," *Monatsschrift*, ix, 453-7; Modlinger, S., *Das Leben des Aristoteles und seine Philosophie mit Ruecksicht auf die Wissenschaft des alten hebraeischen Schrifttums aus den Zeiten der Bibel, der Mischna, und des Talmuds*, Vienna, 1883; *REJ*, vi, 126; Bacher, W., "Aristote dans le Talmud," *REJ*, xxii, 134.

[374] Guttmann, *Die Religionsphilosophie des Abraham ibn Daud aus Toledo*, Goettingen, 1879.

Solomon ibn Gabirol's work: *Mekor Chayyim* (*Fountain of Life*) was translated into Latin about 1160 by Dominicus Gundisalvi, Archdeacon of Segovia, and the Jewish physician-convert, Johannes Avendeat or Avendaut, two scholars who were significant factors in making available in the Latin the works of Aristotle as well.[375] The story of Gabirol's work, known in Latin as *Fons Vitae*, is one of the romances of literary history. Soon after Jourdain had called attention to the importance of Avicebron's *Fons Vitae*, saying that the Scholasticism of the thirteenth century could not be properly understood without taking it into account,[376] Salomon Munk, a famous French Jewish savant, discovered a Hebrew abridgment derived from the original Arabic of the *Fons Vitae*, and attributed to Solomon ibn Gabirol; he was able thereupon to establish the fact that Avicebron, who had for centuries been believed to be a Christian Scholastic, was identical with the Jewish liturgical poet and philosopher.[377] Avicebron's work had been a source of contention between the Platonist Franciscans led by Duns Scotus, who supported Gabirol, and the Aristotelian Dominicans, led by Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas,[378] the latter being an especially vigorous opponent of the influence of Arabic-Jewish philosophy on Christian doctrine.[379] The number of Christian scholars who referred to the *Fons Vitae*, under various names, and with various viewpoints, was considerable, and included among others Dominicus Gundisallimus or Gundisalvi, William of Auvergne, Alexander of

[375] Jourdain, A., *Recherches critiques sur l'âge et l'origine des traductions latines d'Aristote*, Paris, 1843 (2nd ed.; first ed. Paris, 1819), p. 197 note. On Gundisalvi, see Correns, Paul, "Die dem Boethius faelschlich zugeschriebene Abhandlung des Dominicus Gundisalvi de Unitate," in Baeumker, Ch., *Beitraege zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, 1891.

[376] Cf. the remark of Schleiden, M., *The importance of the Jews for the preservation and revival of learning during the Middle Ages*, London, 1911 (German edition, Leipzig, 1879), p. 36: "Without Judaism, no Scholastics, and without Scholastics, no progress in philosophy."

[377] *Literaturblatt des Orients*, 1846, Nr. 46; Munk, *Mélanges de Philosophie Juive et Arabe*, Paris, 1859. See bibliography of article in *JE*, vi, 532, by Stephen S. Wise; see p. 529 for paragraphs on "Influence on Scholasticism."

[378] Wittmann, Michael, *Die Stellung des hl. Thomas von Aquin zu Avencebrol*, Munster, 1900; *REJ*, xli, 314.

[379] Wittmann, M., *Zur Stellung Avencebrol's im Entwicklungsgang der Arabischen Philosophie*, Muenster, 1905.

Hales and his disciple, Bonaventura.[380] We shall have occasion to discuss in greater detail the influence of Gabirol's philosophy when we consider the thought of individual Christian philosophers.[381]

2. *Moses Maimonides.* The imprint which the works of Moses Maimonides have made upon the world of Christian belief has been even more significant than that of Gabirol. His *Guide to the Perplexed* must be regarded as one of the important documents in the history of universal thought.[382] It was written first in Arabic, but in Hebrew characters, translated into Hebrew by Samuel ibn Tibbon in 1204, under the title: *Moreh Nebhukhim*, and re-translated a little later by Judah Al-Charizi. It was from the latter's work that the first Latin translation was made by an anonymous author during the first half of the thirteenth century[383] under the title: *Dux Neutrorum.*[384] The widespread

[380] Guttmann, J., *Die Philosophie des Solomon ibn Gabirol* (*Avicebron*), Goettingen, 1889. Baeumker, *Avencebrolis Fons Vitae*, Muenster, 1892-5. There are still extant four manuscripts of the original Latin translation complete, one of an epitome thereof, and there is evidence that a fifth manuscript existed in 1375 in the Papal Library. Isaac Broydé before his death suggested that an edition of the Latin translation with notes would be a valuable contribution.

[381] Adler, H., *Ibn Gabirol and His Influence upon Scholastic Philosophy*, London, 1865; Joel, M., "Ibn Gebirol's Bedeutung fuer die Geschichte der Philosophie," *Monatsschrift*, vi-viii; and *Beitraege zur Geschichte der Philosophie*, Breslau, 1876. See also the works of Kaufmann, Seyerling, Stoessel, and others.

[382] Kaufmann, D., "Der 'Fuehrer' Maimunis in der Weltliteratur," in *Archiv fuer Geschichte der Philosophie*, xi (1898), pp. 314 ff.; reprinted in Kaufmann's *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Brann, Frankfurt a. M., 1910, pp. 158 ff.; Guttmann, J., *Der Einfluss der maimonidischen Philosophie auf das christliche Abendland*, Leipzig, 1908; Lévy, Louis-Germain, *Les Grands Philosophes*, Paris, 1911, pp. 261 ff.; Muenz, I., *Die Religionsphilosophie des Maimonides und ihr Einfluss*, 1887; Yellin, D., and Abrahams, I., *Maimonides*, Philadelphia, 1903, pp. 205-218: chapter on "The Influence of Maimonides."

[383] Steinschneider, *Uebersetzungen*, p. 432; Perles, J., "Die in einer Muenchener Handschrift aufgefundene erste Lateinische Uebersetzung des Maimonidischen Fuehrers," *Monatsschrift*, xxiv (1875), 9 ff.; Friedlaender, M., *Introduction to the Guide to the Perplexed*, London, 1881-85. There are two other Latin translations of the *Moreh*, one by August Justinianus, Paris, 1520, and the other by Buxtorf, Junior, Basel, 1629; the earlier is based on the Hebrew version of Al-Charizi, and is a mere copy of the older Latin translation; the latter is based on that of Ibn Tibbon. The *Moreh* has been translated also into French, twice into Italian, into German, English and other languages; see Friedlaender, *op. cit.*, iii, pp. xi ff.

[384] Perles thinks that this translation was the result of the combined efforts of Jewish and Christian scholars working under the auspices of the Imperial Court of Frederic II; *Monatsschrift, loc. cit.*

popularity of the *Moreh* among Mohammedan theologians[385] was now rivalled by its dissemination in Christian circles. The translations of the complete works of Aristotle into Latin, made partly from the Arabic versions of the Mohammedans, partly from the Greek originals which became accessible after the capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1207,[386] now found a powerful ally in the Aristotelianism of Maimonides' *Moreh*.[387] Alexander of Hales quotes from it; William of Auvergne was deeply influenced by it; Albertus Magnus also signalized the commencement of the *Moreh's* real influence upon Christian thought; Vincent of Beauvais, Duns Scotus and Thomas Aquinas among philosophers of the Middle Ages were strongly indebted to it. Spinoza during the seventeenth century "paid to the Cairo Rabbi the homage of practical imitation;"[388] Solomon Maimon and other Jewish thinkers who affected Christian thought were either critics or exponents of Maimonides' views, among them Elias del Medigo, "the first great product of the Italian and Judaic spirit, the teacher of Pico di Mirandola," Moses Mendelssohn, the friend of Lessing, and Isaac Erter. Leibnitz, the great Christian philosopher of the era of Spinoza, commented upon the *Moreh*,[389] as well as upon the Kabbalah.[390] Thus from the time of its appearance until the modern era the writings of Maimonides have been an important factor in the development of Christian philosophy in its relationship to Judaism.

[385] It is said that in the Moslem schools in the city of Fez in Morocco, Jews were appointed to teach Maimonides' philosophy; cf. Kaufmann, *Fuehrer*, p. 158 ff.

[386] Jourdain, *Recherches, passim.*

[387] Mandonnet, P., *Siger de Brabant et l'Averroisme Latin au xiii siècle*, Louvain, 1911; cf. Husik, I., *Philosophical Review*, July, 1911; *idem*, "An Anonymous Medieval Christian Critic of Maimonides," *JQR*, ii (n. s. Philadelphia, 1911), 159 ff.; *idem*, *A History of Medieval Jewish Philosophy*, New York, 1918, pp. 304 ff.

[388] Yellin-Abrahams, p. 216; Pearson, K., "Maimonides and Spinoza," *Mind*, viii, 339 ff.; Joel, M., "Zur Genesis der Lehre Spinoza's," in *Beitraege*, ii; Rubin, S., *Spinoza und Maimonides*, Vienna, 1868.

[389] Foucher de Careil, A., *Leibniz, la Philosophie Juive et La Cabale*, Paris, 1861; "Leibniti Observationes ad Rabbi Mosis Maimonidis 'Librum qui, Inscribitur Doctor Perplexorum' ", pp. 1-45, Appendix.

[390] *Ibid.*, "Leibniz et la Cabale," pp. 54-66; "Remarques Inédites de Leibniz sur le Seder Olam."

b. Christian Thinkers and Jewish Authorities. 1. *William of Auvergne.* We may now turn to individual Christian philosophers with a view to describing their reliance upon Jewish literary sources. William of Auvergne, who with Alexander of Hales was most responsible for the revolution in Christian Scholasticism whereby a transition was effected from the older Platonism of the Church Fathers to the teachings of the Aristotelian School, may be regarded in a sense as a friend of the Jews,[391] despite the fact that during his service as Bishop of Paris from 1228-1249, the Talmud was burned.[392] William speaks with animosity of the "gens Hebraeorum",[393] of their opposition to Catholic views,[394] and of the tenets of the Sadducees. In his chief work: *De universo*, he combats the "fables" of the Hebrews; his numerous references to the Midrash lead William to a discussion of Jewish philosophy: one passage is taken from the account of the "Tree of Life" in *Midrash Bereshith Rabbah*;[395] another speaks of Jewish fables concerning demons, particularly Asmodai;[396] he discusses the "Vision of Isaiah," *Ma 'aseh Merkhabhah*, in relation to Isaiah 6:2, accepting the interpretation of one of the chief Amoraim, Rabbah, which Maimonides presents at length in the *Moreh*.[397] Likewise in a consideration of the abode of the angels[398] the *Moreh* is used, and in numerous instances of his work: *De Legibus*: thus, in discussing the symbolism of the Jewish

[391] Guttmann, J., "Guillaume d'Auvergne et la litterature juive," *REJ*, xviii, 243 ff.; *idem*, *Scholastik*, pp. 13-31.

[392] Loeb, I., "La controverse de 1240 sur le Talmud," *REJ*, i, 247, ii, 248, iii, 39 ff.; Lewin, A., "Die Religionsdisputation des R. Jechiel von Paris," *Monatsschrift*, xviii, 97 ff.; 145 ff.; 193 ff.; Graetz, *Geschichte*, vii, p. 95 and note 5, reworked by Guttmann; see also below.

[393] "De Universo," *Opera Omnia*, ed. Paris, 1674, part 1, cap. 39, p. 634, col. 1.

[394] "De Fide," *ibid.*, cap. 3 p, 17, col. 12.

[395] *Moreh*, ii, cap. 30; Munk, S., *Guide des Égarés*, Paris, 1856-66, ii, 250. William doubtless became acquainted with the Midrashic stories through his participation in the controversy over the burning of the Talmud. In *De Legibus*, he refers to the well-known legend of the rescue of Abraham from the fiery furnace; cap. 26, p. 81, col. 2; cf. *Midrash Bereshith Rabbah* sect. 39; Pirke d'R. Elieser, cap. 26, etc. Guttmann has examined these passages carefully, and has assembled them in *Scholastik*, *passim*.

[396] *Moreh*, i, cap. 70; *Guide*, i, 329, 335; *Moreh*, iii, cap. 43; *Guide*, iii, 344, 345; cf. *Talmud b. Gittin*, fol. 68 a.

[397] *De Universo*, ii, p. 2 cap. 135, p. 984, col. 1 and 2; *Moreh*, iii, cap. 6; *Guide*, iii, 35; *Talmud b. Chagigah*, fol. 13 b.

[398] *De Universo*, i, p. 1, cap. 32; cap. 36, p. 631, col. 2. William takes the view of a Jewish philosopher and sage to whom he refers, quoted from the

sacrificial cult, he follows step by step the third part of Maimonides' treatment of Deut. 4:6, 22:6 and other Scriptural passages.[399] To Maimonides also must be attributed the view that Aristotle may be believed with reference to sublunar things, but not in matters dealing with higher things.[400]

Though William criticises other Jewish philosophers,[401] he has a special predilection for Solomon ibn Gabirol or Avicembron, as he was styled in the Latin translation of his *Mekor Chayyim*. In referring to the *Fons Vitae* or *Fons Sapientiae*,[402] William discusses whether "Avicembron" was an Arab, and remarks that he must have been a Christian, since a short time before the entire kingdom of the Arabs had fallen under Christian sway. William imitates Gabirol's teaching concerning the Will,[403] concerning immaterial substances,[404] and the idea of the Creation as a projection of the shadow of God. "Avicembron" he praises as one of the noblest of all philosophers,[405] saying that he alone had comprehended the nature of spiritual substances.[406]

Haggadic work: *Pirke de-Rabbi Eliezer* or *Boraitha de-Rabbi Eliezer*, which had attained fame because it was handed down also in the name of the Emperor Frederic II; see Jacob Anatoli's *Malmad ha-Talmidhim*, Lyck, 1866, p. 53 b; Munk, *Mélanges*, pp. 144-5. *Moreh*, ii, cap. 26; *Guide*, ii, 210-3.

[399] *De Legibus*, cap. 16, p. 47, col. 1; *Moreh*, iii, cap. 31; *Guide*, ii, 247, and several other passages, for which see *Scholastik*, pp. 20-1.

[400] *De Universo*, ii, p. 2, cap. 150, p. 998, col. 2; *Moreh*, ii, cap. 22; *Guide*, ii, 179. Doubtless from Maimonides William borrowed the Talmudical sentence: "locuta est lex lingua hominum;" cf. *Moreh*, i, cap. 26, 33, 47, etc.; *De Universo*, p. 1, cap. 39, p. 634, col. 1.

[401] *De Universo*, i, p. 3, cap. 31, p. 805, col. 2. William makes an exception in his criticism of Jews who accept "fables," of Maimonides, and perhaps those Jewish thinkers such as Saadia, the Geonim and the Andalusians whom Maimonides takes as authorities. William is probably thinking also of the adherents of the Maimonidean philosophy in the controversy which eventuated in the intervention of the Inquisition, and the burning of Maimonidean books at Montpellier and Paris. He mentions that "in the land of the Saracens among those who take up philosophy there are only a few true Jews, that is, those who are Saracens in not even the slightest part of their beliefs or agree to the errors of Aristotle;" *De Legibus*, cap. i, p. 24, col. 1.

[402] *De universo*, i, p. 1, cap. 25.

[403] *Fons Vitae*, ed. Baeumker, Muenster, 1895, p. 333, 1, 5; cf. *De Universo*, i, p. 1, cap. 26 *et passim*; Werner, K., *Wilhelms von Auvergne Verhaeltniss zu den Platonikern des xii Jahrhunderts*, Vienna, 1873, p. 26.

[404] *De Universo*, ii, p. 2, cap. 7, p. 850, col. 1; *Fons Vitae*, p. 333, 1, 4.

[405] *De Trinitate*, cap. 12, p. 16, col. 2.

[406] *De Legibus*, cap. 26, p. 84, col. 1. For further quotations, see *Scholastik*, *passim*.

2. *Alexander of Hales.* Alexander of Hales (d. 1245), founder of the School of the Franciscan Order, like his contemporaries, came under the influence of Jewish writings.[407] In his most celebrated work: *Summa Theologiae*, he showed for the first time among Christian scholars a willingness to rely upon a knowledge "of the whole Aristotelian *corpus* and the Arabian commentators."[408] He gave, moreover, considerable attention to the status of the Jewish people and their religion in Western Christendom. Many of the comments of the "Doctor irrefragabilis et Theologorum monarcha," as he was called, upon the Talmud were influenced by the Paris controversy of 1240;[409] nevertheless he courageously uttered sentiments of a tolerant character, and affirmed that although Jews who blasphemed should be punished, they should be treated with no more severeity than "bad Christians."[410] Jews were to be accepted as witnesses of the truth of the Church, and their religious practice was not to be regarded as idolatrous.

Alexander's intimate acquaintanceship with the problems of the Jewish people in Christendom was reinforced by a knowledge of their literature. He mentions the Talmud, but does not seem to have been as familiar with it as William of Auvergne. Though he does not cite Solomon ibn Gabirol (Avicebron) by name, there are many points of parallelism between the latter's views and those of Alexander; these were developed later by John Duns Scotus and helped distinguish the Franciscan School from that of the Dominicans.[411] In one passage of the *Summa* the *Liber Fons Vitae* is expressly quoted as a decisive authority.[412] Far more numerous are the points of contact between the *Summa* and the *Moreh* of Maimonides. We find only two allusions to the name of "Rabbi Moyses",[413] but it is evident that the *Moreh* was the

[407] Guttmann, J., "Alexandre de Hales et le judaisme," *REJ*, xix, 224 ff.; *idem*, *Scholastik*, pp. 32-46.

[408] The citations given here are from the Nuremberg, 1452, edition of the *Summa*; it was published also at Venice, 1576, and Cologne, 1611.

[409] *Summa*, Liber 2, quaestio 179, membrum 1.

[410] For a discussion of the relationship of heretics, Saracens and Jews, see *Summa*, L. 3, qu. 36, m. 3, p. 3.

[411] Guttmann, *Die Philosophie des Salomon ibn Gabirol*, Goettingen, 1889, p. 64; cf. *Summa*, L. 2, qu. 12, m. 1; qu. 60, m. 2, a. 1; qu. 20, m. 2, a. 2; qu. 44, m. 2.

[412] *Summa*, L. 1, qu. 86, m. 1; *Fons Vitae*, p. 4, 1, 14-15, i, p. 2.

[413] *Summa*, L. 1, qu. 22, m. 6; cf. *Moreh*, i, cap. 72; *Guide*, i, 361; *Moreh*, ii, cap. 6; *Guide*, ii, 71. The second reference to "Rabi Moyses Judaeus" occurs in *Summa*, L. 3, qu. 28, m. 1, a. 5; cf. *Moreh*, iii, cap. 26; *Guide*, iii, 204-5.

source of several features of Alexander's opinions concerning the recognition of God;[414] the question whether the world is eternal or created,[415] wherein arguments employed also by Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas are cited;[416] and the relationship of miracles to natural laws.[417] An important subject on which Alexander seeks aid from the works of Maimonides is his discussion of the laws of the Pentateuch, and his refutation of the assertion of the Neo-Manicheans or Catharists that the Old Testament code is the work of the Evil Principle in the universe. Following the precedent of "Rabi Moyses Judaeus," he distinguishes between "judicial laws" (*Mishpatim*), and "ceremonial laws" (*Chukkim*), saying that the former are useful for Christian observance, the latter having a certain spiritual but no literal value for Christians.[418] He defends the giving of the Old Testament legislation on the ground that even the ceremonial and sacrifical precepts sprang from a single unified purpose, namely the desire to turn men from idolatry to morality.[419] It is one of the ironies of religious history that orthodox Christians, seeking to combat the views of Christian heretics, should turn to Jewish sources for literary reinforcement, particularly since the official position of the Church was alleged to run counter to the teachings of the Jewish authorities quoted.[420]

3. *Albertus Magnus.* Albertus Magnus, one of the "universal" spirits produced by the Middle Ages, taking his rank in learning and scientific interest with Vincent of Beauvais and

[414] *Summa*, L. 1, qu. 2, m. 1, a. 4; cf. *Moreh*, i, cap. 21; *Guide*, i, 76; *Moreh*, i, cap. 38; *Guide*, i, 141; *Moreh*, i, cap. 54; *Guide*, i, 216.

[415] *Summa*, L. 1, qu. 12, m. 18; cf. *Moreh*, ii, cap. 14; *Guide*, ii, 115.

[416] Guttmann, *Das Verhaeltniss des Thomas von Aquino zum Judenthum und zur juedischen Literatur*, Goettingen, 1891, pp. 60 ff.; cf. *Moreh*, ii, cap. 17-18; *Guide*, ii, 129-144.

[417] *Summa*, L. 2, qu. 42, m. 5, a. 5; cf. *Moreh*, ii, cap. 29; *Guide*, ii, 224 ff.

[418] *Summa*, L. 3, qu. 28, m. 1, a. 5; *Moreh*, iii, cap. 26; *Guide*, iii, 204-5. Alexander discusses several important Pentateuchal passages, among them Deut. 4 and Leviticus 17.

[419] *Summa*, L. 3, qu. 54, m. 2; *Moreh*, iii, cap. 31; Guide, iii, 247; *Summa*, L. 3, qu. 28, m. 2. a. 1, p. 1; *Moreh*, iii, cap. 52; *Guide*, iii, 453; *Moreh*, iii, cap. 29; Guide, iii, 229. Alexander reproduces the views of Maimonides on several topics, among them the explanation for the law of circumcision; *Summa*, L. 3, qu. 55; L. 4, qu. 7; cf. *Moreh*, iii, 49; *Guide*, iii, 426 ff.

[420] For a detailed discussion of Christian defense of the Mosaic Law against the Catharists and of the inconsistencies and contradictions in which Christian apologists were involved, see below.

Roger Bacon, is numbered also among the great scholars who drew abundantly upon Jewish philosophical and religious writings.[421] He was acquainted with the Talmud, doubtless through his participation in the Paris controversy of 1240, and his association with the Jewish apostate, Nicholas Donin;[422] he cites it twice by name in his works,[423] and borrows from the *Moreh* of Maimonides many expressions characteristic of the Talmud and the Midrash without appreciating their Talmudic origin.[424] In several instances, Albertus mentions in connection with "Rabbi Moyses," other names such as "Rabbi Elieser or Heliazar," "Rabbi Joanna" and "Rabbi Josue," who belong in the realm of Talmudic authors, but who are quoted by Albertus as philosophers on an equal plane with Maimonides and Isaac Israeli.[425]

From Arabic-Jewish literature, we find citations in Albertus of authors who occupied themselves particularly with astronomy and astrology. Among three commentators on Ptolemy's *Centiloquium* he mentions a certain Abraham, without doubt Abu Ja 'afar Ahmed ibn Yusuf ibn Ibrahim; (d. 945-6).[426] Elsewhere

[421] *Scholastik*, pp. 47-120; Bach, J., *Des Albertus Magnus Verhaeltniss zu der Erkenntnisslehre der Griechen, Lateiner, Araber, und Juden*, Vienna, 1881.

[422] Quétif and Echard, *Scriptores ordinis Praedicatorum*, Paris, 1719-1721, i, 166.

[423] The first citation is in: "Comment. in Dionys. Areopagit., De coelest. hierarchia cap. 7", *Opera*, ed. Pierre Jammy, 1651, xiii, 103; cf. *Talmud Babha Bathra*, fol. 74, 75a, and Nicholas Donin, in *Wikkuach Rabbenu Yechiel mi-Paris*, Thorn, 1873, p. 13. The second citation is in the Commentary to the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard: "Comment. in Sent. iv dist. 43, a. 1." *Opera*, xvi, 805, where "Rabbi Nasse" is mentioned, doubtless, according to Guttmann, *Scholastik*, p. 49, "Rabbi Asse or Aschi;" cf. *Moreh*, cap. 22; *Guide*, iii, 159; *Babha Bathra*, fol. 15a.

[424] Joel, M., "Verhaeltniss Albert des Grossen zu Maimonides," *Jahresbericht des jued.-theologisch. Seminars Breslau*, 1863, reprinted in *Beitraege*, p. ix, note 1; p. xvi, note 1.

[425] "Comment. in Sent. i, dist. 37, a. 24;" *Opera*, xiv, 558; cf. *Moreh*, ii, cap. 6. "Comment. in Sent. iii, dist. 37, a. 2; *Opera*, xv, 2, p. 381; cf. *Guide*, ii, 269; *ibid.*, iv, dist. 1, a. 8; *Opera*, xvi, 13. *Summa Theologiae*, i, tract. 16, qu. 75, m. 1; *Opera*, xvii, 428; *Guide*, ii, 276-77. *Summa*, tract, 20, qu. 80, m. 2; *Opera*, xvii, 475, ix, 108.

[426] "Meteor.," i, tract. 1, cap. 5, *Opera*, ii, 18; Steinschneider, *Uebersetzungen*, p. 528, identifies this Abu Ja'afar as the author of a Hebrew translation of the Latin translation of the *Centiloquium*; cf. Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, Paris, 1876, ii, 324, n. 6. It is likely that he is also the author of a work cited by Albertus: *De conjunctionibus Saturni et Jovis*, "Comment. in Habacuc," 3, 8; *Opera*, viii, 188; xvi, 815, and also of a work on the Nativity: "Comment. in Sent.," iv, dist. 36, a. 6; *Opera*, xvi, 733; cf. *Scholastik*, p. 52, where it is suggested that this writing may be the work of Abraham ibn Ezra.

he mentions "Zachel Israelita," namely, Sahl ibn Bishr ibn Habib ibn Hanni al-Israili (c. 820)[427]; a "Messahala" or "Messahalach," identical with the Jewish astrologer and astronomer, Mashallach;[428] and two authors of works on precious stones, Aaron and Joseph.[429] Albertus quotes also a certain Jew, David, concerning whose identity there has been much disagreement among scholars, but who doubtless was the translator Johannes Avendauth or Hispalensis.[430]

Isaac ben Solomon Israeli,[431] one of the most famous physicians of the Middle Ages (died about the middle of the tenth century), obtains from Albertus Magnus recognition by the side of Maimonides among outstanding Jewish philosophers; no one of the Christian scholastics prized Israeli so highly as Albertus. Though he

[427] His work: *Liber de interrogationibus* is cited in: "De libris licitis et illicitis," cap. 8; *Opera*, v, 660; it bears also the title: *Judicia Arabum* and forms a part of the Latin translation: *Introductorium de principiis judiciorum*, Venice, 1493 and 1519; cf. Steinschneider, *Uebersetzungen*, pp. 603-7; it is mentioned also in Albertus' *Speculum astronomicum*. Another part of it is cited by Albertus under the title: *Liber 50 praeceptorum Zachel*; a work entitled: *Liber electionis* and another: *De significatione temporis* are cited in the name of Zachel; cf. Steinschneider, *Zeitschrift fuer Mathematik*, xvi, 389.

[428] In the *Speculum astronomicum*; Steinschneider, *loc. cit.*; Albertus knew his book: *De sphaera mota* from selections in Averroes; "De praedicamentis," *Opera*, i, 120.

[429] "De mineral.," i tr. 1 cap. 1, *Opera*, ii, 210; *ibid.*, tr. 2, cap. 8; ii, 232. *Uebersetzungen*, p. 239

[430] Albertus says that this David was the author or compiler of the well-known: *Liber de Causis*, and of a work on physics: "De causis et processu unius," ii tr. 1, cap. 1, *Opera*, v, 563. Steinschneider sees in him the collaborator of Dominicus Gundisalvi, identical with the translator of Arabic works mentioned by Albertus as "Avendar Israelita philosophus"; "De praedicabilibus," *Opera*, i, 91; cf. Steinschneider, *Hebraeische Bibliographie*, 1863, pp. 110 ff.; Wuestenfeld, *Die Uebersetzungen arabischer Werke in das Lateinische*, Goettingen, 1877, pp. 38 ff.; and works by Bardenhewer, Jourdain and Leclerc. Albertus in: "De motibus animalium," i tr. 1, cap. 5; *Opera*, v, 114, cites "Avendavid" not only as translator, but as author, helping with other facts concerning the manuscript of the *Liber de Causis* to establish the identity of the author; cf. *Uebersetzungen*, p. 261.

[431] *Uebersetzungen*, pp. 388 ff.; *Scholastik*, pp. 55-60; Fried, S., *Das Buch ueber die Elemente*, Leipzig, 1884; Frankfurt a. M., 1900; Drohobycz, 1900. The Christian world came to know Israeli as the Jewish philosopher next in importance to Maimonides, through the accident of his works having been translated into Latin by Constantinus Afer, *Omnia Opera Ysaac*, Lyons, 1515; Guttmann, *Die philosophischen Lehren des Isaak ben Solomon Israeli*, Muenster, 1911.

accuses the two Jewish thinkers of seeking to insert philosophical opinions into an explanation of Scripture,[432] nevertheless he cites from Israeli's works, sometimes to disagree, more often to concur. Thus, for example, Albertus accepts Isaac's view of the union of formal and material definitions;[433] of the belief that reason is the power which unifies the Cause and the Effect;[434] that since man is conscious of himself, he is completely conscious of all things that exist[435]; that the aim of mankind is spiritual.[436] Albertus quotes often and at length from the opinions of "Rabbi Moyses, Isaac and other Jewish philosophers" concerning the nature of the world of Souls; the fact that the heavens are populated with Souls; that the Intelligences, of which there is a limitless number, are identical with the Angels.[437] These are a few of the many quotations which Albertus makes from the works of Israeli;[438] they indicate the high regard which the Christian Scholastic held for the opinions of the Jewish physician-philosopher.

The philosophy of Avicebron, however, did not win the approval of Albertus, who appears to be the first prominent opponent of the Neo-Platonism of the *Fons Vitae*. In his work: *De Causis et Processu Universitatis*, he places the doctrines of Avicebron by the side of those of the Epicureans, the Stoics, Socrates and Plato, and while he contests them vigorously, he recognizes the originality of Avicebron's opinions. In his discussions concerning the doctrines of the first matter, the first form, human free-will, the "intellectus possibilis," and emanations, Albertus remarks upon the sense of strangeness which the *Fons Vitae* conveys to him, and affirms that the book could not have been written by Avicebron himself, but must have been written by one of the Sophists.[439] Despite this attitude, Albertus did not hes-

[432] *Summa*, ii, qu. 7; *Opera*, xviii, 76.

[433] "Poster. analyt.," i, tr. 2, cap. 17; *Opera*, i, 551; cf. *Opera Ysaac*, f. 2a, col. 1.

[434] *Summa*, i, tr. 2, qu. 8, m. 2; *Opera*, xvii, 22.

[435] "Ethic.," i tr. 1, cap. 3; *Opera*, iv, 6; *Opera Ysaac*, fol. 2b, col. 1.

[436] *Summa de creat.* ii tr., 1 qu. 59, a. 2; *Opera*, xix, 2, 284; *Ysaac*, fol. 2b, col. 2.

[437] "Metaph.," xi, tr. 2, cap. 10; *Opera*, iii, 375; *Ysaac*, fol. 10a, col. 2; "De caus. et process. i tr. 4, cap. 7;" *Opera*, v, 563; *Ysaac*, fol. 8b, col. 2 ff.

[438] *Scholastik, loc. cit.*, gives the references in full.

[439] "De caus. et process.;" *Opera*, v, 550; cf. *Summa*, i, qu. 20; "De Intellectu et Intelligibili," i, tr. 1, cap. 6; *Opera*, v, 214.

itate to appropriate many of the opinions which Avicebron expresses, for instance, on the division of forms.[440]

It is from Maimonides that Albertus drew his major inspiration out of Jewish sources.[441] On numerous occasions we find references to "Rabbi Moyses Aegyptius" and the *Dux Neutrorum*; in his discussion of the Nature of God,[442] Creation,[443] Angelology and Prophecy[444] he turns to Maimonides for reinforcement of the Aristotelian viewpoint. Albertus followed his Jewish authority in his endeavour to harmonize the doctrines of Biblical revelation, on the subject of the reconciliation of world-beginning and eternity, and Biblical and Aristotelian cosmogony; the *Physics* of Albertus relies in substantial measure upon the ideas of the *Moreh*. It is difficult at this juncture to give in detail the many points of parallelism between the views of Albertus and Maimonides; it is sufficient to affirm, however, that scholars, almost without exception[445] have recognized and paid tribute to the Christian Scholastic's indebtedness to his Jewish authority. The only caution which must be sounded is that in spite of the wealth of evidence at hand the influence of Maimonides upon Albertus must not be over-estimated.

4. *Thomas Aquinas.* The same must be said of Thomas Aquinas (1227-1274), the eminent disciple of Albertus. Like his teacher, Thomas had many Jewish associations. Being a member of the Dominican Order, he shared its prejudices concerning Jews and Judaism;[446] at the same time, however, he drew liberally upon Jewish philosophical sources. In his chief work: *Summa Theolo-*

[440] "De natura et origine animae," i, cap. 2; cf. *Fons Vitae*, ed. Baeumker, iv, 32, 255.

[441] Joel, M., *Verhaeltniss Albert des Grossen zu Maimonides*, Breslau, 1863; *Beitraege*, Breslau, 1876.

[442] "De caus. et process. ii, tr. 2, cap. 9; *Opera*, v, 593; *Moreh*, i, cap. 58; *Guide*, i, 242; "Comment. in Sent. i, dist. 2, cap. 14;" *Opera*, xiv, 42; *Moreh*, i, cap. 61; *Guide*, i, 267 ff., etc., on numerous occasions; *Scholastik*, pp. 90 ff.

[443] "Phys. viii, tr. 1, cap. 11;" *Opera*, ii, 326, etc.

[444] *Summa*, ii, tr. 11, qu. 53, m. 3; *Opera*, xviii, 309, etc.

[445] See for a solitary voice of criticism, Hertling, G. v., *Albertus Magnus, Festschrift*, Cologne, 1880, p. 26, n. 1.

[446] Guttmann, *Das Verhaeltniss des Thomas von Aquino zum Judenthum und zur Juedischen Literatur*, Goettingen, 1891; reviewed by I. Abrahams, *JQR*, iv, 158-161. Geyraud, *L'Antisémitisme et St. Thomas d'Aquin*, pp. 40 ff.; *Hibbert Journal*, x, 974.

giae, he shows himself to be well acquainted with the writings of Avicebron, whom he mentions by name.[447] His reliance upon Maimonides' *Moreh* has been recognized universally by investigators.[448] "His theodicy is modeled after that of the Jewish philosophers, and his arguments can easily be referred to Jewish sources. Thus he gives five proofs of the existence of God, three of which are directly taken from Jewish philosophers."[449] In his protest against the hypothesis of the eternity of the world, Aquinas copies word for word the arguments advanced by Maimonides.[450] In his discussion of the attributes of God, his theories on Providence, Prophecy, God's omniscience, the angels, the ceremonial laws of the Pentateuch, and his so-called "original principle of individuation," the evidence of Jewish influence is unmistakably clear. There are strong traces of Jewish influence also in Thomas' exegetical opinions.[451] It is not surprising, therefore, to learn that Thomas was accused by his opponents of having succumbed to the opinions of "Jews and Pharisees."[452] So great was the attractiveness of his views, that his works found currency in Jewish circles in the form of Hebrew translations.[453] "There is no doubt that the method of harmonizing Aristotelian doctrine with traditional teaching so far as the common elements of Judaism and Christianity were concerned, was suggested to Aquinas by his Jewish predecessor."[454] While it may be an exaggeration to say that "Maimonides is the precursor of Saint

[447] Wittmann, M., *Die Stellung des heiligen Thomas von Aquin zu Avencebrol*, Muenster, 1900; *REJ*, xli, 314.

[448] Michel, A., "Die Kosmologie des Moses Maimonides und des Thomas von Aquino in ihren gegenseitigen Beziehungen," *Philosophisches Jahrbuch*, 1891; Rohner, A., *Das Schoepfungsproblem bei Moses Maimonides, Albertus Magnus und Thomas von Aquin*, Muenster, 1913; Hausbach, "Die Stellung des heiligen Thomas von Aquin zu Maimonides in der Lehre von der Prophetie," in *Theol. Quartalschrift*, lxxxi, 553-79.

[449] "Contra Gentiles," ii, 33; *Moreh*, ii, 16; "Contra Gentiles," i, 22; *Moreh*, ii, 16; for the second proof, Bachyah's "Duties of the Heart" seems to have contributed.

[450] *Summa*, i, 45, a. 1, *Moreh*, i, 2, 15.

[451] Siegfried, "Thomas von Aquino als Ausleger des Alten Testaments," in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift*, 1894; Merx, in the introduction to his *Die Prophetie des Joels*.

[452] *Hist. Litt. de la France*, xxi, 494-5, which quotes Gerard d'Abbeville.

[453] *JE*, ii, 39; Steinschneider, *Uebersetzungen*, pp. 483-7; Jellinek, *Thomas von Aquino in der juedischen Literatur*, Leipzig, 1853.

[454] Husik, *Medieval Jewish Philosophy*, p. 307.

Thomas Aquinas and the *Moreh* announced and prepared the way for the *Summa Theologiae*,"[455] the importance of Maimonides for Thomas' philosophy cannot be denied.

5. *Vincent of Beauvais.* Vincent of Beauvais (1190-1264), next to Albertus and Thomas Aquinas the foremost scholar of Scholasticism, demonstrates in his chief work: *Speculum Majus*,[456] a veritable encyclopaeda of theology, literary history, science and the arts, considerable acquaintance with Jewish literature and affairs. Thus, in the ninth book of *Speculum doctrinale* he gives a summary of the canonical law concerning the civil position and treatment of Jews.[457] He discusses whether Jews have the right to own slaves, whether Jewish children may be baptized by compulsion,[458] and how Jews may be attracted to the Christian faith. Vincent seeks to give the impression that he knew Hebrew, for at the end of the first book of the *Speculum doctrinale*, he presents an alphabetic vocabulary with the explanation of several Hebrew words; in another section, he discusses Jewish festivals.[459] Vincent doubtless had learned much concerning Jews and Judaism from the *Pugio Fidei* of his fellow-Dominican, Raymond Martin; he learned more, however, of the Hebrew tradition, particularly of the Talmud, "from his personal association with Jews."[460] "I have heard from a certain Jew," he remarks, the Jewish view with reference to damages done by lepers to houses of domicile.[461] This "certain Jew," was doubtless "Jacob Aranicus," to whom

[455] Saisset, E., "Maimonide et Spinoza," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1862.

[456] Douai, 1624, in four volumes; *Scholastik*, 121-137; see the works of Boutaric, Baumgartner, Bourgeat, Vogl, and others concerning Vincent.

[457] Lib. ix, cap. 36, 37, 40, 41, 43.

[458] *Spec. doc.*, L. ix, cap. 42, col. 797. Thomas Aquinas and John Duns Scotus also debated this subject; Guttmann, *Das Verhaeltniss des Thomas von Aquino*, p. 4: see below.

[459] *Spec. hist.*, L. ii, cap. 48, p. 622; cf. views of Thomas Aquinas, Guttmann, p. 14; note 2.

[460] *Scholastik*, p. 128.

[461] *Spec. hist.*, L. ii, cap. 36, p. 59. "Porro sicut lex quosdam cibos immundos reputari fecit, ut in Judaeis vitium gulae coerceat, sic etiam non absurdum videri potest, quod a quodam Hebraeo audivi, quasdam domus eorum leprae condemnari, ut eorum superbiam in aedificiis reprimeret." Cf. *Talmud, b. Sotah*, fol. 5a. Vincent cites certain "traditions of the Hebrews" which have a Talmudic origin: *Spec. natur.*, L. ii, cap. 24, col. 94; cf. *Talmud, Pesachim*, fol. 54a; *Spec. hist.* L. vi, cap. 84, p. 74; cf. *Talmud, Sabbath*, fol. 56b; cf. also Duns Scotus.

Vincent explains he is highly grateful for instruction in the art of alchemy.[462] In his presentation of the natural sciences, in the Prologue to the *Speculum naturale*, he mentions "Isaac",[463] by whom is meant Isaac Israeli; there are no less than one hundred and forty excerpts from Israeli's works, oftentimes whole chapters or rows of chapters borrowed bodily, principally from his writing on remedies and ailments.[464] Vincent, in addition, made liberal quotations *ex libro fontis vitae*, though without any reference to the author's name.[465] The *Moreh* of Maimonides is cited five times in the *Speculum majus;* on three occasions "Rabbi Moyses" is named;[466] in the other two instances, Vincent appropriates Maimonides' opinions without mentioning his authority.[467] The work of the Jewish convert, Peter Alphonso (baptized in 1106), entitled: *Dialogi in quibus impiae Judaeorum opinionis . . confutantur*,[468] proved itself greatly serviceable to Vincent as it did to other Christian authors during the Middle Ages;[469] thus, in the twenty-fifth book of the *Speculum historiale* he makes numerous citations from it, extending from the 119th to the 139th chapter.

In a group of historical items Vincent shows himself familiar with events in the life of English Jewry; thus, he narrates the story of the conversion of a Jew, Jacob of London, after his rescue from robbers by the miraculous intervention of the Virgin Mary; he gives considerable attention to the famous disputation at London between the Jews and Christians during the reign of

[462] *Spec. natur.*, L. vii, cap. 87, col. 480; . . . "Jacob Aranicus Judaeus, qui me in ista arte non pauca docuerunt, Petrus quoque et Duraunaus monachi."

[463] cap. 18, Prolog., p. 15.

[464] Translated into Latin by Constantinus Afer under the title: *Diaetae universales* and *Diaetae particulares*; *Uebersetzungen*, p. 756. For other references to Israeli's works, see *Spec. natur.*, vii, cap. 25, col. 177; xxiv, cap. 61, col. 1698, etc.

[465] *Spec. natur.*, xxiii, cap. 25, col. 1070; cap. 44, col. 1683; xxv, cap. 6, col. 1778; cap. 29, col. 1939; *Specul. doctr.*, i, cap. 17, col. 17; xv, cap. 4, col. 1373.

[466] *Spec. natur.*, iii, cap. 82, col. 216; ix, cap. 20, col. 565; xiv, cap. 32, col. 1112.

[467] *Spec. natur.*, iii, cap. 95, col. 224; *Moreh*, ii, 30; *Guide*, ii, 330 ff.; *Spec. natur.*, xxvi, cap. 95.

[468] First printed at Cologne, 1536; later in *Max. Bibl.*, xxi, 172 ff.; Migne, clvii, 535-572; see Raymond Martin, *Pugio Fidei*, iii, dist. 3, cap. 4.

[469] John Duns Scotus cites *Talmud, Berachoth*, fol. 59a, from *Dialogi*, tit. 1, col. 591.

William Rufus;[470] he mentions the blood accusation at Norwich. Among the items concerning the Jews in France, he refers to the Expulsion of 1183, the auto da fé in Bray, and the Constitution of the Jews under Philip Augustus. He omits any mention of the Talmud controversy of 1240, but furnishes information concerning the Jews in Tartary, doubtless reported to him by the Dominican monks, Simon of Quintin and Guichard of Cremona, sent there by Innocent IV.

6. *Bonaventura.* The Italian Bonaventura (1221-1274), a member of the Franciscan Order, known as "Doctor Seraphicus," a pupil of Alexander Hales in the Aristotelian party, influenced by Bernard of Clairvaux, Hugo and Richard of Saint Victor (all of them Hebraists), also shows distinct traces of Jewish religious-philosophical influence. In his Commentary on the Sentences of Peter Lombard, he mentions Isaac Israeli;[471] he borrows considerably from the views of the *Fons Vitae* in his discussion of spiritual substances, matter and form;[472] and in seeking proofs concerning the eternity of the world, he gleans material from the *Moreh* of Maimonides;[473] the latter work is also cited in his discussion of circumcision.[474] "Here and there," says Guttmann,[475] "we find utterances which allow of the opinion that he had entered into personal associations with Jews. Thus he mentions among others certain objections which are raised by Jews against the teaching and the cult of the Christian Church."[476]

7. *Roger Bacon and Raymond Lully.* Roger Bacon, the Franciscan, to whom we have devoted attention as a Hebraist, is reckoned among the Franciscan Scholastic philosophers.[477] As

[470] *Spec. hist.*, xxv, cap. 86, p. 1032, taken from the Chronicle of the Monk Helinand; Schaible, *Die Juden in England*, Karlsruhe, 1890, p. 7, after Roger of Hoveden; Jacobs, *Jews of Angevin England*, London, 1893, p. 6; *v. s.* and *v. i.*

[471] *Lib. Sentent.*, L. i, dist. vii, a. 1, qu. 1.

[472] *Ibid.*, L. ii, dist. iii, a. 1, qu. 1; L. ii, dist. xvii, a. 1, qu. 2.

[473] *Ibid.*, L. ii, dist. i, a. 1, qu. 2; cf. *Moreh*, i, cap. 74; *Guide*, i, 424-432.

[474] *Ibid.*, L. iv, dist. i, a. 3, qu. 2; cf. *Moreh*, iii, cap. 49; *Guide*, ii, 419-20.

[475] *Scholastik*, p. 140.

[476] "Collationes de decem praeceptis," iii, N. 8 and 9; v, 516, of 1891 ed. of Bonaventura's works. These "objections" deal with the Jewish view of the Trinity, the adoration of images, and the Eucharist; cf. *Ibid.*, iii, N. 11; v, 517; iv, N. 5; v, 520.

[477] *Scholastik*, pp. 140-149; Reuter, H., *Geschichte der religioesen Aufklaerung im Mittelalter*, Berlin, 1877, ii, 80.

we have already noted, he took cognizance of the aid rendered by the Jew Andreas to Michael Scot in his translations of Aristotle's works.[478] He makes many remarks of importance for the philosophy of his day, among them, that Plato was a pupil of Jeremiah.[479] He sought a reform of the Christian calendar by introducing the astronomical principles underlying the Jewish calendar.[480] His geographical comments, wherein he mentions the Jewish settlements in the region of the Caspian Sea, are of interest, particularly since they relate to the missions sent there by the Franciscan and Dominican Orders. According to Guttmann,[481] the only citations of Jewish authors by name refer to Isaac Israeli[482] and "Arzachel," Sahl ibn Bishr.[483] That Maimonides is not mentioned is explained as due to the fact that Bacon was less concerned with speculative philosophical problems than with the method of natural sciences; he was in agreement with Alexander of Hales in his opposition to the views concerning matter and form as expressed in the *Fons Vitae* of Avicebron.[484]

Raymond Lully, as we have noted, was a vigorous opponent of Averroism, and sought to win to the Church the heretics, Moslems, Greeks and Jews.[485] In *De auditu Kabbalistico*[486] Lully is supposed to have received the stimulus for his philosophical viewpoint from the Jewish Kabbalah.[487] Whatever may be the merit of the discussion among scholars upon the correctness of this assertion, we may refer to Guttmann's statement that inasmuch as later Christian students of the Kabbalah turned to the works of Lully, it appears there must have been an affinity between his thought and that of Jewish mysticism.[488]

8. *John Duns Scotus.* John Duns Scotus (1266-1308), foremost theologian of the Franciscan movement, and leader of the

[478] Brewer, *Opera inedita*, p. 472; Graetz, vii, 87, n. 2; *Uebersetzungen*, p. 481.

[479] *Opus majus*, p. 23, of the Venice, 1750 edition.

[480] *Ibid.*, p. 132, p. 92, etc.

[481] *Scholastik*, p. 150

[482] *Opus majus*, p. 115.

[483] *Ibid.*, p. 92; on other Jewish authors perhaps known by Bacon, *v. s.*

[484] Charles, *Bacon*, p. 324; *Op. tert.*, cap. 38, p. 120.

[485] Reuter, *op. cit.*, ii, 97; *v. s.*

[486] Franck, A., *La Kabbale*, Paris, 1843, p. 7; Stoeckl, A., *Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, Mainz, 1864-6, ii, 939.

[487] *Raimundi Lulli opera ea, quae ad inventam ab eo artem universalem*, Argentorati, 1651; "De auditu Kabbalistico," pp. 44, 95, 107, 78, etc.

[488] *Scholastik*, p. 153; Stoeckl, *op. cit.*, pp. 932, 939.

reaction against the philosophical views of Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas, is as greatly indebted to Jewish sources as are his predecessors. In a passage of his work: *De Rerum Principio*, he declares that in direct contrast to Thomas, he wishes to return to the standpoint of Avicebron.[489] Inasmuch, however, as Scotus is not a systematician, the influence of Gabirol is not so strong as might be expected; moreover, because, also, as Scotus is more interested in theology than in speculation, the contribution of Maimonides as a mediator between theology and philosophy is not so significant as in the case of Thomas. Unlike the latter, Scotus favored the forcible baptism of Jewish children, seeking support for his view from the canon of the Council of Toledo under King Sisebut, and interpreting Isaiah 4:22 in its behalf.[490] Scotus' knowledge of Jewish literature is confined to Gabirol's *Fons Vitae* and Maimonides' *Moreh*. In one passage of the *Quaestiones miscellanae* we find mentioned a certain "Rabbi Barahoc," who forms a worthy counterpart to "Rabbi Talmud," for he owes his name to the Talmudic tractate: *Berachoth*, to which doubtless a convert of Jewish origin called the attention of the Franciscan monk, who thereupon interpreted it in a manner unfriendly to the Jews.[491] Gabirol's influence is most apparent in the work: *De Rerum Principio*, which has been called a continuous commentary to the metaphysics of Avicebron.[492] In his opinions concerning the belief that not only corporeal, but also spiritual substance is compounded of matter and form, in his metaphysical and cosmological system, based upon the doctrine of a unitary, universal substance underlying all created things, both corporeal and spiritual, and in other important points, Scotus follows step

[489] Scotus' works were published by Luke Wadding, Lyons, 139; Paris edition, 1891-95 in 26 volumes. Scotus uses the form of the name: Avicembron or Avicembronus, like Albertus Magnus; *Scholastik*, pp. 154-167.

[490] *Sent.*, iv, dist. 4, qu. 9; viii, 275 (Lyons ed.); Antonius Hiquaeus, a Franciscan, commentator on the *Opus Oxoniense*, remarks that all the pupils of Scotus followed this view, among them Vincent of Beauvais; see also the opinions of Durand of St. Pourcain and others.

[491] *Quaest. miscell.*, qu. 6, 21; iii, 477; cf. *Talmud, Berachoth*, fol. 59a; *Sabbath*, fol. 56b; *Yomah*, fol. 22b; *Scholastik*, pp. 129, n. 2; 133, n. 2.

[492] Stoeckl, *op. cit.*, ii, 808; Werner, *Johannes Duns Scotus*, Vienna, 1881, p 62, says that Scotus, like William of Auvergne, must have considered Avicebron a Christian. See Guttmann, "Die Beziehungen des Johannes Duns Scotus zum Judenthum," *Monatsschrift*, xxxviii (1894), 26-39; *JE*, v, 14-15.

by step upon the teachings of Avicebron.[493] Though the Franciscan does not discuss Gabirol's conception of the Will, he relies upon him substantially on other subjects.

Maimonides also is an important authority cited by Scotus. "Like Thomas Aquinas, he follows the statements of Maimonides concerning belief and knowledge or the relation of revelation and reason, which statements are all, in their essential points, traceable back to Saadia as their first source."[494] Scotus cites "Rabbi Moyses" on several occasions.[495] In considering Thomas' statements on the divine attributes, Scotus quotes the views of Maimonides which, he says, are in harmony with those of Avicenna;[496] he discusses the Jewish interpretation of the "Tetragrammaton,"[497] the Aristotelian view of the Nature of God,[498] the various forms of prophecy,[499] the number of the commands enjoined in the Bible, and their division into ceremonial and moral injunctions,[500]—all in the light of the opinions expressed by Maimonides, whom in almost every instance he names. Scotus, like Alexander of Hales, William of Auvergne, Thomas Aquinas, Vincent of Beauvais, and other Scholastics whom we have considered, illustrates once more in unmistakable fashion the fact that in the formation and development of medieval Christian philosophy the works of Jewish scholars and thinkers played a significant role, and aided materially in interpreting the Jewish tradition to the Christian world.[501]

[493] *De Rerum*, qu. 7, a. 2. 14 ff.; iii, 40; qu. 7, a. 2, 23, p. 42; qu. 7, a. 2, 19, p. 42; qu. 8, a. 4, p. 51, etc.

[494] Guttmann, *Die Religionsphilosophie des Saadia*, Goettingen, 1882, pp. 24-25; *idem*, *Verhaeltniss des Thomas von Aquino*, pp. 32 ff.

[495] *Sent.*, i, dist. 2, qu. 3, 7, v, 294; cf. *Moreh*, ii, 31; *Guide*, ii, 257; *ibid.*, ii, dist. 3, qu. 7, a. 2, 26, p. 44; *Guide*, ii, 21, etc.

[496] *Sent.*, i, dist. 8, qu. 4, 2, p. 751; *Moreh*, i, cap. 52, 53; *Opera*, v, 751.

[497] *Sent.*, i, dist. 22, qu. 1, 3; v, 1053; *Moreh*, i, cap. 61; *Guide*, i, 271 ff.

[498] *Quaest. in metaphys.*, qu. 1, 13; iv, 513; *Moreh*, ii, cap. 21; *Guide*, ii, 269.

[499] *Quaest. miscell.*, qu. 6, 8; iii, 474; *Moreh*, iii, cap. 25; *Guide*, iii, 194-5.

[500] *Sent.*, iii, dist. 40, qu. unic.; vii, 1031; *Moreh*, iii, cap. 31; *Guide*, iii, 248.

[501] It was natural, also, that Christian philosophy should affect Jewish thinkers; for example, the *Sepher Mitzwoth Gadhol* of Moses of Coucy (c. 1250) recalls the celebrated treatise by Abelard: *Sic et non*; cf. *Hist. Litt. de la France*, xx, 513. On Alain de Lille, see Nirenstein, S., "The Problem of the Existence of God in Maimonides, Alanus and Averroes," in *JQR.*, xiv (April, 1924), 395 ff.

3. *Philosophers of the Renaissance and Modern Times*

Among the philosophers of the Renaissance, when the transition from the philosophy of Scholasticism had commenced, we find a continuation of Jewish influence. Nicholas of Cusa (1401-1464) because of his mystical tendencies, cites the *Book of Raziel*; he seems to have had personal relations with Jews, with whom, according to his own statements, he occasionally entered into controversy in order to refute their theological views; among other Jewish authorities he mentions Isaac Israeli, Avicebron, Abraham ibn Ezra, Prophatius or Jacob ben Makhir, and "Rabbi Salomon," by whom he means Maimonides.[502] Jacob Faber Stapulensis, Bonet de Lattes and Carolus Bobillus are other Christian thinkers who drew heavily upon Jewish writings, and who sought the personal aid of Jewish teachers. Among Christian scholars who during the period of the Reformation stood in more or less close relationships to Jews and Judaism we may mention the following: Giordano Bruno (1548-1600),[503] Jean Bodin (1530-1596),[504] Michael Servetus (1509-1553);[505] in modern times, we may name: Leibnitz (1646-1716),[506] Immanuel Kant (1724-1804),[507] Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860),[508] and Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900);[509] almost every philosopher of any im-

[502] *Scholastik*, pp. 168-175. Inasmuch as Nicholas lived in a period which falls somewhat outside the scope of this work, we must leave a detailed consideration of his works for another time.

[503] Jaré, G., "Wer war der juedische Prediger der von Giordano Bruno geruehmt wird?" *Zeit. f. Hebraeische Bibliographie*, 1903, N. 1; Boulting, W., *Giordano Bruno*, London, 1917, p. 162.

[504] Guttmann, J., "Jean Bodin in seinen Beziehungen zum Judenthum," *Monatsschrift*, 1905; Breslau, 1906; *REJ*, lix, 283-4.

[505] Guttmann, J., "Michael Servet in seinen Beziehungen zum Judenthum," *Monatsschrift*, li, (1907); *v. i.*

[506] Careil, A. Foucher de, *Leibniz, la Philosophie Juive et La Cabale*, Paris, 1861; Stein, L., *Leibnitz und Spinoza*, Berlin, 1890.

[507] Muenz, B., "Kants Verhaeltniss zu Juden und zum Judentum," *Die Welt*, viii (1904), pp. 9-11; Oettli, S., *Das Urteil Kants ueber die alt-testamentliche Religion*, Greifswald, 1906, Guttmann, J., *Kant und das Judentum*, Leipzig, 1908; Cohen, H., *Innere Beziehungen der Kantischen Philosophie zum Judentum*, 1910; Friedlaender, M., pp. iv-vi, of *Synagoge und Kirche*; Jacobs, *Contributions*, pp. 177-178.

[508] Seligmann, C., "Schopenhauer und das Judentum," in *Judentum und moderne Weltanschauung*, Frankfurt a. M., 1905, pp. 50-68; *Schopenhauer-Lexikon*, bearbeitet von J. Frauenstaedt, 1871, pp. 1, 88-91, 377-381.

[509] Lewkowicz, J., "Fryderyk Nietzschi o zydach i judaizmie," in *Z filozofji*

portance in the world of thought has dealt with the relation of Judaism and the Jewish problem to Christianity and Christian affairs.[510] Among Jewish philosophers whose works have influenced Christian views during and since the close of the Middle Ages, we may mention: Levi ben Gerson (1288-1344),[511] Chasdai Crescas (1340-1410),[512] Leo Hebraeus, (d. 1535) the friend of Pico de Mirandola[513], Joseph Albo (1380-1444?), mentioned respectfully by many Christian theologians, including Hugo Grotius and Richard Simon;[514] Leon of Modena (1571-1648),[515] Judah Messer Leon, a sixteenth century commentator on Aristotle,[516] Benedict Spinoza (1632-1677),[517] Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786), Solomon Maimon,[518] Heinrich Heine,[519] Hermann

judaizmi, Warsaw, 1908-9; Lipsky, A., "Nietzsche's Jewish Obsession," *Forum*, liv (1915), 433-442; Seligmann, C., "Nietzsche und das Judentum," in *op. cit.*, pp. 69-89.

[510] Stern, S., *Tolstoi, Zola und das Judentum*, Frankfurt a. M., 1906.

[511] Weil, I., *Philosophie religieuse de Levi ben Gerson*, Paris, 1868; Joel, M., *Levi ben Gerson als Religionsphilosoph*, Breslau, 1862.

[512] Joel, M., *Don Chasdai Creskas' religionsphilosophische Lehren in ihrem geschichtlichen Einflusse*, Breslau, 1866.

[513] Zimmels, B., *Leo Hebraeus, ein juedischer Philosoph der Renaissance*, Breslau, 1866.

[514] Taenzer, A., *Die Religionsphilosophie Josef Albo's nach seinem Werke "Ikkarim,"* Presburg, 1896, p. 30.

[515] Geiger, A., *Leon da Modena und seine Stellung zur Kabbalah, zum Thalmud und zum Christenthume*, Breslau, 1856; see p. 43 for his views on proselytism.

[516] Husik, I., *Judah Messer Leon's Commentary on the "Vetus Logica,"* Leyden, 1906.

[517] Out of a vast literature on Spinoza's influence on the world of thought, we select the following: Dessauer, M., *Spinoza und Hobbes*, Breslau, 1868; McGiffert, A. C., "The God of Spinoza as interpreted by Herder," in *Hibbert Journal*, iii, 706-728; Stein, L., *Leibniz und Spinoza*, Berlin, 1890; etc. On his relation to Judaism, see Sorley, "Jewish Medieval Philosophy and Spinoza," in *Mind*, July, 1880; Lewkowicz, J., "Baruch Spinoza" in *Z filozofji judaizmi*, Warsaw, 1909; Siegfried, C., *Spinoza als Kritiker und Ausleger des Alten Testaments*, Berlin, 1867; Vexler, M., "Spinoza et l'autorité de la Bible, *REJ*, lxiv, 30 ff.; Baruch, S., "Spinoza," in *Hebrew Union College Monthly*, i, 9 ff.; *JE*, xi, 511-520, with bibliography; Wachter, J. G., *De Spinosismo in Judaismo*, Amsterdam, 1699; Roth, Leon, *Spinoza, Descartes, and Maimonides*, Oxford, 1924.

[518] Daiches, S., "Solomon Maimon, and his Relation to Judaism, " *Jewish Review*, v, 152-172.

[519] Bienenstock, M., *Das juedische Element in Heine's Werken*, 1910; Arnold, M., *Essays on Criticism*, 1st ed., pp. 179-183; Brandes, G., *Hauptstroemungen der Litteratur des 19ten Jahrhunderts*, vi.

Cohen,[520] Henri Bergson,[521] and others who in varying degree have transmitted the content of Judaism and the viewpoint of Jewish philosophy into the world of Christian and general thought.[522]

7. The Scope of Jewish Influence in Christendom

From a consideration of the sources and content of the Jewish tradition, and its transmission into Christian life, we may turn to a brief summary of the material concerning the scope of Jewish influence. This leads us into an analysis of the fields or realms of Christian thought and practice wherein this influence made itself felt. Hence, in resumé, we may say that Judaism has left its imprint upon the religious institutions or cult of Christendom; the liturgy of the Christian Church has been built upon that of Judaism; the injunctions of the Mosaic Code have been followed by many Christian groups: thus, the practice of circumcision, the observance of the food-laws, the celebration of the Seventh-Day Sabbath have often occurred among Christian believers. Jewish opposition to image-worship has been imitated by Christians on the basis of the Second Commandment of the Decalogue; certain social-economic practices which throughout the centuries have become associated with the Jews, namely, the "Jewish" practice of medicine and money-lending, have found Christian adherents, despite the accusation by orthodox believers that such action savored of "Judaizing."

Jewish influence has left its mark also upon Christian doctrines, theology and law. In so-called Christian Gnosticism both its

[520] *Die Bedeutung des Judentums fuer den religioesen Fortschritt der Menschheit*, Berlin, 1910; Perles, F., "Das Juedische in Cohen's Ethik," *JQR.*, October, 1906.

[521] Levinger, L. J., *The Philosophy of Henri Bergson and Judaism*, 1916; *idem*, "Is the Philosophy of Bergson Compatible with the Jewish Belief in an All-Knowing and All-Providing God?" *Hebrew Union College Monthly*, i, 39; Kallen, H. M., *William James and Bergson*, Chicago, 1914; Slosson, E. E., *Major Prophets of Today*, New York, 1914; Smith, G. B., *The Influence of Bergson on Christian Thought.*

[522] Cf. Scheftelowitz, I., *Der Optimismus des Judentums*, Frankfurt a. M., 1913-14; Schweinburg, S., *Juedische Pessimisten*; Ascher, M., *Kein Widerspruch zwischen Judentum, Wissenschaft und Leben*, Neuchatel, 1908; Lewkowitz, J., *Judentum und moderne Weltanschauung*, Frankfurt a. M., 1909; Joel, M., "Ueber den Wissenschaftlichen Einfluss des Judenthums auf die Nicht-Juedische Welt," in *Beitraege*, ii.

pro-Old Testament and anti-Old Testament aspects have manifested the presence of Jewish elements; Christian mysticism has been indebted to the ideas of the Kabbalah which have been assiduously studied and imitated by many non-Jewish scholars; certain Messianic movements in Christianity have been affected by the rise of Jewish Pseudo-Messiahs, and by the appearance of Christian Pseudo-Messiahs motivated by a Judaic impulse. We have already described the Jewish factors in Christian philosophy. In Christian ideas concerning God, particularly in the Unitarian movement, Jewish contributions have been signally important; the Jewish concept of monotheism, the influence emanating from Jewish apologetical literature and controversies with Christian ecclesiastics, the Jewish role in the age-old conflict between the Arian and Athanasian parties in Christendom, and in the development of certain distinctively monotheistic or Unitarian tendencies during the Reformation and in modern Christian life, have been decisive forces. In the growth of political-religious liberalism and law, Jewish elements have been present: thus, the Mosaic legal system has played a part in the growth of republican government in England and America, and in the evolution of international law; moreover, Old Testament teachings and the participation of individual Jews have contributed to the rise and spread of many modern movements of political-economic and social reform. Finally, Judaism and individual Jews have been influential in the growth of modern rationalism and free thought, making for a convergence of the ideals of what is styled "Liberal Christianity" and "Liberal Judaism." There is no sphere of the thought-life of Western Christendom in which Jewish influence, either literary or personal, cannot be found.

We cannot at this point describe in detail the nature and the scope of Jewish contributions in each instance we have cited. We have already indicated through our description of the Jewish role in the history of Christian Hebraism and Christian philosophy the character of Jewish influence in orthodox Christian circles. In the chapters which follow we shall analyze a few typical "Reform" movements in the Middle Ages, during the period of the Reformation, and in modern times, which illustrate the phenomenon of Jewish influence in the heterodox groups of Christendom. As for a detailed presentation of the imprint of the Jewish tradition upon the formation of Christianity prior to

the Middle Ages, and upon its development since then, we must wait until the appearance of other works which are now in preparation; the same must be said concerning a summary of the general conclusions to be drawn from a study of the relationships of Judaism and Christianity throughout the ages. At the end of these forthcoming volumes, we shall assemble certain important bibliographical material, not included in the foot-notes, which will serve to indicate the line of research which has been followed, not only for this volume, but for those which constitute the series. With these remarks, we may now turn to an investigation of Jewish influence on certain representative Christian Reform movements.

BOOK II

JEWISH INFLUENCE ON THE HERESIES OF THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. The Rise of Heresy during the Eleventh Century

The eleventh and twelfth centuries are noteworthy in the history of Christianity as marking the commencement of organized dissent within the Catholic Church. Though individual heretics had not been uncommon during the long career of the Church, now for virtually the first time concerted opposition by powerful groups arose to challenge its spiritual and temporal authority. The reasons for the appearance and growth of heresy were manifold. For example, the vestiges of earlier heresies within the Church still remained, and heterodox beliefs which had left an imprint upon the character of Christian literature regained their strength from time to time. Thus the survival of Old Testament and Judaic doctrines in Catholic belief and practice proved a constant irritant not only to the Church but even to Christian heretics themselves. Another cause of dissent lay in the political and cultural movements of the eleventh and twelfth centuries: the upheaval of Christendom occasioning and occasioned by the Crusades found expression also in the sphere of religious interests. A final and especially powerful stimulus to dissent resided in the spread of Biblical studies among the laity and the masses of common people. Through the medium of translations of the Bible into the vernacular the Scriptural word which had hitherto been the peculiar monopoly of the professional clergy was now disseminated among the people. This popularization of the Biblical text in its original form, unalloyed by approved ecclesiastical interpretation, worked a revolution in the thought of its readers, and led directly to widespread dissent. Thus the forces which reached their climax in the Protestant Reformation of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were set in

motion during the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and prepared the way for the great heresies in Christendom which were destined to divide into warring parties the hitherto unified Church. Other causes were cited at the time as responsible for the growth of heresy;[1] those we have named, however, may be accepted as the most potent in their operation.

2. The Major Heretical Groups

The outcome of these causes of dissent was the formation of several well-defined heterodox groups which may be grouped into three main classifications: the first was the so-called Neo-Manichean Arian heresy, of which the foremost representatives were the Catharists; the second group was strongly pro-Biblical in tendency, typified most clearly by the Waldensians; a third party were pronounced Judaizers, who, for the purposes of our study, may be divided into two categories: those who found their rallying center in the so-called Passagii, and those other Judaizing individuals and groups who came under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition, particularly in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In addition to these heretics, an additional party inclined to heterodox opinions in the realm of philosophy and mysticism; with them, however, we shall be only slightly concerned in this work. In many instances these groups overlap; on the whole, however, they are explicitly demarcated one from the other; they unite in one salient respect: their thoroughgoing opposition to the then supreme Roman Catholic Church.

3. Purpose of This Study

It is the purpose of this study to trace the Old Testament and Jewish influences in the doctrines and activities of these heretical parties. We find both literary and personal influences at work: that is to say, elements are present which emanate from Jewish literature, both Biblical and post-Biblical; in addition, individual Jews and Jewish communities play a role in the record of events in the career of the heretical movements. The degree of influence varies: thus, among the philosophical heretics dependence upon Jewish literary sources is relatively small, and contact with Jewish philosophers infrequent; the influence of Jewish philosophy and philosophers is apparent more concretely in the works of

[1] Reinerius in *Max. Bibl.*, xxv f. 263 ff.

orthodox Christian Scholastics. The doctrines of the Neo-Manichean groups in one aspect of their teaching are vigorously anti-Judaic; in another, however, they include some important Jewish features; moreover, in their political and social life, they are in constant personal association with Jews and Jewish communities. The pro-Biblical heretics, the Waldensians and their associates, exhibit strong Old Testament tendencies; in addition, there is evidence of direct contact with Jewish contemporaries. Among the Judaizing groups, the Passagii present a view of pro-Judaic elements in medieval heresy at their fullest; adherents of Passagian doctrine and practice came as close to being Jews as Christians of the day could do without actual conversion to Judaism. Other Judaizing heretics within the scope of the activities of the Inquisition include, as we shall see, Christian converts to Judaism, and Jewish converts to Christianity who themselves relapse to Judaism and oftentimes take with them to their ancestral faith native-born Christians.

II. JEWISH INFLUENCE ON THE CATHARIST HERESY

1. Jewish Factors in the Rise of Heresy in Languedoc

The so-called Catharist or Neo-Manichean movement is the first major medieval heresy, the Judaic aspects of which it is our task to describe. We shall see that the dominant note in Catharist theology was anti-Judaic, although Jewish influences were present in several of Catharist beliefs and practices. The social, cultural and political background of Catharism, in addition, contained many Jewish features which must engage our attention. On the continent of Europe the Neo-Manichean or Dualist movement found its major residence in Southern France and Northern Italy, in Languedoc and in Lombardy. In order to understand the rise of heresy in general and of Catharism in particular, we must describe those tendencies during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries which formed the milieu and background of dissent.

a. CULTURE AND SKEPTICISM IN PROVENCE

In addition to the factors we have already mentioned, namely, the survival of vestiges of earlier heresies, the intellectual up-

heaval concurrent with the Crusades and the revival of Biblical knowledge through a return to the Scriptural text, other forces were present. The cultural life of Southern France far outshone that of any other locality; chivalry and poetry were vigorously cultivated and patronized by nobles and their followers; the cities of Provence had acquired commercial independence and were marts of trade and commerce; devotion to the arts, education and literature in Languedoc had helped create an atmosphere of enlightenment which prepared the way for innovation and change in the sphere of religion. A strong spirit of national self-consciousness had arisen among the inhabitants of Southern France which cemented local unity in the presence of external attack. Thus the situation was propitious for a movement of protest against Roman Catholic orthodoxy, and for organized defense against the invasion of Roman forces, both military and spiritual.

Nowhere in Europe were the clergy more negligent of their duties or more despised by the people than in Provence. William of Puy Laurens betrays the attitude of the inhabitants of Languedoc when he remarks that the priests were regarded no higher than the Jews; in fact it is better, he says, to be a Jew than a priest.[1] This appears to indicate that the popular opinion of Jews at this time was so low that Puy Laurens could think of none baser to whom priests might be compared. It may at the same time show that Jews did occupy a place in the thought of contemporary writers, though not an enviable one. In 1147, Bernard of Clairvaux, in describing the condition of religion in the territories of the Count of Toulouse discovered by him on a visit to Languedoc, remarks in connection with the rise of the Petrobrussians: "The churches are regarded as synagogues, the sanctuary of the Lord is no longer holy."[2] This remark deserves classification with the words of Puy Laurens; for it does not imply that Christian churches had been transformed into Jewish synagogues; it means that they were regarded as profane assemblies, a sense in which the term "synagogue" was oftentimes

[1] "Capellani autem tanto contemptui haveantur a laicis quod eorum nomen, ac si Judaei essent in juramentum a pluribus sumebantur; unde sicut dicitur, mallem esse Judaeus, sic dicebatur, mallem esse capellanus quam hoc vel illud facere." Bouquet, M., *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de France*, Paris, 1738-1904, xix, f. 193.

[2] *Epistol.* 241.

applied by both orthodox churchmen and heretics to the religious institutions of an opposing group.

Languedoc, the melting pot of many races and the home of many cultures, soon became famous for its spirit of tolerance, unique among the contemporary nations of Europe. Provence, like Aquitania, was a soil well prepared to bear the fruits of heterodoxy. In Languedoc were concentrated the liberal tendencies which emanated from Spain, Italy, England, Germany and the Orient; Occidental prejudices had been undermined; the way was thereby prepared for new opinions, as yet uncoordinated and unorganized. Thus the interplay of numerous religious and political movements in Languedoc made it a realm of innovation, of transition, of skepticism and free thought. "The seed of heresy falling on such soil was destined to take quick root."

b. JEWS AND LIBERALISM IN PROVENCE

The role of the Jew in the creation of a milieu favorable to the growth of dissent in Provence has been noted by many scholars. Thus Martin remarks that "its intimate relationship with Moslems and Jews had caused Occidental prejudices to vanish, and had delivered it, without defense or criterium, to the disordered invasion of all foreign ideas."[3] There is little doubt that contact with Saracens through the Crusades and association with the great literary, religious and scientific tradition of Mohammedan civilization helped awaken Western Christendom to new self-examination, and encouraged movements of protest against the dominant faith. The role of Moorish culture—the study of Arabic, the influence of Moorish philosophers, physicians and legalists upon the growth of Christian Reform groups both in the pre-Reformation and the Reformation period—is a subject to which hitherto little heed has been given, but which opens up a fertile and novel field to the investigator.[4]

The presence of Jews in Southern France provided a potent

[3] Martin, Henry: *Histoire de France*, Paris, 1839, iv, 187: "Ses relations intimes avec les musulmans et les juifs avoient fait tomber chezelleles préjugés occidentaux, mais pour la livrer, sans défense et sans criterium, a l'invasion désordonnée de toutes les idées étrangères."

[4] For the influence of Saracens upon Servetus, Calvin, Luther and others, and for a discussion of the study of Arabic upon medieval thought, see below. For the influence of the Crusades upon Christian life, see below.

stimulus to the rise of liberal thought. It created a liberal frame of mind which sought to avoid orthodox doctrines and forms, and to launch out, oftentimes misguidedly, into systems of thought which had no other virtue than their novelty. The existence of the Jewish community, perpetually heterodox and protestant, constituted a challenge to static Christian thought; it gave to searching minds among non-Jews cause to ponder; it led them upon a quest for new views, merely in order to break the bonds of orthodoxy which, dissenters rightly believed, served to enslave free thought. Concomitant with the growth of liberal thought in Southern France, there gradually developed a more liberal attitude towards the Jews. It is difficult to say whether the Jewish communities flourished by reason of the freedom granted them under the aegis of liberalism, or whether liberalism arose as a consequence of tolerance for the Jews. The least that can be affirmed is that Jewish prosperity went hand in hand with intellectual emancipation not merely for Jews alone, but for all members of the larger community.

c. JEWISH PROSPERITY AND THE RISE OF HERESY

The favorable status of Provence Jewry not only gave a spur to the growth of heresy in general, but opened the door to important contributions by Jews and Judaism to the career of various heterodox movements; in addition, it fostered a distinct Judaizing tendency and a separate Judaizing group in the very locality where heresy flourished. In the tolerant political scheme of Provencal states the "principle of nationality" commanded recognition earlier perhaps than in any other modern European body politic. Hence during the period of efflorescence of Provence culture and the widespread dissemination of heresy, local Jewish settlements reached a high degree of commercial and intellectual prosperity. Lea, the historian of the Inquisition, has described the direct connection between Jewish influence and the rise of heresy in these words:

> In no other Christian land did the despised Jew enjoy such privileges. His right to hold land in *franc-alleu* was similar to that of the Christian; he was admitted to public office, and his administrative ability rendered him a favorite in such capacity with both prelate and noble; his synagogues were undisturbed; and the Hebrew school of Narbonne was renowned in Israel as the home of the Kimchis. Under such influences those who

really possessed religious convictions were but little deterred from criticising the shortcomings of the Church, or from seeking what might more nearly respond to their aspirations. It was in such a population as this that the first anti-sacerdotal heresy was preached . . .[5]

Not only Christian scholars, but Jewish investigators, among them Levy,[6] have observed that the diminishment of animosity towards the Jews was accompanied by opposition to the "mysteries" of the Church which offended their reason, and the abuses which were notorious in ecclesiastical circles. "The prominence of the Albigensian sect contributed not a little to the well-being of the Israelites, and diverted from them the attention, the hate and the persecutions of the clergy, as in later times was the case with Protestantism." Loeb[7] also points out the relationship between Jewish activity and religious ferment in Languedoc.

It may be observed that Spain up to the 13th century did not furnish very important material in the history of religious controversy, and like-

[5] Lea, H. C., *A History of the Inquisition*, New York, 1888, i, 67-8. In the note he quotes from Saige, G., *Les Juifs du Languedoc*, P. i, ch. ii; P. ii (Paris, 1881). "*The same causes were at work in Spain*, where the faithful complained that they were not allowed to persecute the Jew (Lucae Tudens., *de Altera Vita*, Lib. iii, cap. 3), and missionary work among the slaves was rendered costly by forcing the bishop of the diocese to pay to the master an extortionate price for every slave converted to Christianity, and thus set free, for Jews could not hold Christian slaves. They were also relieved from oppressive tax of the tithe. (Innocent III. *Regest.*, viii. 50; ix. 150). Even until late in the 13th century, we find Jews freely holding real estate in Languedoc. See Mss. Bib. Nat. Coll. Doat., xxxvii. vol. 20, 146, 148, 149, 151, 152.

"For the independence of the communes, see Fauriel's edition of William of Tudela, Introd. pp. lv. sq. and Mazure et Hatoulet, Fors de Bearn, p. xliii." It is not at all malapropos that Lea should mention the independence of the communes in connection with Jewish influence; the same set of circumstances operated in Lombardy; *v. i.*

[6] Levy, A., *Die Exegese bei den franzoesischen Israeliten vom 10ten bis zum 14ten Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1873, pp. 75-77. "Die Nachbarschaft d. civilizirten Araber, ihre Beruehrung mit d. Unglaubigen, mussten d. Geist dieser Bevoelkerung erwecken und ihren Widerwillen mindern gegenueber den Israeliten, diesen anderen vermeintlichen Unglaubigen die in ihrer Mitte wohnten. So waren sie auch die ersten, die sich gegen die Mysterien d. Kirche welche zu sehr die Vernunft beleidigten, und gegen die Missbraueche d. roemischen Hofes erhoben. Unter ihnen entstand und wuchs die Sekte der Albigenser. Das Vorhandensein dieser Sektirer trug nicht wenig zu dem Wohlfbefinden der Israeliten bei und lenkte von ihnen die Aufmerksamkeit, den Hass und die Verfolgungen des Klerus ab, ebenso wie spaeter der Protestantismus."

[7] *La Controverse Religieuse*, Paris, 1888, pp. 25-6.

wise, the North of France did not always treat the subject with much seriousness. It is in meridional France that the first polemical treatises written by Jews appeared. Languedoc during the Middle Ages, at least at a certain moment in its history, was a land of liberty and religious ferment. Christian heresies which in the North were promptly suppressed found there a propitious "terrain" and much greater toleration. It was there that in the 12th and 13th centuries the sect of the Waldenses or the Pauvres de Lyons was active, while in the vicinity, near the end of the 12th century, was born the sect of the Catharists. It may well be understood that in these provinces where religious questions were discussed with zeal, the Jews felt, more than elsewhere, the need to condense their polemics and to publish manuals for the use of controversialists. *It is not at all impossible that they were prompted to do this by the solicitation of the heretical sects, which, moreover, were accused of voluntarily judaizing.*

These sects, on the other hand, exercised a certain attraction for the Jews themselves; they aroused in their spirit the instinct for liberty and the taste for religious innovation. It may be formally stated that unbelievers and skeptics became numerous in the Jewish communities of these regions.

It is evident then that there was both a mediate and direct association between Jews and heretics of Languedoc: between the two groups there was an interplay of influence; both also partook of the various common tendencies which formed their background. To understand and estimate these forces in detail is the task before us.[8]

d. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN ALBIGENSIANS AND JEWS

From this statement of the general background of Jewish and cultural interest wherefrom heretical thought frequently sprang, we turn to a study of the specific heretical movements in this locality and their relationship to Judaism and the Jews. We have already remarked that the Catharist movement in its theology was anti-Judaic; the Waldensian movement, we may in anticipation observe, was partly pro-Judaic and partly anti-Judaic. We are for the moment interested in the Albigensian movement, the major heresy of Southern France, so-called be-

[8] For further references concerning the relationship between Provence Jewish culture and heresy, see *REJ*, xxxix, 6; *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, xxvii, 431 ff.; Peyrat, N., *Histoire des Albigeois*, Paris, 1870-2, i, 9; Saige, G. *Les Juifs du Languedoc*, p. 14.

cause its major center was the little town of Albi.[9] It was partly a political movement against the domination of Rome; it was partly a religious movement protesting against contemporary orthodoxy. Though the "Judaic souvenirs" in the liturgy, doctrine and literature of Catholicism were obnoxious to the Albigensians as well as to their fellow Catharists, nevertheless in its social and political contacts, the Albigensian movement betrays the impression of Jewish life and interests with which it became associated.

Saige, the historian of Languedoc Jewry, has remarked that the influence of Jews on the Albigensian heresy and the contributions of Jewish doctrine thereto have not as yet been fully understood.[10]

When the Crusade against the Albigensians was launched against the Seigneuries of Meridional France, one of the principal complaints raised against Raymond VI and his vassals was that he had entrusted to Jews public offices 'to the shame of the religion,'[11] and this chief accusation was one for which the unfortunate Count of Toulouse made 'amende honorable' at the Council of Saint-Gilles. He was compelled to swear, together with twelve of his principal vassals, that he would not entrust in the future any public or private offices to Israelites.[12]

The persistence with which the Councils followed up this complaint indicates the influence which the doctrines of certain Rabbis may have had upon the Albigensian heresy. This is an aspect of the history of this heresy which has not yet been studied.[13] However that may be,

[9] Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, Paris, 1897, p. 57 gives the Hebrew form: אלביגינשי for the "Albigeois" cited in *Dibhre ha-Yamim*, 34 a. "Le mot אויאונינשי qui se trouve dans ce passage est sans doute estropié et paraît designer les Albigeois. La lutte contre les Albigeois eut des conséquences facheuses pour les Juifs, car ils souffrirent beaucoup du fanatisme de ceux qui allaient en croisade contre cette hérétique et la défaite des defenseurs des Albigeois, tels que le comte Raymond VI de Toulouse et Roger Raymond, de Beziers, les priva de protecteurs bienveillants."

[10] Saige, *Les Juifs du Languedoc*, pp. 18-19.

[11] Letters of Innocent III (1207), Vaissette, *Histoire générale* de Languedoc, Toulouse, 1872-1904, iii, 151.

[12] Vaissette, iii, 162, 163, Catel, *Comtes de Toulouse*, Toulouse 1625, p. 245.

[13] "We have found nowhere any allusion to this influence," remarks Saige in note 3 on page 19, "which must, however, have been more direct than that of ideas transported from the Orient by the Crusades. The striking protection which Seigneurs most compromised in the heresy, the Vicomtes of Béziers, accorded to Jews, the administrative functions with which several of them were invested at their court, may be considered as indices of this influence. Nor must we forget the very curious fact of the conversion of Christians to Judaism

these prohibitions were renewed in 1209 by the Council of Avignon, in 1227 by that of Narbonne, and finally by the Treaty of 1229.[14]

We have, therefore, the suggestion of various channels through which Jews and Judaism made their imprint upon the Albigensian heresy: first, through positions of prominence occupied by Jews at the courts of heretical princes; secondly, through the activities which called forth the denunciation of Popes, the prohibitions of Councils and Treaties during the heretic centuries; thirdly, through the influence of Rabbinical teachings upon the doctrines and forms of the Albigensian system; fourthly, through the conversions to Judaism among Christians either by direct proselytism or through relapsed Jewish converts. To analyze these factors and to estimate the importance of each, is the task wherewith we must now occupy ourselves.

e. JEWISH OFFICIALS AT ALBIGENSIAN COURTS: HERETIC PRINCES AS JEWISH PATRONS

We turn first to the significant fact mentioned by Saige, namely: "the striking protection which the Seigneurs, most compromised in the heresy, the Viscounts of Béziers, accorded to Jews, the administrative functions with which several of them were invested at their court." In support of the reality of this influence we have the testimony of a Christian churchman, a contemporary of the Albigensian movement, who issued a general statement condemning the intercourse of Christian princes with members of the Jewish communities. In his denunciation: *Adversus Albigenses*, Lucas of Tuy, a Spanish monk, refers to certain heretics "who simulate the perfidy of the Jews."

"Likewise many heretics with a certain deliberate malice become circumcised, and under the guise of Jews, as if for the sake of disputing, come to Christains and ask heretical questions.

Thus the Jews sow heresies more freely, though at first they did not dare speak the word of heresy. The secular heads and judges of the cities hear the doctrines of heresy from Jews whom they number among their familiars and friends. If anyone led by zeal for the law of God exasper-

which had to be suppressed throughout the entire course of the 13th century. There should be in the works of the Rabbis which must be investigated, more certain traces. Here is an unexplored field for a scholar versed in Rabbinical studies."

[14] Vaissette, iii, 178, 365, 371.

ates any of them, he is punished as if he touched the pupil of the eye of the judge of the city. They teach other Jews to propose their blasphemies against Christians, in order that they can thus pervert the Catholic faith. All the synagogues of the malignant Jews have patrons, and they placate the leaders with innumerable gifts, and seduce by gold the judges to their own culture."[15] . . .

These statements from the pen of the Spanish controversialist have not been accepted by several investigators as in accordance with the true situation, on the ground that they are merely the product of the spleen of a Churchman against a despised race which had gained an important place in the financial and political affairs, not only of Spain but of adjacent countries, including Languedoc. Lucas of Tuy's remarks have been interpreted as applicable to the Judaizing Passagii of Lombardy and may have arisen in part through reports which came to him from this locality. But whether or not he speaks from first-hand information, Lucas' description furnishes an accurate picture of conditions in Provence where princes, notorious in Christendom for their heretical opinions, selected from the important Jewish communities over which they ruled, many trusted advisors and public servants.

It is one of the significant rules of European history that toleration for the Jews has gone hand in hand with free inquiry and

[15] Lucas Tudensis: *De Altera vita fideique controversiis adversus Albigensium errores*; ed. Mariana, Ingolstadt, 1612, pp. 189-190. "Haeretici Judaeorum perfidiam simulant. Item haeretici quadam excogitata malitia plerumque circumciduntur atque sub specie Judaeorum quasi gratia disputandi ad Christianos veniunt, ac haereticas questiones proponunt. Liberius tanquam Judaei haereses seminant, qui primo verbum haeresis dicere non audebant. Audiunt seculi princeps ac iudices urbium doctrinam haeresum a Judaeis quos familiares sibi annumerant ac amicos. Si aliquis ducatus zelo legis Dei aliquem horum exasperauit, punitur quasi qui tangit pupillam oculi iudicis ciuitatis. Hi docunt alios Judaeos suas blasphemias contra Christianos proponere, ut sic fidem Catholicam pervertere possint. Habent fautores omnes Synagoga malignantium Judaeorum, ac infinitis muneribus principes placant, et judices ad sui culturam auro perducunt . . .

Qui crucifixerunt Dominum Deum meum, euacuant fidem eius ac opprimunt pauperes sine causa. Ecclesiae Praelati manus eorum roborant, ac illoram earcati muneribus eos attulunt quasi suae legis sedulos defensores. Nolunt credere vel vocari haereticos quos haereticis propositionibus ac operibus assidue vident fidem Catholicam deuavastare . . .

Taliter enim procedendum est contra Judaeos, sive alios qui contra fidem Christi proponunt haereticos questiones. sicut contra illos qui eosdum gignunt errores."

religious liberty. Secular rulers who have favored Jews have by the same token inclined towards liberal opinion. The treatment accorded the Jewish population has been a barometer of the religious and political democracy of a land,[16] a fact which the history not only of Poland, modern Germany and France, modern Russia in particular, has demonstrated, but which is evidenced in medieval countries, nowhere more strikingly than in Languedoc, the home of heresy and Jewish prominence. Christian princes of Provence and other heretical centers protected Jews, no doubt for a variety of motives: humanitarian impulses played a part; selfish personal interests, the financial benefits derived from Jewish commercial activity, presented themselves as factors; princes treated Jews and heretics with tolerance oftentimes as a symbol of their contempt for Catholic overlordship. Whatever the motives, it remains indubitable, however, that protection for Jews and protection for heresy existed side by side; *per contra*, we shall find that where heretics were most violently persecuted, Jews suffered equally. Whether tolerance for Jews created heresy—Lucas of Tuy, Innocent III, and other churchmen insisted that "Jews disseminated heresy"—or whether heresy with its concomitant freedom of thought gave rise to liberty for the Jew, is a matter for debate. The two facts form a parallelism, and hence deserve especial study, even as does the negative parallelism of reaction against liberalism and Jewish persecution.

The heretic princes of Southern France did not turn to Jewish thought in the same mood as the heterodox groups of Italy, notably the Passagii. The Provence dissenters accepted Catharist dualism because it arose opportunely at a moment when opposition to Catholic hegemony was at its height, and the desire to throw off the Catholic yoke most intense. No traces of Jewish doctrine or practice appear in the life of Albigensian princes, yet the co-existence of their attitude towards Jews and inclination towards heresy cannot be gainsaid. To bridge the gap between these two tendencies is rarely possible because of the paucity of available evidence. It may be concluded, however, that the powerful Jewish culture in Languedoc, which had ac-

[16] "The freedom and security of the Jew, it cannot be too often reiterated, has always been in Christian Europe, the barometer of the civilization, the culture, the prosperity, the democracy of the countries of his sojourn." Kallen, H. M., *Zionism and World Politics*, New York, 1921.

quired sufficient strength to assume an aggressive, propagandist policy, created a milieu wherefrom movements of religious independence arose readily and spontaneously. Contact and association between Christian princes and their Jewish officials and friends stimulated the state of mind which facilitated the banishment of orthodoxy, the clearing away of the debris of Catholic theology. Unwilling to receive Jewish thought, the princes and laity turned towards Catharism, then being preached in their domains.

The interplay between Jewish and heretical forces has been observed not only by Saige, the historian of Languedoc Jewry, but by historians of Catharism as well. Schmidt notes the correlation between Jewish activity and the spread of Albigensian doctrines. "The indifference of the Seigneurs went so far that frequently they surrounded themselves with Jews, to whom they confided civil offices, or whom they received in the capacity of physicians into their intimacy; Provence was even filled with Jewish poets and Jewish philosophers."[17] The favor which the Jews in general enjoyed may be judged from the fact that they were employed by the counts and inferior lords in the position of "Baillis," an office in which, during the absence of the regent, were united police and juridical powers. These bailiffs had under their control the administration of lands dependent directly upon their lords; they also played an important role in the administration of justice. "Above all, they filled the office of farmers of revenue and were allowed to farm out the tolls and receipts of the town and fiefs, and even certain revenues of the chapters and bishops." (Saige, pp. 15 ff.)

1. *John of Soissons*

In the person of John, Count of Soissons, about the year 1144, we find illustrated the general view that favor towards Jews and inclination towards heresy go hand in hand. "The Count of Soissons," remarks Schmidt (i, 42), "enemy of the Church and *surrounded by Jews*, favored the sect [of Catharists] who had numerous adherents in his domains."[18] Guibert of Nogent, a

[17] Schmidt, C., *Histoire et doctrine de la secte des Cathares, ou Albigeois*, Paris, 1849, i, 68; cf. also Graetz, H., *Geschichte der Juden*, vi, 234; *JE*, v, 451.

[18] Cf. Neander, v., 2, pp. 432-3. Concerning the Jews of Soissons, see Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, pp. 647 ff.; *REJ.*, xliii, 395; Martin, *Histoire de Soissons*, i, 457; Leroux, i, 396-8.

loyal monk of the Church, gives testimony concerning the association of Count John with the Jews. In an acrid polemic against Jews and heretics, he affirms: "All the crimes committed by the Christians are inspired by the Jews, who train them in sorcery."[19] Moreover, says Guibert, Jews are responsible for the rise of heresy and for planting within the mind of the Prince an heretical spirit. It must be remarked, however, that the historian must be on guard when dealing with polemical material of this character. Guibert loses his temper, denounces Jews, heretics and sorcerers, together with all unorthodox groups, indiscriminately and with equal vehemence. Nevertheless, this indignation may in part have been justified by reason of the patronage extended by John of Soissons to both heretics and Jews; he may have been correct in his assertion that an alliance between the two groups existed. To both Churchmen and populace, contact with Jews meant either acceptance of heresy or the first step towards heterodoxy.

2. *William VIII, Lord of Montpellier*

We have remarked that patronage for heretics and tolerance for Jews are concurrent phenomena; the obverse is also true. That persecution of heretics is accompanied by anti-Jewish policies is illustrated in Provence, no less than in other countries later. Thus, William VIII, Lord of Montpellier (1172-1202), was the single seigneur of his time in Provence who did not protect the heretics;[20] it is not surprising, therefore, that he manifested no strong approval of Jewish activity. Though he granted them permission in 1180 to practice medicine, and in 1195 made a commercial agreement with the Viscount of Agde, stipulating that equal treatment should be accorded to Jewish, Saracen and Christian merchants, nevertheless we find that both he and his son expressly enjoined in their wills that no Jew should be entrusted with the office of bailiff; it did not matter that the latter owed a Jew, Bonet by name, a large sum of money.[21]

[19] Monod, Bernard: "Juifs, sorciers et hérétiques au moyen âge," *REJ*, 46: 237-245. (Paris, 1903). Cf. also Monod, *Le moine Guibert et son temps* (1053-1124), Paris, 1905.

[20] Schmidt, ii, 233.

[21] Vaissette, *Histoire de Languedoc*, ii, 119, and Preuves, 127; Graetz, vi, 239; *Hist. Litt. de la France*, xiii, 324. Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, p. 21; Duchesne, *Script. Rer. Gal.*, iv, 713, 716, 719; *Spicileg.*, viii, 194-5.

3. *Pro-Jewish Princes of Languedoc*

a. Béziers. The converse is true of the Lords in other Provencal principalities, particularly in Béziers and Toulouse. "The Jews of Beziers were fortunate in comparison with those of other towns. The Viscounts cherished the most kindly feelings for them, and the greater part of the Christian inhabitants, being Albigenses, lived on friendly terms with their Jewish fellow-citizens."[22] Under the benign rule of Raymond Trencavel, who was both strongly Judeophile and pro-Albigensian, the Jewish community which had received Ibn Ezra so honorably, and was renowned as a home of culture and learning, flourished apace. In 1160 Raymond took the Jews under his protection, and through his intercession they were freed from the annual anti-Jewish demonstration at Easter-time; it was the same Raymond during whose regime, despite his official approval of the anathema pronounced at the Lombers colloquy in 1163, the Albigensian heresy concomitantly with Jewish dissent, continued to gain strength. In 1167, as a result of a conspiracy, Trencavel was slain at Béziers in the Church of the Madeleine. Jews took no part in this assassination, but were indirectly involved by reason of the widely-known favor bestowed on them by the murdered prince. Hence citizens opposed to Trencavel preferred charges against the Jewish community, and arrested the local congregational heads. Soon after, however, retribution overtook the conspirators, for Roger, the son of Trencavel, obtained aid from Aragon through his friendship with King Alphonso; he captured Béziers, and executed punishment upon those incriminated in the death of his father. The Jews alone were unmolested because of their reputation for loyalty to Trencavel.[23]

Roger II, a patron of the Albigenses, maintained the tradition of liberality towards Jews and heretics. In company with the Viscount of Carcassonne, he appointed Jews to high office; during his regime, also, the Albigensians renounced their fidelity to the Church and Pope. Roger had Jewish sheriffs or bailiffs in the person of Nathan Judaeus and Moses de Caravita;[24] he intervened in 1172 on behalf of Abraham ben David, who was being

[22] I. Broydé, in *JE*, iii, 137.

[23] Graetz, vi, 239; Vaissette, iii, 24; *Shebhet Yehudah*, 112.

[24] Saige, p. 17; Vaissette, ii; Preuves, 137.

unjustly persecuted at Posquières. In other ways he showed his clemency and good will towards his Jewish subjects, granting the Jews of Carcassonne, in the communities of Limoux, Alet and Rasez, many privileges, among them relief from excessively heavy taxes.

Raymond Roger, his son, continued the same tolerant policy, though it embroiled him in grievous quarrels with the Church. At his court Jewish bailiffs occupied a prominent place among his barons: Samuel the Jew figures with them on a deed by which Roger granted certain rights to the local bishop.[25] In 1203 Raymond Roger established the right of his bailiffs, whether Jews or Christians, to enter monasteries on peaceful missions, thus granting Jews a privilege later denied them.[26] It was during the overlordship of Raymond Roger that the Albigensian and other heretical movements gained ascendancy throughout all Languedoc, and the wrath of the Church was directed against the Viscount. In the list of transgressions drawn up by Innocent III against Raymond Roger was the accusation that he criminally employed Jewish officials in his government, and in general displayed a policy towards them contrary to Papal wishes.[27] When the Albigensian crusade was organized at the instigation of Innocent, and abetted by the monk, Arnold of Citeaux, the Viscount Raymond Roger was among the first to suffer punishment. In July, 1209, Béziers, the capitol of his domain, was stormed and the inhabitants mercilessly massacred. Two hundred Jews perished in the assault, and many were driven into captivity; hence the year of the Albigensian Crusade was marked by the survivors as a "year of mourning."[28]

With the gradual collapse of the Albigensian movement under the assault of the Church, the position of the Jews of Béziers grew more precarious during the thirteenth century. After Count Simon de Montfort had marched against Raymond Roger, "who was doubly hated by the pope for his secret friendship with Albigensians and his protection of the Jews," the Church acquired a supremacy which it often used to molest the latter. The Council of Avignon (1209) and the Lateran Council (1215) prescribed various anti-Jewish restrictions; the Council of Béziers

[25] *Gailia Christiana*, vi, Inst. 148-150.

[26] Vaissette, iii, 121.

[27] *Epistolae Innocentii*, LXX, No. 108, ed. Baluz.

[28] Graetz, vii, 10.

in 1246 forbade Jews to practice medicine. But these restrictive measures were not always fulfilled, and Jews at Béziers evaded them more easily than in other towns inasmuch as the inhabitants were traditionally accustomed to tolerance; this evasion, however, demanded great financial sacrifices which in time gradually impoverished the once flourishing community; their expulsions did not bring to the King, Philip the Fair, the large sums of money he anticipated. (1306.)

b. The Viscounts of Toulouse. In Toulouse, the chief center of the Albigensian heresy, the powerful secular patrons of the dissenters proved themselves as liberal to the Jews as the lords of Béziers, Carcassonne and other communities. Thus Viscount Raymond V of Gilles and Toulouse, the fosterer and patron of Provencal poetry, was a friend of the Jews, and counted among the officials on his estates, Abba Mari, the father of the celebrated Talmudist, Isaac ben Abba Mari.[29] In Beaucaire, presided over by Raymond, Jews were admitted to public office and entrusted with an important role in political administration. In 1195 they were, however, persecuted and many perished; this occurred after the death of Raymond, and stands in causal connection with the demise of their protector.

Raymond VI, who succeeded his father, became deeply involved in the Albigensian heresy, and came into tragic conflict with the Church as a result. His suzerainty extended over Narbonne, Comtat Venaissin (where later large conversions of Christians to Judaism were reported), and other centers of Jewish and Albigensian activity. Though not a heretic, his indifference on religious questions led him to tolerate the heresy of his subjects, and to ignore the anathema of the Council of Montpellier (1195) against all princes who neglected to enforce the Lateran canons against heretics and mercenaries. Finally, May 29, 1207, Innocent III addressed an epistle to Raymond, wherein he confirmed the decree of excommunication laid upon the Viscount by the Papal Legate, Pierre de Castelnau; he included in his letter a catalogue of the errors of which he deemed Raymond guilty: he had violated his oaths to purge his land of heresy; he had shown such favor to heretics as to place his own

[29] Mentioned by Benjamin of Tudela, *Itinerary*, p. 5; *Hist. Litt. de la France*, xxvii, 520.

faith under suspicion; he had despoiled the Church and maltreated certain bishops; he had increased the tolls, and employed robber bands of mercenaries; finally, "in derision of the Christian religion," he had bestowed public office upon Jews.[30] The vassals of Raymond were condemned by the Pope in the same terms. Thus it appears that at one stroke Innocent wished to extirpate Jewish influence and Christian heresy; whether he held the first responsible in part for the second is not clear; we are certain, however, that he saw an intimate relationship between the two, and that in eradicating the power of Jews, he sought a means of striking at dissent.

A story is told of Raymond VI that one day, when playing chess with a chaplain, he said to his opponent: "The God of Moses in whom you believe, cannot aid you in this game; how much then can he assist me, who have never called upon him for help?"[31] The fact that Raymond speaks of the "God of Moses" does not imply that he was speaking with a Jew (though Jews were the great chess players of the time); Christians, of course, upheld, particularly as against the Catharists, the doctrine of the "God of Moses," the Jewish Jehovah, in contradistinction to the Dualist notion that the God of the New Testament alone was a gracious and good God, whereas the God of the Pentateuch was evil. The anecdote, however, is interesting as a sidelight upon the views attributed to Raymond.

For these opinions, and for a statesmanship which carried them into execution, Raymond was soon compelled to suffer. The murder of Pierre de Castelnau was the signal for the anti-heretical Crusade, led by Arnold of Citeaux and Simon de Montfort. Raymond sought to avert the coming storm by professing a desire to repent and be absolved. On June 18, 1209, at St. Gilles, Raymond and his thirteen barons, stripped to the waist, underwent humiliation at the hands of the new Papal Legate, Milo, and promised to obey the Church in all matters whereof they were accused. They promised to extirpate heresy, to dismiss all mercenary bands from service, to restore all property of

[30] Potthast, *Regesta pontificium Romanorum*, Berlin, 1874-5, 3114; Migne, "Opera Innocentii III," in *Patrologia Latina*, 214-217; 2: 1157 of this trio of volumes. Vaissette, iii, 151.

[31] Petr. Vall. Cernai., "Historia Albigensium" in Duchesne, *Script. hist. France*, v., 559, 560. On Raymond, see *Hist. Litt. de la France*, xvii, 542; Michelet, J., *Histoire de France*, Paris, 1845, ii, 490 ff.

which the churches had been despoiled, to keep the roads safe, to abolish all arbitrary tolls, to observe strictly the Truce of God, and finally to dismiss all Jews from office; not to entrust posts to them again, not to allow them to lease tools or imposts, nor to collect revenue.[32] Thus, once more the intimate relationship between philo-Judaism and heresy, in the eyes of the Church, was amply demonstrated. "One sees that the Jews of Southern France before the Albigensian Wars had won so high a place that the Pope could not be too vehement in his warnings." The penance of 1209 did not end the story of Raymond's affiliation with Jews: in 1212, at the very moment the Viscount was engaged in mortal combat with the Crusaders, he ceded to a Jew, Salomon, certain property rights.[33]

Raymond VII of Toulouse was the last of the major princes of Languedoc who protected heretics and Jews. The Crusade launched against him was concluded April 12, 1229, and before the portal of Notre Dame de Paris, Raymond, in the mood of the penitent, accepted the terms of the Church, swore to persecute heresy with his whole strength, including heretics and unbelievers, their protectors and receivers, and to inflict dire punishment upon them. As for other heretics, believers, receivers and defenders, he agreed to do whatever the Legate or Pope should command. It followed as a matter of course that he was to entrust the office of bailiffs only to good Catholics, free from any taint, and that no heretic or Jew should be permitted to receive revenue from a city, town or district. If without the knowledge of the Church a suspected heretic or a Jew should be placed in such an office, at the first information of this, he must be deposed and punished;[34] Raymond's vassals were forced to observe the same restrictions. Although Raymond had commercial dealings with Jews, he appears to have followed strictly the prohibition against Jewish office-holders; several vassals, however, were not so scrupulous, and one of them, Sicard d'Alaman appointed to the post of bailiff a certain David, undoubtedly a Jew (1236-1242).[35] At Narbonne, because of local commercial activity,

[32] Vaissette, iii, 162, 163; Mansi, J. D., *Sacrorum conciliorum . . . collectio*, 1759-98, xxii, 770 ff., 775, 782; Catel, *Comtes de Toulouse*, p. 245.

[33] Saige, p. 85, and "Pièces justificatives" No. xviii, pp. 152-3.

[34] Hefele, C. J., von, *Conciliengeschichte*, Freiburg, 1855-74, v, 870; Harduin, *Concil.*, vii, 167.

[35] Archives nationales, *Trésor des chartes*, J 323, nos. 31 and 79; J 328, no. 11.

Jews held important places until the Expulsion in 1306. In the Seneschal of Carcassonne, even after the Albigensian Crusade and the numerous prohibitions against Jewish office-holders, a certain Astruguet, a Jew, was appointed "Treasurer of the King" (Louis IX), or receiver of the royal taxes.[36] Alphonse of Poitiers observed a rigorous interdiction against Jews in office: in 1267 he instructed the Seneschal at Toulouse not to grant special fiscal rights "to persons suspected of heresy, or any other great crime, or to Jews."[37] This prohibition extended even to converted Jews or Marranos: the election of William Ruben, a Marrano of Toulouse, to the Consulate in 1291, was consequently annulled.[38] It is not surprising that Alphonse of Poitiers was especially distinguished for his zeal in the persecution of heretics, and his support of the Inquisition.[39]

f. LEADERS IN THE ALBIGENSIAN CRUSADE AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH JEWS

From the Jewish associations of the Viscounts of Toulouse and Béziers we turn to several of the leaders in the Albigensian Crusades. The Count of Nevers received January 17, 1208, an earnest epistle from Innocent III, wherein the Pope deplored the favorable situation of the Jews in his dominions;[40] the Count soon after, moved by Innocent's persuasion, took the cross against the Provencal heretics; the Bishop of Nevers, to whom Innocent also wrote in March, 1208, concerning the remission of debts for those who undertook the Crusade,[41] joined other secular and religious potentates in the expedition.[42] The Archbishop of Sens, the locality where later the controversies of the famous Jewish apologist, Joseph the Zealot, were staged, also participated in the attack on the Albigensian heretics.

[36] "Officialis Regis . . . qui tunc tenebat pecuniam domini Regis". Archives nationales, J. 1032, no. 4, fol. 7, 16, 18, etc. Numerous complaints of extortion were made against him in 1247; he served under several Seneschals, being employed for at least fifteen years. Saige, p. 20.

[37] Vaissette, iii, 510; see also Galabert, F., *Alfonse de Poitiers et les Juifs*, Arras and Paris, 1905.

[38] Vaissette, iv, Preuves, 8.

[39] Lea, *History of the Inquisition*, i, 519, 527, 528.

[40] Potthast, 3274; Migne, "Opera Innocentii III", 2:1291.

[41] Potthast, 3335; Migne, 2:1348.

[42] William of Tudela, *Histoire de la croisade contre les hérétiques albigeois*, 20, 78.

1. *Philip Augustus*

Philip Augustus, King of France (1180-1223), the uncle of Viscount Raymond of Toulouse, refused to be drawn into the Albigensian Crusade, though he does not appear to have opposed the service of his barons. On January 16, 1205, Innocent III had addressed to him a vehement epistle, condemning the favor he showed the Jews and their free scope and opportunities in his domain.[43] Philip declined to participate in the Crusade in 1209, and in 1222 he resisted the importunities of Pope Honorius to undertake an armed expedition against the heretics who once more had raised their head in Languedoc. In view of this not unfriendly attitude towards the Provencal rulers, it is not surprising "that he treated the Jews with more clemency than the Albigensians."[44] Whatever may have been his motives from time to time, Philip Augustus furnishes another illustration of a secular ruler who either through expediency or choice, thwarted the Church in its attack both on heretics and Jews.

2. *Pedro of Aragon*

In the person of Pedro II of Aragon, invited by Viscount Raymond Roger of Béziers to assist at the siege of Carcassonne against Simon de Montfort, the leader of the ecclesiastical forces, both Jews and heretics found a friend. Pedro was by no means a willing persecutor of heretics when so commanded by the Pope and his Legates; in 1205 he refused to persecute heretics in Aragon at the order of Innocent III, and in 1212 he intervened in Languedoc on behalf of Raymond of Toulouse against Simon de Montfort; he was slain at the battle of Muret in 1213. Jews remained unharmed in his territory; even when Pedro confessed himself subservient to the Pope, he left them untouched, though they prepared for the worst.[45] The tradition of tolerance for

[43] Potthast, 2373; Migne, 2:501.

[44] See *Hist. de la France*, xvi, 9; concerning Philip's relationship to Jews, see Loewenfeld, S., *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden unter Philipp August von Frankreich*, 1880; in *Hebraische Bibliographie*, also Delisle, L., *Catalogue des Actes du Regne de Philippe Auguste*, Paris, 1856, p. 572 *et passim;* Rigordus, "De gestis Philippi Augusti" in Duchesne, *Script. hist. Franc.*, v, *passim.*

[45] Graetz, vii, 5-6; on Pedro of Aragon in the Albigensian Crusade, see Lea, i, 132, 140, 157, 170, 177. On the Laws of his successors concerning Jews in Aragon, see Regné, Jean, "Catalogue des actes de Jaime I, Pedro III, et Alfonso III, rois d'Aragon, concernant les Juifs (1213-1291), *REJ*, lx, 161-lxvi, 252 in-

heretics was maintained in the domains of Aragon, for in 1369 Pedro IV defended the teachings of the followers of Raymond Lully against the attack of Eymerich, the Inquisitor.[46]

3. *Simon de Montfort*

Simon de Montfort, general of the Church forces against the heretics, represents in himself a combination of anti-Jewish and pro-Jewish influence. He seems to have been piously interested in the Old Testament and other works of Scripture; it is related that at de Montfort's castle of Rochefort, Gui of Vaux-Cernay found him at his prayers, and set forth the object of his mission: to persuade him to undertake the leadership of the Crusade. De Montfort hesitated, and then, taking up a Psalter, opened it at random, and placed his finger on a verse which he asked the Abbot to translate for him—a habit in which the Puritans including the soldiers of Cromwell, were destined later to indulge. The verse read:

> "For he shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways. They shall bear thee in their hands, that thou hurt not thy foot against a stone." (Ps. 91:11, 12.)

Thus, with divine encouragement, de Montfort assumed his task, displaying a zeal comparable to that of the Taborites and the Puritans in his mission as "an instrument in the hand of God." The clergy encouraged the Count in his Scriptural inclinations, and after the victory of Muret, the Bishops in the crusading armies styled him another David, vanquishing Saul, another Judas Maccabee, having delivered the people of Israel[47]—a comparison familiar in the history of Waldensians, Hussites, Puritans and numerous other groups.

De Montfort, whose name figures in Jewish sources,[48] was equally zealous in his endeavors to undo Jewish influence, con-

clusive, 1910-1913. Pedro III was the victorious opponent of Philippe le Hardi, who lost his life in 1284 in a crusade preached by order of Martin IV to punish Pedro for his conquest of Sicily after the Sicilian Vespers.

[46] Lea, iii, 584; on Raymond Lully's relations to Hebrew learning and the Kabbalah, see below.

[47] "Vitae Pontif.," in Muratori, *Script.*, iii, 483.

[48] *Shebhet Yehudah*, p. 113. Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, p. 336 remarks under the word מינפורט Montfort-l'Amaury. Petite ville du departement de Seine-et-Oise, arrondissement de Rambouillet. Autrefois capitale du comté

sidering it an agency for the propagation of heresy. The "Ordinances and Rules" drawn up by de Montfort for the regulation of the territories acquired by him, provided that no heretic, even though reconciled to the Church, could be appointed provost, bailiff, judge or assessor; he was not permitted to receive witnesses or advocates; the same rule applied to a Jew, except that the testimony of one Jew against another was acceptable.[49] This may be a general enactment in conformance with the spirit of the laws of the day; nevertheless it accords with the prohibitions urged by Innocent III, and promulgated against Raymond of Toulouse and other heretical rulers, and indicates again the fear which orthodox champions felt concerning the influence of Jewish office-holders in realms where heresy flourished.[50] The close

de ce nom. Cité dans Sheb. Yeh., ed. Hanovre, 113. On connait Simon, comte de Montfort, qui se signala par son courage, mais aussi par sa cruaute, dans la croisade contre les Albigeois. Il fit renverser les murs de Beziers (1209), mais en protegea les habitants juifs (?) Apres sa mort (1218) sa femme, plus fanatique que lui, persecuta cruellement les Juifs de Toulouse. (*ibid.*, 114.) Il existe aussi un Montfort, dans l'aude, qui etait habité par des Juifs au moyen age, car dans la liste des taxes des Juifs de Perpignan en 1413-1414, on mentionne un Cresques de Montfort. (*REJ*, xiv, 68 et 75.)

[49] "Ordonnances et reglements de Simon, comte de Montfort, pour la reformation du pays et terres par luy acquises": "Item nul hérétique croyaient, encores qu'il soit reconcilie a l'Eglise, soit fait prevost, bailly, juge ou assesseur en jugement, ou recu tesmoing, ou advocat, et le semblable du tout soit du juif, fors qu'il pourra ester tesmoing contre autre juif." Mentioned in Catel, *Comtes de Toulouse;* see also Parctelaine, *Histoire de la guerre contre les Albigeois*, Paris, 1833, p. 424.

[50] A bit of evidence on the probable relations of de Montfort with Jews may be deduced from an incident which occurred during the campaign against the heretics. After the capture in 1211 of Carcassonne, the Bishop of Paris and the French lords who had fulfilled their forty days of required service, left the Crusading army. By reason of the secessions, Simon's cause was imperilled. In order to retain at least a remnant of his forces, Simon delivered the riches won at Lavaur into the hands of a merchant of Cahors; thereby he obtained the necessary gold, and as William of Puy Laurens remarks: "maintained the crusade." The name of this merchant was Raymond de Salvagnac. (Guil. de Pod. Laur. in Bouquet, xix, f. 203, 204; Vaissette, iii, f. 205-209; Guil. de Tudele, 116; Petr. Vall. Cern., 600.) Had a Caorsin merchant not been on hand to advance the money, it is entirely possible that Simon would have gone to Jewish moneylenders, as medieval warriors so often did. Caorsins and Jews were both competitors and allies; it is known that Jews disguised themselves as Caorsins in order to obtain admittance to countries from which they would otherwise have been excluded. (Hyamson, A. M., *History of the Jews of England*, London, 1908, pp. 86-7.) It would be interesting to know if this merchant, Raymond, had dealings with Jews. Unfortunately there is no evidence available.

connection between opposition to heresy and hatred for Jews is exemplified in the case of the wife of de Montfort, who after his death in 1218, persecuted cruelly the Jews of Toulouse.[51]

4. *Arnold of Citeaux*

Arnold of Citeaux, the Cistercian monk who with the sanction of Innocent III incited the crusade against the Albigenses and Jews of Southern France, was responsible not only for the havoc wrought by the armies of Simon de Montfort in Languedoc; he sought to carry his fanaticism into adjacent Spain. When at the exhortation of Arnold and several Christian princes of Spain, Innocent authorized a Crusade against the Moslem forces of Mohammed al-Nasir, the prosperous Jewish communities of Castile, particularly Toledo, were threatened with the same fate inflicted upon the Jews of Béziers. In June, 1212, Arnold instigated a sudden assault by his "ultramontane swordsmen" upon the Jewish population whose affluence and power in the land affronted his deep-seated prejudices. Only the intervention of Alfonso the Noble, king of Castile, and the Christian knights of Toledo, prevented a massacre. This echo of the Albigensian Crusade in Spain is typical of the forces customarily at work in the Middle Ages: the enemy of heresy and "infidels" is the foe of the Jews; Arnold, the arch-opponent of the Provencal heretics, whom he conceived to be prompted by Jewish encouragement, could not remain contented in the presence of flourishing Jewish communities elsewhere, fearing, as did his colleagues, that they would inspire dissent among the Christian population. It was not long before his views triumphed in Spain, and the country which had been their haven became a place of tragedy and persecution for medieval Jewry.

g. THE SITUATION OF PROVENCAL JEWRY AFTER THE ALBIGENSIAN CRUSADE

The success of the Catholic Crusade against the Albigensian heretics left a deep imprint upon the Jewish life of Provence Jewry. The heretical sects had not only partaken of Jewish influence; they exercised a certain attraction for the Jews themselves; they aroused among the more liberal spirits an instinct

[51] *Shebhet Yehudah*, p. 114.

that made for freedom of thought and opinion; skepticism and critical inquiry were to be found among many of the Jewish communities of Southern France. With the assault by the Church upon heresy in Christian circles came a concerted attack upon the concomitant phenomenon of Jewish religious propaganda; the result was a military and inquisitorial campaign not only against Christian unbelievers, but against every phase of aggressive and polemical Judaism.

The Albigensian Crusade served to open up important new commercial territories to the Jewish financiers of Languedoc; Lombards, Caorsins and Jews migrated from across the banks of the Loire and the Saône, not only to collect on debts incurred as a consequence of the Crusade, but also to undertake new enterprises. In the Counties of the two Bourgognes and other sections of Southern France, Jews assisted in the development of a new commercial life. Though the Lombards and Caorsins competed with them, unhampered for the most part by oppressive legislation, except in certain quarters, Jews were nevertheless able to expand in commerce, the mercantile trade, and moneylending, much to the satisfaction of the secular rulers. The greater the wealth of Provence Jewry, the greater were the taxes inflicted by princes and King, and the greater the revenue when temporal rulers saw fit to mulct them.[52]

The intellectual and spiritual life of Provence Jewry, however, suffered grievously from the effects of the Albigensian Crusade. Though Jewish letters continued to flourish, and Jewish scholars of Provence disseminated their influence over all European Jewry, it was only under the most oppressive circumstances. Just as the conquerors of the Albigensians found it profitable to compel local Jewish communities to purchase immunity and toleration at considerable financial cost, so the ecclesiastical powers which had prompted the Crusade deemed it meet to make the Jews the target of burdensome legislation. Popes, Councils, bishops and petty clergy fulminated against French Jewry during the thirteenth century unceasingly. The tolerance granted them freely by the Albigensian princes gave place to an era of persecution, external and internal. Councils and Synods were held with unbroken frequency; the Inquisition was founded, and ferreted out every visible and concealed trace of heretical activity

[52] *REJ*, xlviii, 209.

by Jews and Christians; the princes and local secular potentates, egged on by the Popes and their representatives, hectored and harassed their Jewish subjects, ending the story with their expulsion in 1306.[53]

It was only natural that under such conditions the liberalism which had hitherto characterized Provencal Jewry should vanish. The people which had welcomed the progressive thought of Maimonides grew suspicious and querulous under the shadow of the Inquisition; they dissipated their spiritual energies in a futile debate on the orthodoxy of Maimonidean teachings; they even called in the authorities of the Inquisition to decide the argument; thereafter, by reason of the power the Holy Office thus obtained over Jewish affairs, the communities were never safe from the threat of its intrusion. Jews and Christians continued to have social, political and religious relationships; there is evidence, paradoxically, of an extensive Jewish proselytism during the thirteenth century; religious disputations were frequent, and Jewish literary polemics were published in defense of the Jewish position. But the Church had learned its lesson well; it became sensitive to the presence of any Jewish influence, and watchful for its every manifestation. The instances of association between Jews and heretics at a time when the Inquisition was active indicate clearly how much more frequent these affiliations were before the Church stepped in to prevent them. The Albigensian Crusade and the establishment of the Inquisition sharpened ecclesiastical zeal, and made Christian authorities conscious of even the slightest effect of Jewish thought upon the beliefs of the faithful. "Judaizing" continued to the year of the Expulsion in 1306, and even this drastic action was unable to purge French Christianity entirely of Jewish Influence.[54]

2. Catharist theology and judaism

a. the anti-judaic aspect of catharism

We turn now from a study of the personal associations of Catharist and anti-Catharist leaders with Jews to an analysis of the relation of Catharist theology to Judaism. Catharism had both an anti-Judaic and pro-Judaic manifestation, the former

[53] *Monats.*, 1881, pp. 303-4; Saige, p. 25.

[54] See below, on activities of the Inquisition against the Judaizers.

stronger than the latter, but by very reason of its strength displaying the power of the Judaic inclinations in the Catholic system which Catharism combatted. The Neo-Manicheanism of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries had its roots in heresies active in the early centuries of the Church. The religious revolt which sought to overthrow the Catholic sacerdotal system adopted among one great division of its adherents, as its central tenet, the so-called Dualistic theory, namely, the belief in the existence of two coequal principles, the one good, the other evil. This ditheism had appeared in Christianity during the period when its doctrine was first being shaped and crystallized. Gnosticism was but one of many religious systems which asserted that the universe was ruled by two contending powers. Under the leadership of Manes, the religion known as Manicheanism had arisen, representing a skilful compound of Mazdean or Persian Dualism with Gnostic, Buddhist and Christian elements. For generations this new system threatened the supremacy of the nascent Church. Persecution extinguished it in name only, for dualists transferred their allegiance from Manicheanism to the faith championed by Paul and John of Samosata. This Neo-Dualism acquired the name of Paulicianism. Through the spread of Paulician doctrines, Dualism entered the Christian Occident, and in the eleventh and twelfth centuries assumed the guise of Catharism.

1. *The Anti-Judaizing Gnostics and Manicheans*

From the first, Dualism had declared war upon monotheistic Judaism, though, as we shall see, it was influenced by Jewish mysticism. The pre-Manichean Gnostics to whom Manes owed much of his inspiration were divided into two major groups: the Judaizing and the anti-Judaizing. To the first class belonged the sects of Basilides, Valentinus, Marcus, Cerinthus, the adherents of doctrines incorporated in the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies, and others. To the anti-Judaizing Gnostics belonged the Ophite sects, the Cainites, the Carpocratians, the disciples of Saturninus, Tatian, and the Encratites. In the system of Marcion, and later of Manes himself, the anti-Jewish motif is all-pervading. In the Continental form of Manicheanism, namely Catharism, both a Judaizing and an anti-Judaizing strain became manifest. The former tendency was marked by many

features similar to those of early Judaizing Gnosticism, though there are many points of difference; the anti-Judaizing current, however, is strikingly similar to its ancient counterpart. At this juncture we may observe that doctrines and practices recur in later centuries with characteristics comparable to their pristine form, yet never in identically the same guise. This situation applies with special emphasis to the Catharist heresy: Manichean, Gnostic, Parsee or Mazdean dualistic elements constitute its historic background, yet in Catharism itself there is no exact duplication of the earlier notions. Religious concepts persist with singular tenacity, yet no system of thought reappears without modifications and adaptations. The major ideas of Manicheanism preserve their broad outline in Catharism, yet contemporary conditions create important changes therein.

2. *The Anti-Judaic System of Catharism*

In general, the major note of orthodox Catharism in its theoretical aspect was anti-Judaic. In a direct and special sense, it represented an attack upon the Jewish elements in the Catholic Church. Catharist Dualists constantly reproached Catholics for their failure to disengage Christianity from its Judaic sources, and their refusal to purge it of its Judaic survivals. In like manner, Marcion had endeavored to eradicate from early Christianity all Jewish ingredients; Manes had championed the same viewpoint, and had attempted to substitute therefor pagan and Zoroastrian principles. Catharism aimed ostensibly to make Catharism more Christian, and at the same time to inject into its content notions of neo-Gnostic and neo-Dualistic nature. This attitude of hostility towards the Judaic characteristics of contemporary Catholicism seems to have received its immediate impetus from current Paulicianism. According to Paulician doctrine, two coequal principles, God and Satan, exist in the universe; the former created the invisible, spiritual and eternal universe; the latter the material and temporal universe which he rules. Satan is the Jehovah of the Old Testament; the patriarchs and prophets are robbers; consequently all Scripture written before the Gospels is to be rejected; the New Testament, however, is entirely acceptable as Holy Writ. On the basis of these principles, Catharism proceeded to erect an intricate theological system.

a. The Principle of Dualism. Catharism postulated in the first place, the existence of two principles, good and evil; the Good God champions the former, the Evil God the latter. The Evil God who was called by several groups of the Catharist movement Satan, the Devil, Lucifer, Luciabel, Satanael, and to whom some attributed two wives, Collant and Collibant by name,[55] was considered, as in Paulicianism, the Creator of the visible, material, imperfect world. He is also the author of all misery and suffering, the originator of sin, and the foe of good. On the other hand, the world of the Good God is the invisible universe, spiritual in character, peopled by spiritual beings, inhabitants of a celestial Jerusalem, the "sheep of Israel."[56] This distinction between the spiritual and the material world, the former created by the Good, the latter by the Evil God, was the fundamental thesis of the Catharist system.

The second step in Catharist reasoning was to postulate on the basis of this opposition between the two Gods, the two Creations, and the two worlds, an opposition between the revelations of the two Gods, namely the Old and the New Testaments. It was said that in the Old Testament the Evil Principle revealed himself, whereas the New Testament could be the work only of the beneficent God. Inasmuch as God must be a perfect Being, and the Old Testament distinctly exhibited works of imperfection, the God portrayed therein must be the Evil, not the Good God, different and distinct from the God of the New Testament. This belief became the common possession of the two major Catharist parties, namely the Absolute, and the Moderate Dualists, and served as the foundation of their theological system.

b. The God of the Old Testament is Satan. The Old Testament fell into disrepute among the Catharists for four main reasons: first, the contradiction which seemed to exist between the Old and the New Dispensations; second, the changefulness of the God of the Jewish revelation; third, the cruel attributes of

[55] For a discussion of the origin of these two names, and their relationship to Catharist knowledge of Hebrew, see above, p. 67.

[56] In support of this notion, the Catharists quoted from Ecclesiasticus 37:25: "Man's life has assigned to it a fixed number of days; but the lifetime of Israel is infinite." In addition, Ecclesiastes 1:9, 10, and Isaiah 43:7 were quoted as proof that man is a creature of the Evil God, whereas by Israel is meant the celestial people. See Moneta, *Adversus Catharo et Waldenses*, 42 and 69 ff.

God in the Old Testament; fourth, the falsehood ascribed to God.[57]

The arguments advanced to demonstrate the contradiction between the Old and New Testaments, and between the concepts of Deity found in each, were manifold. They were based for the most part upon texts drawn from Scripture, placed in juxtaposition in order to point out more clearly the contradictions. For example, the Catharists said: we find in Genesis that Jehovah created heaven and earth, but "the earth was waste and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep" (Gen. 1:2); Jehovah, therefore, was a creature of darkness, hence an Evil God, whereas the God of the Gospels is known by the passage: "He is light and there is no darkness in Him." (First Epistle of Saint John 1:5). Jehovah created man and woman (Gen. 1:27), but the God of the New Testament is responsible for the statement: "there is neither male or female; for ye are one in Christ Jesus." (Gal. 3:28). Jehovah says: "And I will put enmity between thee and the woman" (Gen. 3:15); but the God of Jesus Christ wishes "to reconcile all things unto himself." (Col. 1:20). Jehovah curses, while the Good God blesses; the former repents of what he has done, for it is evil (Gen. 6:7), while the latter is author "of every good and every perfect gift" (James 1:17); finally the "children of God" in the Old Testament sin (Gen. 6:2), but in the New Testament it is said that "whosoever is begotten of God doeth no sin" (First Epistle of John 3:9).[58] Other passages are cited from Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Judges, and other historical books of the Bible to vindicate the belief that the God of the Old Testament is not the same as the God of the Gospels, and that consequently he is the Evil God. In several instances the passages culled from both Testaments

[57] The *Archives de l'Inquisition de Carcassonne*, Doat, xxxvi, 91, contains a manuscript controversial tract, written at the end of the 13th century, which summarizes the reasons alleged by the Catharists to prove that Jehovah was Satan. H. C. Lea, in *History of the Inquisition*, i, 92-3, refers to this manuscript and in the Appendix, pp. 563-7, quotes it in the original Latin. This tract is built upon the arguments cited by the Inquisitor Moneta in *Adversus Catharos*, Lib. II, c, vi., which furnishes the customary official opinions of the heretics. Schmidt, *Histoire des Cathares*, ii, 20-24, has a chapter on "Le Dieu de l'Ancien Testament est le Dieu Mauvais," in which he quotes several of the arguments of the Catharists concerning the Old Testament, drawn from various sources.

[58] Moneta, 144 ff.

and placed in opposition to each other, are followed by a refrain: "hence, these contradict each other."[59]

Arguments to prove the changefulness of God are based upon passages interpreted with a view to demonstrating that God lacks memory, or deliberately changes his mind: thus, Jehovah says to Jacob: "You shall no longer be called Jacob, but Israel" (Gen. 32:28); later, however, despite this, he calls himself the "God of Jacob." (Ex. 3:6). In one instance he asserts that nothing will prevent the builders of the Tower of Babel from executing their project; the next moment, however, he disperses them. (Gen. 11:6, 7). How can a God who so speedily loses recollection of his own words possess the omniscience which should characterize a God of perfection? What confidence can be placed in the veracity of a God who is so forgetful?

In addition, Jehovah of the Old Testament is cruel and vengeful, possessed of attributes which prove his evil nature. The Catharists collated all the anthropomorphic expressions applied to God;[60] they did this in apparent ignorance of the method employed in the Targum and in works by medieval Rabbis whereby these anthropomorphisms were spiritualized or explained away in conformance with the principle: "The Torah speaks according to the language of men." The Catharists emphasized the Biblical texts wherein God's anger and vengeance are mentioned: Jehovah was responsible for the Deluge; he destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah; he prescribed the sanguinary "lex talionis;" he ordained the practice of circumcision, which despite its acceptance by the Judaizing Passagii, and its role in the Festival of the Circumcision, was violently repelled by orthodox Catharists;[61] he enjoined the sacrifice of animals, whereas the God of the New Testament repudiated this form of offering, though on the basis, it may be observed, of a passage selected from the Psalms: in this repudiation of sacrifices, the orthodox Catharists were opposed

[59] "Ergo sunt contrarii sibi"; "igitur sunt sibi contrarii", "ergo ipsi sunt diversi et contrarii," etc. See the manuscript in the *Archives*, Doat, xxxvi, 91, which Lea cites.

[60] For a list of these anthropomorphic passages, see Moneta, 148 ff.

[61] "Item, Genesi: 'Omnis anima quae circumcisa non fuerit peribit de populo suo'. Apostolus autem e contra prohibet Galatis: 'si circumcidimini Christo nihil vobis protest': Ergo iste contrarius illi." *Archives, loc. cit.*

by the Passagii, as they were on the subject of circumcision;[62] moreover, the Catharists rejected the observance of the Sabbath as a cruel and evil injunction,[63] the Passagii, on the other hand, laid great stress upon strict seventh-day Sabbath rules. How can Jehovah, asked the Catharists, who speaks so often of the extermination of his enemies, be recognized as the Good God? He is an ignorant deity as well: he prohibited Adam from eating of the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil; either he knew that nevertheless Adam would eat of the fruit, or he did not know; if he did not know, then he was an imperfect God, for he was ignorant of something; if, on the other hand, he knew that Adam would transgress his command, why did he issue it?[64] It must have been, replied the Catharists, for the sole purpose of seducing men to sin; therefore he is all the more the Evil God.[65]

The culminating proof of the wicked nature of Jehovah lay in the numerous falsehoods which the Catharists ascribed to him on the basis of Old Testament citations. An example of their method of exegesis for the establishment of this point is discernible in the following:

"They quote Gen. 3: 'Behold, Adam has become as one of us.' Now God says this of Adam after he had sinned, and he must have spoken truth or falsehood. If truth, then Adam had become like him who spoke, and those to whom he spoke; but Adam after the fall had become a sinner, and therefore evil. If falsehood, then he is a liar; he sinned in so saying, and thus was evil."

Despite the laborious response of orthodox Catholic controversialists, that in this, as in other instances, God spoke ironically, the Catharists persisted in their endeavour to prove God a "mendax," a liar. After discussion of passages from Exodus

[62] "Item, Deus veteris testamenti praecipit sibi immolari animalia, et in illis delectatur sacrificiis; Deus autem novi testamenti, secundum aliam translationem dicit in Psalmo: 'hostiam et oblationem noluisti, corpus autem aptasti mihi; holocaustomata pro peccato tibi non placuerunt.' Ille Deus talia praecipit; iste respuit; Ergo, etc." *Archives, loc. cit.*

[63] "Item ad idem, Numerorum decimo quinto: Deus ille lapidare praecipit quemdam colligendum ligna in Sabbato consultus super hoc a Moysi et Aaron. Deus autem novi testamenti excusat discipulos fricantes spicas Sabbato."

[64] Compare the method of argument advanced here with that employed by medieval Jewish polemical writings, notably David Kimchi in the "Wikkuach," and Joseph Kimchi, in the "Sepher ha-Berith," in *Milchemeth Chobhah.* Constantinople, 1710.

[65] Moneta, 112, 144, 152 ff; Alanus, 74, 75. Petrus Vall. Cern., 556.

where, it is asserted, God states that he will not permit the Israelites to leave Egypt because of the obstinacy of Pharaoh, but later lets them go forth; from Genesis, where God promises the land of Canaan to Abraham, to Moses and his followers, but did not give it to them—there are several exclamatory remarks by the Catharist controversialist: "Behold, what kind of a God is this!" or "Behold, how great a liar is this God!" By reproaches such as these against Jehovah of the Old Testament, the Catharists built up their dogma that he represented without qualification the Evil Principle in the universe.

c. Catharist Antagonism to Moses. This attitude of hostility towards the Old Testament was reflected still further in the opinions of the Catharist concerning Moses, the Lawgiver. Inasmuch as it was not the Good God who had spoken to Moses and had guided the patriarchs, but a liar and a juggler, it followed that Moses himself was a sorcerer and a robber.[66] He is condemned for having executed the orders of his master; in addition, Moses was a homicide; he commanded the Israelites to exterminate their foes. All the other patriarchs of the Old Covenant are condemned with Moses, for it is said: "All those who perform the works of the Law are under a malediction." (Gal. 3:10).[67]

The Catharist viewpoint, in consequence of this reasoning, towards the Old Testament, was summarized as follows: since the Law had not been given by the Good God, it should not be observed; it is shadow and vanity; it does not lead to salvation, but to death; it justifies nothing; it is false by virtue of its failure to command universal love; it was abolished by Jesus Christ.[68] In direct contradistinction to the opinion of the Judaizing Passagii, the Catharists proclaimed that whosoever observed the prescriptions of the Mosaic Law in their entirety, committed, even in the eyes of Catholics, a mortal sin. Therefore it followed that the Pentateuchal books were evil; if they were evil once, they were evil forever, since that which was at one time good cannot change its character; therefore, the Pen-

[66] Ebrardus, 127; Ermengaudus, 224; Moneta, 112; *Actes de l'Inquisition de Carcassonne*, 1247; Doat, xxii, 100.

[67] Alanus, 84, 85; *Disputatio*, 1718.

[68] They cited particularly Rom. 5:20; 14:23; II Cor. 3:7; Hebr. 8:13; Ebrardus, 118; Moneta, 196 ff.; *Disputatio*, 1715 ff.; Peregrinus Priscianus, 95.

tateuch was the product, not of God, but of Satan, and Jehovah was Satan. (Alanus, 75.)

d. Attitude towards Other Books of the Bible. Though all groups of the Catharists rejected the Mosaic writings, the two principal parties of the movement were at variance in their attitude towards the remainder of the Old Testament. The moderate dualists condemned all the works of the Jewish canon; the absolute dualists, on the other hand, rejected only the historical books, and accepted the Prophets, the Psalms, Job, the books attributed to Solomon, and Ecclesiasticus; they were led to this view by a belief that in these books they could not find the actions of the Evil God who was responsible for the crimes narrated in the Pentateuch. To justify this belief, they were at times forced to rely upon a tortuous method of exegesis, particularly in their endeavor to interpret the prophetical writings literally. Whenever they found passages which did not accord with their dogma of an antithesis between God and the visible world, they applied to the world above and to the celestial Jerusalem any words uttered by the prophets concerning this world and the terrestrial Jerusalem; they pretended that the prophets had prophesied in the heavens before the creation of the visible world by the Evil God. (Moneta, 75, 76.) The prophets, therefore, being celestial spirits, foresaw what would happen on earth to the followers of Jehovah, or Satan; they therefore found it incumbent to prophesy and promise consolation to the afflicted souls held captive in human form. On the basis of this and similar interpretations, the Catharists erected their complicated system of doctrine.

3. *Groups Opposing Jewish Influence and Books*

We turn now to the individuals, the small groups and the large organized parties which accepted the notion that Jehovah was Satan, and that the Old Testament was to be repudiated. The first appearance of anti-Old Testament views is inferred in the polemic of Gerbert against current heresies, soon after his election as Archbishop of Rheims, in 991. He asserts emphatically that both the Old and New Testaments were the

revelation of the one and only God;[69] the implication is clearly that Gerbert sought to combat the heterodox conception that the Old Testament should be rejected as the work of a demon. In 1000, similar views were advanced by a certain Leutardus in a town of Gallien called Virtus: he preached that the Old Testament contained material contrary to correct faith; the prophetic writings, despite a few acceptable portions, were likewise to be repudiated.[70] In 1025 a sect arose at Arras which, in addition to its iconoclastic views with reference to the worship of the Cross, the ceremonies of the Church and the nature of Christ, professed strong hostility to the books of the Old Testament (Mansi, xix, 423). The Dualists of Agen in 1101 continued this doctrine (Radulphus Ardens; Argentré, i, 9), and found therein fellow-believers among groups scattered throughout France, Italy, Germany, the Netherlands and other Continental countries. Heretics in Gascogne in 1202 rejected the Old Testament, imitating thereby a contemporary sect called the Publicani. Other organized parties which with variations adopted the doctrine of opposition towards the Jewish canonical books were the groups known under the more or less inadequate names: Bogomiles, Bulgarii, Luciferii, Concorrezi, Albigenses, Satanians and other undefined groups. The system of John of Lugio, a Catharist of Italy whose doctrines, promulgated at the commencement of the thirteenth century, caused a schism in the ranks of the movement, also included the dogma of enmity towards the Jewish Scriptures. His interpretation varied, however, in some details from orthodox Catharism: he affirmed that the sins and evils ascribed to the Jewish people in the Old Testament were applicable also to the inhabitants of the celestial regions: the Old Testament was not to be regarded merely as the work and witness of the Evil God; it might be accepted, yet only allegorically, as a recital of that which had transcribed in the celestial world. Adam and Eve, John of Lugio asserted, had been banished from Paradise, that is to say, from the domain of the Good God, and relegated to the evil world, the earth, the place of repentance and purgatory. This mode of interpretation John of Lugio applied to the life of Christ, making it the keynote of his philosophy.

[69] Gerberti, "Epistolae", Ep. 75, in Bouquet, x, f. 409. "Novum et veteris Testamenti unum eundemque credo auctorem et Dominum et Deum."

[70] Glaber Radulph., in Bouquet, x, f. 23.

The Bogomiles of Thrace, a group of moderate dualists, repudiated, in accordance with the inherent motive of Catharist doctrine, the Old Testament, with the exception, however, of the Prophets and Psalms.[71] They accepted the New Testament, but interpreted allegorically all passages therein which were not in harmony with their fundamental tenets. They placed reliance in works of an apocryphal character, the most popular of which was the *Vision of Isaiah.* Thus despite the modifications they introduced into the primitive system of absolute dualism, the Bogomiles imitated the adherents of the latter doctrine in their rejection of the books of the Mosaic Law and the historical books.

The Catharists of Concorrezo, basing their peculiar system upon a belief in the existence of a Creator God, that is, a Demon or Demiurge who was the Maker of the world, professed to discover this Evil Being in the Old Testament; like the absolute dualists, these Concorrezi, or "relative" or moderate dualists, invoked arguments from both Testaments to prove their point: the result arrived at was the same as in the case of the absolute dualists, namely, the repudiation of the Jewish revelation. More logical than their Catharist colleagues in the ranks of absolute dualism, these moderate dualists condemned the entire Old Testament; they regarded the Prophets as messengers of the Demon sent to deceive men. Nevertheless they admitted that the Good God had been served by the prophets on several occasions through their predictions of the advent of Jesus: these so-called Messianic passages, as well as the words cited here and there by Jesus and the Apostles are the only parts of the Old Testament to which they attributed divine origin and authority.[72] Despite the opposition to the Old Testament on the part of the Concorrezi and their fellow-dualists, we will have occasion to note that many of their doctrines were founded squarely upon principles and texts selected from the Jewish Scriptures.

[71] Euthymius, *Narratio de Bogom.* 6; Germanus, *Oratio de imaginum restitutione*, 443.

[72] Bonacursus, 208; Moneta, 6, 122: Reinerius, in *Max. Bibl.*, xxv, f. 269. " . . in exceptis his tantum modo verbis, quae sunt inducta in N. Testamento." Reinerius previously to this has described the attitude of those Catharists who reject the Mosaic and historical books . . "exceptis his libris, scilicet Job, Psalterio, libris Salomonis, Sapientiae, filii Sirach, Jesaiae, Hieremiae, Ezechiel, Daniel et XII prophetarum quorum quosdam scriptos fuisse in coelo." Alanus, f. 226.

4. *Importance of Anti-Judaism in Catharism*

It may be asked why emphasis has here been laid upon the hostility of the heretical Catharists to the Old Testament as an indication of the role played by Judaism in their doctrinal system. The answer is found in two facts: first, that the antagonism of the heretics forced the defenders of the Church into an attitude favorable to the repudiated books of the Old Testament; second, the opposition of the dualists elevated into prominence the Jewish elements of current Christianity, and revealed the Old Testament, with the doctrines and practices built thereon, as vital features of the Catholic ecclesiastical system.

a. Catholic Apologists Defend the Old Testament. A significant corollary of Catharist enmity towards Jewish canonical books appears in the open public defense initiated on their behalf by the spokesmen of the Church. Catholic controversialists were by no means Judeophile, yet by virtue of the acceptance of Jewish Scripture as part of the ecclesiastical literary canon, they were forced to refute the attacks of the heretics. Though the Church had evolved its own methods of "spiritual" or "allegorical" and therefore nullifying exegesis with reference to the validity of the Mosaic Law, nevertheless the Pentateuch and the historical books of the Old Testament remained a genuine portion of Catholic sacred writings. The Church contented itself with its own special interpretations of so-called Christological passages, and was by no means anxious that the question of the exact status of the Old Testament in Christian tradition be raised. Yet the Catharists by their decisive hostility called attention to the place and importance of the Old Testament in Christian thought: ecclesiastical apologists were compelled to accept the challenge and rally to its defense, thereby contributing still more to its influence in contemporary Christianity. Though anti-Judaic, the Church found itself in the anomalous position of championing its Judaic features. Thus, Bonfil, deacon of Cassers, engaged in controversy with Peter Lebrun at Avignonet on the issue of the validity of the Mosaic Law; Bonfil supported the Pentateuch, "which the Catholic defended, and which the Catharist, hostile to Judaism, rejected;" victory perched on the banner of the Churchman. (Peyrat, ii, 22.) In 1165 there occurred at Lombers in Provence

a conference of several bishops, called together by Girald, Bishop of Albi; these bishops engaged the leading Catharists in a public discussion at Albi in the presence of several nobles, among them Constance, the wife of Raymond V. of Toulouse, and Raymond Trencavel, Viscount of Albi, Beziers and Carcassonne. The first question in the discussion asked by Gaucelin, Bishop of Lodeve, was whether the Catharists accepted the Old Testament; they responded in the negative; Gaucelin summoned them to expound their views on other doctrines of the faith, but they refused until opportunity for discussion of the first point was accorded them. Several of the bishops sought to confute their arguments with authorities chosen from many sources; the Catharists, on the contrary, wished to be convinced and judged only by the testimony of the New Testament; when the orthodox Churchman pronounced the verdict of heresy against the Catharists, the latter retaliated by asserting that the bishops were greater heretics than they.[73] The significance of the Catharists' repudation of the Old Testament and their endeavour to prove their Catholic foes equally heretical by virtue of their acceptance of it, becomes apparent from a perusal of the arguments propounded by the Catharists. Several years after the discussion at Albi, a colloquy took place at Lombers between William, Catholic bishop of Albi, and Sicard Cellerier, Catharist bishop of the same diocese; again one of the major points at issue was the status of the Old Testament, with Catharist opposed, and Catholic favorable thereto.[74] Again in 1206 a debate between the Papal Legates and the Catharists in the castle of Verfeuil near Montpellier revolved about the point of Biblical support for doctrines advanced by both parties: the Catharists sought vindication for their views from the New Testament; the Catholics called upon the Old Testament as well. The heretics exhibited their customary skill in Biblical exegesis; despite their firm reliance upon texts and arguments furnished by the Gospels, they were equally well-versed in the contents of the Old Testament; a many-sided attack upon the Jewish revelation as the product of the Evil Principle demanded adequate acquaintance with the material contained therein as a safeguard against Catholic rejoinders. A vivid example of Catholic championship

[73] Mansi, xxi, 157; Vaissette, iii, 535 ff.; Schmidt, i, 70 ff.

[74] Guill. de Pod. Laur., 669.

of the Old Testament against Catharist antagonism is found in a polemical work written by Ermengaud, Abbot of Saint-Gilles from 1179 to 1195.[75] In his treatise: *Opusculum contra Haereticos*, Ermengaud takes the position that the dualist heretics wrongfully condemn the Pentateuch as the work of Satan. Chapter II of his tractate is devoted to proof that "The Law of Moses was truly given by God"; Chapter IV seeks to demonstrate that "Moses was not a Magician."[76] Moneta's work *Adversus Catharos* contains a detailed rebuttal of Catharist arguments against the validity of the Mosaic books; the tractate written by the anonymous controversialist follows Moneta in the style and content of his counter-arguments, whereby he sought to refute heretical opinions. Thus it may be seen that the apologists of the Church were driven into a position otherwise avoided by them, namely, a public defense of the Old Testament as a portion of Christian sacred literature almost on a par with the Gospels.

1. *Catholic Contradictions concerning the Passagii.* When we consider the attitude of the Passagii, we face another contradiction. No documents are extant wherein contemporary Catharists took literary or vocal issue with the pro-Mosaic doctrines of the Judaizing Passagii; the only polemical material against these Judaizers emanates from Catholic sources. The insistence of the Catharists upon the evil character of the Old Testament may have stimulated a reaction in its favor, the direct outcome of which was the rise of the Passagii. At the same time, an attack by the dualists upon Jewish Scriptures undermined the foundations of Catholic belief. This situation may have made the Passagii and the apologists of the Church allies; it may have driven Judaizers and Catholics into each other's arms, prepared to defend the Old Testament against a mutual foe.

This logical development did not, however, occur. The Passagii were ostracised by the Church as heretics, as pernicious as the dualist Catharists. Thus both Passagii and Catharists, at loggerheads over their doctrines concerning the Old Testament, united on the common ground of hostility to the dominant

[75] He may, however, be the Ermengaud of Béziers, a converted Catharist who in 1210 was mentioned by Innocent III as one of the principal companions of Durand of Huesca.

[76] *Max. Bibl.*, xxiv. 1602 ff. Maitland, *Facts and Documents*, p. 279.

Church. The cause of the apparent self-contradiction on the part of the Church is betrayed, however, by a statement of the real point of distinction between the Catholic hierarchy and the Judaizing Passagii. The Church demanded that the injunctions of the Pentateuch be accepted "spiritually"; the Passagii, on the other hand, were strict and rigorous literalists. The position of the Church had resulted in a virtual abrogation of the Mosaic Law; the Judaizers, however, sought to call attention to the fallacy of the ecclesiastical mode of exegesis; their literalism would have restored the Pentateuchal Code to foremost rank in the ceremonial legalism of the Church, on the same level as in Jewish life. Against this policy, the Church, through a long-cherished fear of Judaizing, mobilized all its forces of suppression.

This principle is evident in Catholic protests against a strict observance of Sabbath ceremonies, advocated by the Passagii. Bonacursus directs against the Judaizers texts selected from both Old and New Testaments, in order to establish the falsity of their adherence to Sabbatarian legalism. It is interesting here to observe that these very passages were used by Christian apologists against the Jews themselves in controversies where the issue was raised concerning the validity of the Mosaic Sabbath Law. We have not sufficient evidence to indicate whether the Passagii in answer to their Christian opponents employed arguments and texts used by Jewish apologists in public and written disputes against Christians. Moreover, to confute the belief of the Passagii that the Sabbath commandment ought to be observed literally, the Church adopted its convential tactics, namely, an insistence that the injunction had for Christians merely a metaphorical and allegorical meaning. This identity of method employed against Judaizing movements and bona-fide Jews effectively demonstrates the intention of the Church, in fact of every established group, whether Catholic or Protestant, to force these dissenters into the Jewish camp. The Judaizers of Hungary and Russia during the Reformation and even in modern times became Jewish proselytes, partly through their own choice, and partly through their exclusion from orthodox circles. This tendency has its roots in medieval times among the Passagii, and in early Christian times among the manifold Judaizing groups which surrounded nascent Christianity and Rabbinical Judaism.

b. CATHARISTS DEMONSTRATE JUDAIC ELEMENTS IN CHRISTIANITY

Despite this double contradiction in the attitude of the Church towards the Mosaic Law, it remains none the less true that Catharist hostility to the Old Testament impelled Christian controversialists to take up the cudgels in its defense. Superficially, the Church, when faced by the Passagii, might seek to nullify the binding effect of Mosaic legalism; in reality, however, the clear and unqualified demands of Pentateuchal laws won recognition, not merely from Judaizing sects, but from orthodox Christians as well. To be sure, Christian legalism attempted to disguise its origin in Mosaic legalism, yet in the eyes of the astute and alert Catharists this attempt to conceal the Jewish sources of many current Catholic doctrines and practices did not avail. For Catharists were perpetually prepared to point out the survivals of Judaism within Catholicism. They rebelled not only against the retention of the Old Testament in the Christian canon; they took their stand firmly against many ecclesiastical customs, ordinances and institutions which in their eyes savored of Jewish legalism. They were determined to rout out the Mosaic Law from its tacitly accepted prominence in Christian life; they were equally determined to rescue the Church from the depths to which, according to their view, it had fallen in sinking back upon the foundations of Mosaic ceremonialism. In brief, the objections of the heretics centered about the Old Testament background of the entire sacerdotal system, the priestly cult, and many observances of the ritual. Thus in Bishop Gerhard's controversy with the heretics at Arras in 1205, the major points in the debate concerned the Old Testament origin of priestly ordination, priestly duties and other items associated with the sacerdotal system.[77] The Catharists were oftentimes not conscious of the Judaic sources of Catholic doctrine, yet they were far more aware of Jewish influences in

[77] D'Achery, *Spicileg.*, i, f. 607 ff . . . "de sacro Altaris; de Thymiamate, de signis, de sacris ordinibus; de Sepultura; de psallendi officio; de ordinibus ecclesiastici regiminis." Thus we find, *ibid*, f. 615: "Signorum quoque usus a veteri Testamento sumptus est." f. 616: "Cui vero otium fuerit vetus Testamentum revolvere, inveniet ab eo hos sumsisse exordium, nec minus etiam eos qui supersunt, i. e. Levitas et Sacerdotes . . Presbyterorum ordo quoque exordium sumsit a filiis Aaron . . . Denique pontificalis Sacerdotii Ordo initium sumsit ab Aaron, sicut dicit Isidorus."

contemporary Christianity than the authorities of the Church itself. We shall have occasion in discussing the factors which resulted in the appearance of the Judaizing Passagii to indicate more comprehensively the Judaic elements in current Catholicism to which the Catharists took exception. At this point, it is sufficient to state the heretics were highly sensitive to any "intrusion" of Jewish elements into the content of Christianity as they conceived it.

We may summarize the anti-Old Testamentarianism of the Catharists as follows: medieval dualism is the heir of early Christian Gnosticism and Manicheanism. In its theology, it continues the anti-Judaizing tradition established by Marcion and Manes; it postulates an antithesis between the Evil and the Good God; Jehovah of the Old Testament is the Evil Principle because of the thoughts and actions attributed to him in the Jewish revelation; Jehovah is changeful, cruel, addicted to falsehood, and profoundly different from the God represented in the New Testament; therefore Jehovah is Satan, whereas the God of the Gospels is the beneficent principle in the universe. Both the absolute and relative dualists reject the Mosaic books; the latter repudiate the Prophets and the Psalms as well; the former, however, interpret the Prophetical books allegorically, on the basis of an exegesis peculiar to Catharist sects alone. In addition to several minor heretical parties, the Bogomiles, Luciferians, Albigenses, Concorrezi, and other Catharist groups, accepted the doctrine of antagonism towards the Old Testament; each group professed certain minor variations, though all were agreed on the basic doctrine. The enmity of Catharists towards the Jewish Scriptures forced Catholic apologists into the position of defending a portion of their sacred literature which otherwise they preferred to accept without display and in conformance with a special mode of interpretation. In addition, Catharist abhorrence for Judaic doctrines stimulated the heretics to point out the Jewish influences in Church dogma and institutions. Thus it served as a searchlight for the illumination of those elements in Christian life which owed their rise and development to Old Testament stimulus.

2. Catharist Theology and Judaism

b. The pro-Judaic aspect of Catharist doctrine

Though the theology of the Catharist movement is dominated by the belief that the Old Testament is the work of an Evil Demon, and hence, viewed from this angle, is anti-Judaic, there are many elements in its doctrinal and ceremonial system which appear to be influenced by some Jewish features. The Catharists protested against image and cross worship; they distinguished between foods, and rejected the eating of meat, as part of their dietary regulations. The heretics engaged in occupations generally associated with Jews, namely money-lending and medicine. Saige, the historian of Languedoc Jewry, refers to the fact that in the mass of Rabbinical literature, particularly the commentaries produced by the Rabbis of Southern France, Spain and Italy, traces of Catharist views are apparent, and that Jewish literature likewise left its imprint upon the heresies of the time.[1] It must be remembered that the Jewish tradition in medieval times was by no means one-sided: the same conflict between the Old Testament legalists and the apocalyptic-mystical school which had given rise to a two-fold doctrinal system in the early days of Christianity marked medieval Jewish thought. The growing importance of the Kabbalah and the prevalence of mystical theories during the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries gave rise to an abundant literature, the influence of which made itself felt not only in Jewish, but in Christian circles as well. In the Catharist system, in other heresies, and even in orthodox Christian belief, indications of this influence may be discovered.

1. *Catharist and Jewish Dualism*

The central tenet of Catharism: namely, the dualism of divinity, finds a parallel in certain aspects of the Jewish tradition. We know that early Gnosticism had not only its anti-Judaic, but its Judaizing party, and many attempts were made to effect a

[1] "The insistence with which the Councils pursued this grievance [Jewish officials at Albigensian courts] indicates the influence which the doctrines of certain Rabbis may have had on the Albigensian heresy." (p. 19) . . "In the works of the Rabbis themselves, it may be necessary to seek more certain traces. Here is an unexplored field for a scholar versed in Rabbinical studies." (p. 20.)

syncretism between Judaism and Gnosticism.[2] There has even been in Judaism, despite its strict monotheistic bias, a native dualism, based upon material in the Haggadah, and even in the apocalyptic portions of the Old Testament.[3] Persian dualism made an imprint upon Biblical and Talmudical thought,[4] and turned it to a consideration, if not an acceptance of some dualist notions. We find mention made of two powers, a good and an evil, although in Mazdean and Manichean Dualism these ideas were developed far beyond their Jewish origins.[5] During the centuries when Catharism flourished we find a recrudescence of Jewish discussion of Dualism in the contemporary Kabbalah.[6] In Provence, during the heretical centuries, Jewish scholars began with renewed zeal to devote themselves to the mystical tradition, among the famous Kabbalists being Jacob ha-Nazir, Abraham ben David of Posquières, Isaac the Blind, Azriel, and Nachmanides, the most important pupil of Azriel. It is difficult to trace the career of their teachings not only within the Jewish fold but more particularly in their influence upon their Christian neighbors. One interesting item, however, gives us a clue to similar information which yet has not been uncovered. During the thirteenth century we find magic, in contrast to the "Wisdom of Solomon," characterized by the term: "Wisdom of the Inhabitants of the East"; the Kabbalists bring it into con-

[2] Schaff, P., *History of the Christian Church*, New York, 1882-1910, ii, 460 *et passim.* On Jewish Gnosticism, see Graetz, H., *Gnosticismus und Judenthum*; Simon, "Essenes, Gnostics and Judaeo-Christians," *Jewish Review*, London, ii, 527; Friedlander, M., *Der Vorchristliche Juedische Gnosticismus*, Goettingen, 1898; G. Aurich, *Das Antike Mysterienwesen in seinem Einfluss auf das Christenthum*, Goettingen, 1894; and other works by Hoenig, Marmorstein, etc., see *Real-Encyclopaedie*, vi, 728.

[3] Loewy, M., *La Gnose dans le Talmud*, Budapest, 1885; Rubin, S., *Ha-'Emunah bi-shte Reshuyoth*, (Theological Dualism in our Mystical Literature), Cracow, 1908; for an analysis of this work as ingenious, but needing cautious criticism, see *REJ*, lviii (1909), 133.

[4] Rubin, S., *Peras Wihudah, Parseeism and Judaism; Concerning the influence of ancient Persian Religious Literature upon Biblical and Talmudical Literature*, Podogorze, 1909; Boeklen, *Die Verwandtschaft der Juedisch-Christlichen mit der Parsischen Eschatologie*, 1902.

[5] Krochmal, N., *Moreh Nebukhe ha-Zeman*, p. 208; Friedlaender, *op. cit.*, pp. 80 ff.

[6] "The whole dualistic system of good and of evil powers which goes back to Zoroastrianism and ultimately to old Chaldea, can be traced through Gnosticism; having influenced the cosmology of the ancient Kabbalah before it reached the medieval one." Kohler, in *JE*, iii, 458.

junction with the *Kelippoth*, "husks," evil spirits, the progeny of the Evil Principle, or the *Merkhabhah ha-Chitzonah*, the outer chariot, the protecting angels of Ishmael, of Esau and the Seventy Nations, the Court of Satan.[7] During the time of Nachmanides, we learn that enthusiasts, impostors and others were seeking to employ the Kabbalah for proof of the Christian Trinity, for vilifying the Talmud and other base uses; moreover, they developed a kind of Dualism, where the "nations" served as the "other or demonic side" (*Satra Achra*); Edom and Ishmael, namely Rome and the Moslem world, served as the two stereotyped leaders of the Seventy Nations, and as their protecting angels for the Court of Satan.[8] The Kabbalah of Nachmanides and his numerous pupils, among them, the famous Solomon ben Abraham Adret, must have made an impression upon the Christian world of their time; both Nachmanides and Adret, as we shall see, came into direct association with Christian clerical and secular leaders, through their activity in the field of disputation and polemic. They opposed, however, the many vagaries of their Kabbalistic contemporaries, an indication in itself that the latter were either imitating or influencing current Christian mysticism. Whether Catharist Dualism received any reinforcement from the aid of Jewish Kabbalists is difficult to say; it is worth while, however, to point out the parallelism of view, even though there be no direct transmission of influence.

2. *Kabbalah and Catharism*

Other points of parallelism deserve notice here. Thus, in Jewish Gnosticism and medieval Kabbalah, we have a system of so-called "correspondences," the notion that events happening here below are nothing but copies of those occurring above;[9] this may bear some relation to the Catharist method of interpreting the words of the Biblical Prophets as applicable not to a terrestrial, but to a celestial Jerusalem.[10] Many Jewish mystics during the centuries of heresy laid great store on visions and dreams; parallel to this we can mention the interest of the Albigensians in similar phenomena, the *Vision of Isaiah*, one of

[7] Steinschneider, M., *Polemische Literatur*, p. 252, gives the citations.
[8] Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, p. 360.
[9] Legge, *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, Cambridge, i, 115.
[10] Schmidt, ii, 23.

their most important religious books, testifying to this.[11] We find Jewish exegetes and controversialists cognizant of views prevalent among the heretics, the manner of Mary's pregnancy, as understood by the Albigensians, being known to Joseph Kimchi, the authors of the *Sepher ha-Chasidim*, and others.[12] Many features of Jewish angelology and demonology, frowned upon by the philosophical-rational schools of the Middle Ages, but a persistent concomitant of Jewish belief, found acceptance among Christians; it is probable that in the development of the new system of belief in Southern France and Italy, representing a syncretism of many views, these Jewish esoteric and mystical elements had a share. Point by point, parallels can be found between Catharist views and the Kabbalah, and it may well be that at times there was an exchange of opinions between Jewish and Gentile mystics.

3. *The Kabbalah in Medieval Christendom*

a. Exponents of the Theoretical Kabbalah. 1. *Agobard.* Not only among the heretical sects, however, are traces of Kabbalistic influence discernible, but in orthodox Christian circles as well. The theoretical or philosophical Kabbalah seems to have been known as early as the time of Agobard, Bishop of Lyons. In his Epistle: "Concerning the Superstitions of the Jews," there are indications that Agobard, in addition to his knowledge of works like the *Othiyoth de R. Akiba* and the *Hekhaloth*, was acquainted with the material in the *Sepher Yetzirah*, one of the classics of Kabbalistic literature. In two short passages Agobard treats of the subject: in the first, he brands the Jews for their gross notions of the Deity on the ground that they believe Him to be possessed of bodily form, having distinctive members and lineaments, including the organs of seeing, hearing, speaking, etc.; also that they note only one difference between the body of God and that of man and His image, namely, that the fingers are inflexible because God effects nothing with his hands. It seems certain that Agobard drew his citation from the "Description

[11] Guedemann, i, 81, 82, and Schmidt, i, 33; ii, 7, 61, 275. On the Jewish Apocryphal work, *The Ascension of Isaiah*, or *The Vision of Isaiah*, see *J E*, ii, 5.

[12] *Milchemeth Chobhah, f. passim; Sepher ha-Chasidim*, 1161; and Schmidt, ii, 41, where the Albigensians are said to believe in common with the Church Fathers that Mary conceived through the ear.

of the Body of God" in current Kabbalah.[13] In the second passage it is said: "Further they believe the letters of their alphabet to have existed from everlasting, and before the beginnings of the world to have received diverse offices, in virtue of which they should preside over created things."[14] Agobard herein seems to be informed about the latest Jewish views concerning the science of numbers which played so large a part in the thinking not only of Jewish but of Christian Kabbalists in the later Middle Ages.[15]

2. *Arnold of Vilanova.* It is not until the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries when Jewish literature became increasingly familiar to Christian scholars through their occupation with Hebrew learning that we find any real knowledge of what may be styled as genuine Kabbalah. Many Christian churchmen occupied themselves with mystical meditations concerning the Ineffable Name and the Tetragrammaton, seeking to discover therein proofs for the truth of Christianity. Thus Arnold of Vilanova, the noted physician, alchemist and mystic of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, a student of Arabic and Hebrew, and a protégé of Robert of Naples, the distinguished patron of Jewish learning as well, commenced in 1292 a work on the Tetragrammaton, wherein he sought to explain by natural reasons the mystery of the Trinity. In this he was following a precedent set by converted Jews as early as the time of Peter Alphonso, baptized about 1106, who sought to bring Jewish evidence to the support of Christian doctrine.[16] During the thirteenth century we find similar instances of the application of the Kabbalah to Christianity: thus, in his disputation with Paul Christian, a converted Jew, Nachmanides was compelled to rebut the arguments from the Kabbalah which his opponent

[13] Waite, A. E., *The Doctrine and Literature of the Kabalah*, London, 1902, p. 93. See Abbe Migne: *Dictionnaire des Sciences Occultes*, i, c. 32.

[14] Migne, "S. Agobardi, Lugdunensis Episcopi, Opera Omnia," in *Patrologia*, Paris (1851), 78 ff.

[15] Graetz, *Monatss.*, 1859, pp. 110-11; Loeb, *La Controverse Religieuse*, p. 21. Waite, pp. 323-437, has a chapter on: "Some Christian Students of the Kabalah", wherein he discusses the influence of Jewish mystical writings on Christian life. See L. Ginzberg, "Cabala," in *JE*, iii, 470-1, for paragraph on: "The Cabala in the Christian World."

[16] Jellinek, A., "Christlicher Einfluss auf die Kabbalah (12-13 Jahrh.)", pp. 51-6, in *Beitraege zur Geschichte der Kabbala*, Leipzig, 1852.

sought to use for a vindication of the worship of images and the Trinity.[17]

3. *Abraham Abulafia.* Abraham Abulafia, one of the most industrious medieval authors on Kabbalistic themes, exercised a deep influence on his time, and no doubt directed the attention of both Christian and Jewish contemporaries to the theological value of Jewish mystical literature. After prolonged study of the book *Yetzirah*, under the influence of the German mystic Eleazar of Worms,[18] he developed a system of interpretation, built upon the letters of the alphabet, numerals and vowel-points, with a view to the explanation of the divine names and the consonants of the Tetragrammaton; his most important disciple was Joseph Gikatilla, who carried his system further. He preached asceticism and the highest potentiality of the spirit through communion with God, effected by a perfect knowledge of His names.

Abulafia's career is an illustration of the influence which many Pseudo-Messiahs in Jewish history have exerted upon Christian thought. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there arose under the influence of the Crusades a number of these fanatics: one of them appeared in France (c. 1087), and was slain by the French; another in the province of Cordova (c. 1117), and one in Fez, in 1127; nothing more is known of these three than their mention by Maimonides in his *Iggereth Teman*. David Alroy appeared in Persia, about 1160; in Yemen, about 1172, an alleged forerunner of the Messiah set up his claims, and about 1179 a great cataclysm was prophesied by enthusiasts in Spain and France.[19] None of these pretenders, however, exerted upon contemporary Christianity the influence later wielded by Abulafia. After he became convinced that he was the God-sent Messiah and the Son of God, he addressed his message to both the masses and the educated, and even sought to extend it to the adherents of the Christian Church also. In response to an inner voice, in 1280 he went to Rome, in order to effect the conversion of Pope Nicholas III on the day before New Year, 5041.

[17] *Milchemeth Chobhah*, f. 12 b.

[18] His works had tremendous vogue, some of them being translated into Latin; Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vortraege*, p. 69; *Hist. Litt. de la France*, xxvii, 467-9.

[19] *Shebhet Yehudah*, p. 112.

When word of this venture reached the Pope in Suriano, he ordered that the fanatic be burned as soon as he arrived; the stake was erected close to the inner gate. Not in the least deterred from his mission, Abulafia reached Suriano on August 22nd; hearing, however, as he passed through the outer gate, the rumor that the Pope had died of an apopletic stroke the previous night, he returned to Rome; there he was thrown into prison by the Franciscan Minorites, but was released after four weeks' detention.

This incident aroused considerable interest, not only among Jews, but among Christians as well, and Abulafia's later activities were carefully followed. In Messina, on the island of Sicily, where the Jews lived in relative prosperity, Abulafia won many disciples to his banner as Prophet and Messiah, decreeing 1290 as the year for the Messianic era to begin. An epistle from Rabbi Solomon ben Adret, in response to an appeal from the Jewish inhabitants of Palermo, proved a severe setback to Abulafia's movement, and after 1291 trace of him is lost. The special message of this Pseudo-Messiah in relation to the Kabbalah was in his endeavor to "Christianize" it in the hope that thereby Christians might be won to Judaism: the Prophet and his disciples sought to construct a Trinitarian system, though it was a Trinity in form merely, and did not touch the essence of God's personality. Before his vision stood the ideal of a unity of faith, the realization of which he aimed to achieve. "Imbued with this spirit, his disciples worked in Spain and Italy, emphasizing still more the Trinitarian idea, while treating the Ten Sephiroth in order to win the adherents of the Church. Hence the terms Father, Mother, Son and Holy Ghost, borrowed from the Christian creed, appear in the Kabbalistic literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries."[20] Abulafia and his followers were the product of the age of mystical speculation, consequent upon the Crusades, which sought to break down the barriers between Judaism, Christianity and Islam. That such interests among the Jews led not so much to the conquest of Christian believers for a modified form of Judaism, as to the conversion of Jews to the dominant faith, is seen in the career of the Pseudo-Messiah Nissim ben Abraham, active in Avila, Spain, for whom 1295 was the year of Messianic advent. In-

[20] Jellinek, in his preface to Abulafia's *Sepher ha-Oth.*

stead of finding the Messiah on the appointed day, however, the followers of Nissim saw on their garments little crosses, perhaps pinned on in ridicule by unbelievers; in their disappointment some are said to have accepted Christianity. Though this was the outcome of other Pseudo-Messianic movements in Jewish history (the Frankist in Poland), it was compensated in part by the active interest awakened among Christians in Jewish mystical literature. Moreover, though the Christian influences on the Kabbalah of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries far outweigh the Jewish impression on Christian doctrine, nevertheless the Kabbalah won a species of victory in its frequent use among Christian theologians in support of fundamental Christian concepts. After the thirteenth century the Kabbalah is a prominent factor in Jewish-Christian controversy; it was not until the rise of the Reformation that the number of Christian scholars interested in the Kabbalah for its own sake became a considerable party in Christendom.[21]

4. *Raymond Lully and the Kabbalah.* The direct outcome of the widespread agitation at the close of the thirteenth century in Christian circles over the significance of Jewish mystical literature is seen not only in the works of Arnold of Vilanova, a member of the Joachite sect of mystics, and his contemporaries, but in the productions of Raymond Lully (1235-1315), called the "doctor illuminatus" because of his great learning. Lully, an enigmatical character, was born in Majorca; his parents, according to one tradition were of noble birth; according to another, his father was an Albigensian fugitive from Provence, and his mother either an Arab or a Jewess.[22] After his dedication to the career of Christian service, he devoted himself to the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre, the conversion of the Jews and Saracens,

[21] For the influence of the Kabbalah on a host of Christian scholars, and for its relationship to Christianity, see: Franck, A., *La Kabbale ou La Philosophie Religieuse des Hebreux*, Paris, 1889: Chapter iv: "Rapports de la Kabbale avec le Christianisme," pp. 255-265; Waite, A. E., *The Secret Doctrine in Israel*, London, 1913; Chapter xx: "The Alleged Christian Elements," pp. 292-308; preface, pp. v-xi. Massetani, G., *La Filosofia Cabbalistica di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola*, Empoli, 1897: Chapter iii: "Giov. Pico e la Cabbala cristiana," pp. 87-110. There is an abundant literature on this theme which will be included in our later work, which will deal with the "Kabbalah in the Reformation."

[22] Peyrat, ii, 234.

and to the framing of a system which should rationally demonstrate the truth of the Christian faith, against the assertions of Averroism, its most dangerous adversary. In preparation for his life-work, he undertook the study of Arabic, for which purpose, according to report, he purchased a Saracen slave; it seems likely that he reinforced the knowledge thus gained by studies in the Jewish and Arabic schools of Cordova, where "he broke more than one lance against the Mollas and the Rabbis." He wrote voluminously on many subjects and composed forty-six controversial works against Saracens, Jews, Greeks, and Averroists. The conversion of Jews and Saracens was one of his major occupations, and in this task he met his death at the hands of the Moors in 1315.

By a strange contrast, Lully's endeavors served less to influence Saracens and Jews with Christian culture, than to leaven Christianity with Arabic and Hebraic learning. He was incessant in his preachment on behalf of the foundation of colleges of the Oriental tongues to aid in missionary labors. While on his way to the Council of Vienne in 1311 under Pope Clement V, with projects for founding schools of Oriental tongues, and uniting in one all the military Orders for a holy war against the infidel, he summed up his life, remarking: "I learned Arabic, and I have been repeatedly among the Saracens to preach to them; by them I have been beaten and imprisoned. For forty-five years I have labored to excite the rulers of the Church and the princes of Christendom for the public good. Now I am old, I am poor, and I still have the same purpose, which, with the help of God, I will retain till I die." Lully had prevailed upon the king of Majorca to found a school at Palma where thirteen monks studied Arabic; with the Pope Boniface VIII and King Philip the Fair of France, however, he had been unsuccessful in a similar appeal. At Vienne, the only project which obtained assent from the list he submitted, was the plan to found schools of Hebrew, Arabic and "Chaldaic" in the papal court, and in the Universities of Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Salamanca; this was decreed in the interests of the conversion of Jews and Saracens; two teachers in each tongue were to be provided, for whose maintenance at the Papal Court the Holy See, at Paris the King of France, and at the other places the clergy of the countries in question, were to care.[23] In this way Lully opened up the

[23] Hefele, vi, 482; Clementinarum, 5, 1, 1.

Greek and Hebrew world to Christian scholarship, and "prepared for the Reformation of Luther." It is important to note that the descendant of a Catharist and a Jewess was instrumental in revealing Hebrew knowledge to official Christian investigation, and thus laid the foundation for the great influx of Hebrew influence during the days of Reuchlin, Eck and the Reformers. The death of Lully served to inspire his followers, and in the persecution launched against them by the Inquisition, under the direction of Eymerich, we find reference to their heretical views, among them, that it is wrong to slay heretics, and that the mass of mankind will be saved, even Jews and Saracens who are not in mortal sin.

In pursuing his Hebrew studies, Lully became acquainted with the Jewish Kabbalah, and instead of converting his Kabbalistic instructors, he fell under the spell of their teachings.[24] In two of his works, the "Ars Magna Sciendi," and the "Ars Notarica," he gave indication of his acquaintance with aspects of the Jewish mystical tradition. In his "Ars Magna," known later to Cornelius Agrippa and Pico de Mirandola, the Kabbalah furnished Lully with material by which he thought to bring about an entire revolution in the methods of scientific investigation, his means being none other than letter and number mysticism in its different varieties.[25] Despite assertions that Lully knew very little of genuine Kabbalah, it is certain that he made use in his interpretation of Scripture of the Jewish methods of "Gematria, Notaricon, and Ziruph," and regarded the Kabbalah as a divine science and a true revelation of the soul.[26] Whatever may have

[24] Waite, *Doctrine and Literature of the Kabalah*, pp. 325 ff., remarks that there is substantial ground for supposing that there were two distinct persons bearing the name of Lully, or that is was assumed for a second time at a later date. The first was the seneschal of Majorca, the second an alchemist. Eliphas Levi, a modern Kabbalist, identifies the two personages by prolonging the life of the first through the instrumentality of a great elixir; this of course, is mere fiction. The first was a philosophical reformer; the second, though for what reason is not clear, is said to have been a "Jewish neophyte" or proselyte of the gate. This, however, is also hypothesis, for Lully was received in Christian circles, and even preached a Crusade.

[25] Waite, p. 328, who is under the influence of a highly developed Kabbalah, remarks: "his system is a mechanical introduction to the sciences, and has no title to the name, having nothing to do with a tradition, exoteric or esoteric, Jewish or Gentile."

[26] See "De Auditu Kabbalistico, sive ad omnes scientias introductorium," Strassburg, 1651; also Christian D. Ginsburg, *The Kabbalah*, pp. 117-8.

been Lully's real information, gathered either from Jewish books or from Jewish teachers, of whom there were many during his time who were intimately associated with Christian pupils of the Kabbalah, he made substantial progress beyond other scholars in the use of Jewish mystical lore; while others used it for theological purposes, he was one of the first to employ it for the beginning of a scientific method, primitive in its traits, but none the less instructive.

b. The Practical Kabbalah in Medieval Christendom. The evidence which points to a knowledge of the theoretical Kabbalah by medieval Christians is meagre by the side of the material concerning the relationship of the so-called "practical Kabbalah," including astrology, sorcery, magic, alchemy and other pseudo-sciences, to Christian practices. We recall that during the thirteenth century, the Jewish mystical tradition, particularly in its exegetical phases, was strongly marked by Christian characteristics;[27] it was even asserted that Jesus had performed by means of the Kabbalah the miracles accredited to him.[28] In the same way, the superstitions and occult practices of the Jews were tinged with Christian influence; the folklore and legends of medieval Jewry were borrowed in large measure from their Christian surroundings, and once accepted into Jewish circles, were rapidly "Judaized."[29] Nevertheless in many instances the Jews were not imitators, but themselves set the standards for popular belief. Thus in times of drought during the Middle Ages, the people turned to the Jews, who were supposed to be able to cause rain; at moments of sickness or distress, we find Christians entering synagogues and following Jewish customs, a practice which aroused even the wrath of the Popes at Rome. Jews were regarded as sorcerers, and we find mention made of Jewish magicians: Zambrio in Italy during the

[27] Thus the Jews of Spain for a long time had known the allegorical method of Biblical interpretation prevalent among Christians; at the end of the 10th century, Judah ben Sheshet, disciple of Dunash ibn Labrat (Graetz, *Monatsschrift*, 1884, p. 475); in the 12th century, Judah ben Barzilai (*REJ*, xvii, 280), and Abraham ibn Ezra (Zunz, *Jubelschrift*, p. 146); *REJ*, xxii, 39.

[28] Thus Chayyim ibn Musa, and other Rabbis in Spain: Jacob Alcorsono, Moses Botarel, Moses ben Nachman, Asher ben Jechiel, Joseph Gikatilla; Loeb, *La Controverse Religieuse*, p. 51.

[29] On the "Judaizing" of Christian superstitions, see Guedemann, i, 53, 55, 82, 199 ff; ii, 36, 40, 180, 219 ff.; iii, 131, 153, *et passim.*

ninth century; Sicilian sorcerers even a century earlier, and in Germany through the entire Middle Ages. Guibert of Nogent is but one of many monks who sought to rouse popular hostility against Jews by accusing them of practicing black magic, of celebrating the Black Mass, and engaging with heretics in other nefarious occupations.[30] In 1303 we find Philip the Fair, three years before the great Expulsion, forbidding the Inquisition to take cognizance of usury, sorcery and other offenses of the Jews. Jews were supposed to be astrologers, and coming from the East, were regarded as the heirs and successors of the Chaldaeans; they were believed to possess the power to fill the multitudes with awe and fear.[31] Because of the reputation which Biblical Jews had won as interpreters of dreams, their medieval descendants were accredited with like power. The question of oneiroscopy or divination of dreams was complicated by conflicting evidence in the Scriptures: in Deuteronomy, 18:10, it was forbidden, and the Vulgate included the observer of dreams in its denunciations; on the other hand, there were the examples of Joseph and Daniel, and the formal assertion of Job "when deep sleep falleth upon man, in slumberings upon the bed, then he openeth the ears of men and sealeth their instruction." (Job, 33:15, 16). In the twelfth century, the expounding of dreams was a recognized profession which does not seem to have been forbidden; John of Salisbury endeavors to prove that no reliance is to be placed on them; Joseph and Daniel were inspired, and short of inspiration no divination from dreams is to be trusted. (Lea, iii, 446-447). In these and a multitude of practices, even in the development of the superstitions concerning Satan, Jewish tradition and individual Jews played a prominent part.[32] We mention these selected bits of information in order to indicate that during the Middle Ages the interchange of influence between Jews and Christians occurred not only in the upper strata

[30] *REJ*, xlvi, 239; 243.

[31] Bedarride, *Les Juifs en France*, pp. 49, 454; Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, iv, 1212, Cassel, 16, 17, 52 *et passim.*

[32] Lea, iii, 378: "Europe was the unhappy inheritor of an accumulated mass of superstitions which colored the life and controlled the actions of every man. They were vivified with a peculiar intensity by the powerful conception of the Mazdean Ahriman, the embodiment of the destructive forces of nature and the evil passions of man, which transfused through Judaism, and adorned with the imaginings of the Haggadah, became a fixed article of the creed, as the fallen prince of angels, Satan."

of intellectual and religious life, but also among the masses, thrown into daily association despite the protests of the higher authorities. They indicate also that Jewish contributions to Christian thought must be reckoned not only in terms of so-called modern rationalism, but also in the realm of the lower spheres of belief, where superstition and magic predominate. Jews made their mark in the fields of emerging science—in medicine, astronomy and chemistry, during the Middle Ages. It is well, however, in view of the ramifications of the doctrines of both heretical and orthodox movements into the territory of esoteric and mystical beliefs and practices, to point out that even here, Jewish influence left its imprint.

3. Catharist Practices and Their Jewish Associations

a. The influence of Jewish physicians

1. *Among Heretics*

a. Heretics as Physicians. In the account of the activities of heretics during the Middle Ages, and particularly during the efflorescence of the Albigensian and Waldensian heresies, we find numerous references to the activities of the dissenters as physicians. "Like the Essene Jews, the Waldensian Barbes and the Albigensian deacons cultivated medicine." Following the example of Jesus, they sought to dispense healing to the sick and maimed; though they had little regard in their theology for the flesh and the ills to which it was heir, nevertheless, they were well versed in hygiene and anatomy. The Waldensians were renowned as leeches, and made skilful use of this reputation for missionary purposes; they were constantly consulted in cases of disease or injury, and almost without exception refused payment for their ministrations, except food. One woman on trial before the Inquisition confessed that she had given forty sols to a Catharist for medical services, while to the Waldensians she gave only wine and bread. (Lea, ii, 146). The Catharist "Perfects" were famous as physicians, and counted among their number William-Bernard of Auros (1220), who resided at Saissac, Arnauld Bos, physician and deacon at Hautpont (1233), and William Garin, physician and deacon at Lautrec (1233).[1]

[1] Schmidt, i, 289, 314; Doat, xxiv, f. 110 ff.

b. Jews as Teachers of Heretic Physicians. "Where," asks Peyrat, an historian of the Albigensians, "did they learn and study medicine?" (ii, 50.) It was not at Montpellier, he replies, a city strongly under Catholic and Roman influence. "They received it from the Jews and Arabs," unless the tradition had come with them from Greece and the Orient. There was a kind of medical school at Montségur, "the Mount Tabor of the Catharists," which Peyrat compares to the haunts of the ascetic colonies in Judea, the Pythagoreans in Greece and the Therapeutae in Egypt; the school was elementary, primitive: "the books were the rocks, the woods and nature."

It seems plausible that the Catharists and Waldensians were associated with Jews in the study and practice of medicine. To what degree they were in contact with Arabs is uncertain; though there are repeated references to Arabic influence in Languedoc during the period when the heresies were at their height, we have little information as to any personal affiliations with Saracens, except in Spain, Sicily and Hungary. The presence of noted Jewish physicians in Languedoc and their intimate relationship with Albigensian princes who at the same time were instructed by Catharist teachers leads to the supposition that the heretics were instructed or at least aided in their medical interests by Jews. We know that a Viscount of Carcassonne, Roger II, had had a Jewish bailiff, named Caravita, and a Catharist tutor, Bertram of Saissac, between whom undoubtedly friendly associations existed. Guibert of Nogent, who attacked the so-called "sorcery" of the Jews not only refers to the Jewish physicians of Count John of Soissons, a patron of the Catharist heretics, but also tells of a monk who, raised in a cloister since infancy, had when he was overtaken by illness, spoken of a certain Jew of his acquaintance who studied medicine, and might aid him.[2] Though Peyrat may correctly assert that heretics were unable to study medicine in the strongly Catholic city of Montpellier, it seems likely that the influence the local medical schools exerted in the various provinces of Southern France touched them as well. Since 1180, when William VIII, Lord of Montpellier, granted them the right to practice medicine, the Jews had made remarkable progress as physicians, and in 1300 the Jew, Jacob ben Makhir, called "Don Profiat," was appointed regent of the

[2] Monod, in *REJ*, xlvi, 240.

faculty of medicine in the university of the city.[3] A Jewish medical school existed at Montpellier founded about the year 1025 by a pupil of Rabbi Abon, principal of the Jewish school at Narbonne; here also, heretic physicians no doubt came into contact with Jewish doctors. Even at Paris, despite its reputation as the seat of orthodox Christian theology, a few Jewish physicians were found at the end of the thirteenth century, among them Copin and Moses, Rabbi Isaac and his son Vital. In Italy, also, at Salerno, Rome, Capua, Venice and elsewhere, Jewish doctors won great repute. In their journeyings throughout the countries of Europe, they must have met on numerous occasions the wandering heretics of the time, whose attachment to the science of medicine impelled them to seek their advice and instruction.

2. *In Orthodox Circles.*

a. Legislation against Them. It was not merely the association of Jews and heretics in the field of medicine which led the Church eventually to recognize in Jewish medical activity a source of danger to its authority; the widespread influence exerted by Jewish doctors in orthodox circles, both secular and ecclesiastical, awakened it to decisive action. Gradually a policy was framed which sought to restrict the power of Jews as physicians among the people and the rulers of Christian Europe; a long list of laws against Jews as teachers and practitioners of medicine resulted. At Bagdad, Salerno, Montpellier and elsewhere, the prominence of Jewish doctors made them a target for attack. Even the edict of Viscount William sought to curb their influence, though it defined for them certain privileges. The Council of Béziers in 1246 excommunicated those who called upon Jewish physicians in case of illness;[4] this edict does not seem to have been carefully observed for, in 1247, we find Jewish physicians claiming their salaries in courts of law, as "Maitre Salomon" did against Simon de Mueil, chatelain of Minerve.[5] In 1254 the Council of Albi, held in the town where the Albigensian movement took its name, ordained likewise that Christians

[3] Astruc, J., *Memoires pour servir a l'histoire de la Faculté de Medicine de Montpellier*, Paris, 1767, p. 168. See also Kahn, S., *Les écoles juives et la faculté de médicine de Montpellier*, Montpellier, 1890. Bedarride, pp. 146, 238, 522.

[4] Canon 43: 'Praeterea excommunicentur Christiani, qui in infirmitate positi, causa medicinae se committunt curae Judaeorum." Mansi, xxiii, f. 702.

[5] Archives nationales, *Enquêteurs en Languedoc*, J 1033, no. 13, fol. 2.

who made use of the services of Jewish physicians should be excommunicated.[6] The Council of Vienna, in 1267, also prohibited Jews from visiting Christians in illness, or giving them the benefit of their medical help.[7] The Synodal Constitutions of Bernard of Capendu, Bishop of Carcassonne, in 1272 forbade Jews not only to venture out during Holy Week, and compelled them to rest on Sunday and on the festivals, but prohibited them to eat with Christians, and also to serve as physicians to them.[8] The Synodal Statutes of the Church of Nismes in 1284, forbade Christians even to receive medicine from Jews[9], and similar statutes of the Church of Ruthensis included a parallel prohibition;[10] the *Opusculum* of Pope Celestine V (c. 1294) against the Jews followed this tradition.[11] In 1293 a law was enacted punishing with three months' imprisonment Christian patients who accepted treatment from Jewish physicians; and in 1306 Philip of Arlois expelled them altogether from Montpellier. The councils of Avignon (1326 and 1337) and that of Rouergue also declared against Jewish physicians. During the fourteenth and at the beginning of the fifteenth century Jewish physicians found it increasingly difficult to practice medicine; papal decrees and Church councils (as at Basel, 1434) had decided against them; Arabian influence in Southern Europe, which had lasted since the days of Frederic II had virtually disappeared, and the role the Jew was permitted to play was constantly restricted.

b. Jewish Physicians among the Clergy. One of the great paradoxes of Christian history is that, despite legal enactments against the employment of Jewish physicians, large numbers of the clergy, and even the Popes made use of their services. Pope Gelasius (492-496) had a Jewish physician, by name Tele-

[6] Canon 60: "Excommunicentur praeterea Christiani qui causa medicinae curae se commiserint Judaeorum." Mansi, xxiii, f. 852.

[7] Canon 19: "Nec Christianos infirmos visitent, vel circa ipsos exerceant opera medicinae."

[8] Bouges, *Histoire de Carcassonne*, p. 565.

[9] Canon 4: "Nullus etiam Christianus, vel Christiana azyma Judaeorum manducet, aut cum eis in eadem domo habitet, aut aliquem eorum pro medico in infirmitatibus vocet, aut aliquam medicinam recipiat . ." Martene, iv, f. 1064-5.

[10] "Nec tempore infirmitatis sub Judaeorum cura se ponant, nec ab eis recipiant medicinam," Canon 15, in Martene, iv, f. 769.

[11] *Max. Bibl.* xxv, f. 846-7.

sinus, whom he calls "a very famous man," and "his friend";[12] he recommends him to a Bishop, and when he fears that the latter will not share his pro-Jewish inclination, he says cautiously that the person recommended "seems" to be a Jew, a remark which lends the impression that he had been baptized. During the centuries when heresy flourished in Continental Europe, we find Jewish physicians at the height of their influence among the Christian clergy. In Italy, not only the Popes but also their officials, priests, monks and nuns preferred Jewish to Christian doctors.[13] A classic proof of this situation is found in the denunciations of Arnold of Vilanova against the abuses current among the clergy. In his protest to Pope Boniface VIII (1294-1303) and Benedict XI (1303-1304), which we shall have occasion to discuss elsewhere, he states his strenuous disapproval of the many infringements of the ecclesiastical canons against the employment of Jewish physicians. The Popes apparently took no notice of his appeal to lead a reformation in the Church, for even one of their number, between the years 1270-1291, had had a Jewish physician, named Maestro Gajo (Isaac ben Mordecai).[14] Arnold then turned to the Aragonian King of Sicily, Frederic II, and in a communication to him remarked: "We recall having learned from the preachings of the clergy that any believer is guilty of excommunication and commits a mortal sin who calls in a Jew for the cure of his bodily ailments. We see, however, that the custom is for no other physician to enter cloisters than a Jew; this is the case not only of cloisters for men, but for women as well."[15] Though this may be the complaint of a Christian physician, jealous of his alien competitors, nevertheless it is a fairly correct description of the influence of the Jewish physicians during the thirteenth and later centuries. Popes did not cease to employ Jewish doctors, and even though Boniface IX, Eugenius IV, Nicholas V, Calixtus III and others legislated decrees against Jews, they had their special Jewish body-physicians; Pope Paul III, Alexander VI, and Pope Leo X also had

[12] Mansi, viii, 131.

[13] Concerning Papal physicians, see Marini, *Degli archiatri pontifici*, Rome, 1784, i, 103, 107, 108, 134, 290, 367, 414, 417, 418; ii, 62, 249, 268, 297; also Guedemann, ii, 154, 237 *et passim*.

[14] *Otzar Nechmad*, iii, 110; Graetz, vii, 175.

[15] Menendez, *Ensayo historico su Arnaldo di Vilanova Medico catalan del siglo XIII*, Madrid, Murillo, 1879, p. 96.

their special favorites among Jewish doctors. These names are typical of numerous similar cases, for until Christian universities taught medicine scientifically, "there was scarcely a court or bishopric in Europe which did not boast its Jewish doctor," and though the Church never reconciled itself to their reputation and the influence it gave them over their patients, the fact that the Popes were guilty of breaking the ecclesiastical enactments made it difficult to suppress them.[16]

c. Jewish Physicians of Secular Rulers. The ire of the Church was roused against Jewish physicians, particularly in Spain, Italy and France, because they exerted a powerful influence, not only in medical circles, but in the politics and religious life of the times. "It was their scientific skill which gave Jewish Rabbi-statesmen their peculiar position at the courts of Spain and Portugal. These Jewish ministers of state often started on their career as the royal physicians, and the influence which they thus won over their patients' minds was, with some justice, resented by the Church." (Abrahams, p. 234.) Thus Chasdai ibn Shaprut (915-970) was appointed prime minister of 'Abd al-Rahman, after having been his physician; Sulaiman ibn al-Mu'allim, was court physician to the Caliph 'Ali at Seville (1106-45); Maimonides served in a similar capacity for the Sultan Saladin; Judah ben Joseph ibn al-Fakhkhar, was court physician to Ferdinand III in Barcelona; Samuel ibn Wakar (died c. 1333) was physician to King Alfonso XI; Abraham of Lerida, was oculist to John II of Aragon (c. 1470). In Portugal, Gedaliah ibn Yahyah, the Elder (c. 1300) physician to King Diniz, Moses the physician to Ferdinand I and John I; at Lisbon, Gedaliah ibn Yahya the Younger, physician to Alfonso V (c. 1476); Joseph and Rodriquez, physicians to John II of Portugal, are a few of the important names in the annals of Jewish royal physicians. In Italy, Faraj ben Salim (Faragut), who lived in Salerno about 1250, was physician to Charles, King of Sicily; he was one of the first physicians who translated, not into Hebrew, but into Latin; Isaac was court physician of Pope Boniface VIII; Manuele and Angelus Manuele, physicians to Boniface IX; at Naples, Samuel ben Jacob of Capua, court physician to Charles II, and Isaac, court physician to King Robert of Anjou.

In France Jewish physicians played an equally significant

[16] Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 236.

part, not only in the court circles of heterodox rulers, but among orthodox princes as well. Jacob ben Abba Mari Anatolio was physician in Marseilles and later became one of the retinue of Emperor Frederic II, serving not only as scholar and patron, but as physician. In 1252, Alphonse de Poitiers, although almost as rigorous in his restrictions upon Jews as Saint Louis, did not disdain the aid of a Jewish physician, despite the canons of the councils. Attacked by a grave affection in his sight, he sought out a celebrated Jewish physician, who had come to Aragon from the country of the Moors, by name Ibrahim; the Lord of Lunel had sent two Jews of his domain to this doctor and then transmitted to Alphonse the advice of Ibrahim.[17] This case is symbolic of many others of which records have been preserved, most of which, however, occurred without being noted in documents which have come down to us. In Germany, during the Middle Ages, the references to Jewish court physicians are meagre: Zedekiah is said to have acted in this capacity for King Louis the Bald. At Wuerzburg, Seligmann (c. 1407) was physician to Bishop John I; Jacob ben Jechiel Loans was physician to the emperor Frederic III, and Michael a surgeon to Frederic. But the role of Jewish physicians in the preparation and rise of the German Reformation is a theme of momentous significance, and forms one of the most interesting chapters in the history of Jewish contributions to the movement: the studies of Zwingli with the physician-scholar Moses of Winterthur, the associations of Servetus with his Marrano physician-scholar friends, the friendship of Reuchlin with Loans and Obadiah Sforno, are a few examples of the tendencies for which Jewish doctors were in part responsible, and which made their imprint upon the development of religious liberalism in Europe.

d. Jewish Physician-Converts. A phase of the history of Jewish physicians in Christian life, is the number and influence of Jewish converts to Christianity who were doctors. Among these are to be named, not only Telesinus, the friend of Pope Gelasius, but most of the Jews who were members of the Papal household; Abner of Burgos (1270-1348), the exegete and polemical writer whose works so profoundly affected Servetus, was a convert; Joshua ibn Vives, or Joshua ha-Lorki, physician to Benedict XIII, after his conversion took the name of Geronimo

[17] Boutaric, *Saint Louis et Alfonse de Poitiers*, p. 87; *Layettes du Tresor des chartes*, iii, J. 320, no. 95.

de Santa Fé, and became an ardent opponent of his former co-religionists; he persecuted especially Jewish physicians and apothecaries. These and numerous other Jewish apostates gained for themselves large Christian followings; they not only contributed to the growth of medical science, but also were zealous advocates and exponents of the Christian faith on the basis of its Jewish sources and origins.

e. Jewish Physicians as Apologists and Controversialists. One of the reasons why the Christian Church so vigorously sought to curb Jewish medical influence lay in the skill Jewish physicians were known to have as disputants and controversialists. Though the ecclesiastical authorities might be able to isolate the Jewish community at times, and create prejudice against the majority of its members, it was more difficult to prevent Jewish doctors from gaining entrance not merely into official court and clerical circles, but into the homes of the general lay population. Their success as physicians lent added weight to their arguments on behalf of Judaism, either in its own right or in relation to Christianity; hence the Church spared no pains to prevent the laity from relying upon Jewish medical aid. In 1031 we have an account of a disputation between Bishop Wazo of Lieges with a Jew, who because of his skill in medicine and his Biblical scholarship was a favorite of Emperor Conrad II.[18] In 1102-1104, the Archbishop Bruno of Treves had a very skilled Jewish physician by the name of Joshua, a learned student of Jewish history and literature; he went about in the garb of a knight, as many Jews did during the Middle Ages;[19] as a result of several discussions with the Archbishop, he became converted and took the name Bruno.[20] Though there were many similar conversions of Jewish physicians to Christianity, as we have already noted, resulting out of these disputations, the care of the Church to protect believers from them leads to the belief that the opposite, namely, the conversion of Christian patients to Judaism, sometimes happened. Among the distinguished Jewish controversialists who defended the Jewish cause either in literary polemics or in public disputations were Moses ben Nachman (1194-1267), Joseph and David Kimchi, Simon bar Tzemach

[18] Nuebling, "Die Juden als Aerzte," pp. 84-89 of: *Die Judengemeinden des Mittelalters*, Ulm, 1896.

[19] Jacobs, *Jews of Angevin England*, pp. 260-1.

[20] Aronius, *Regesten*, p. 304.

Duran, Profiat Duran and others; we shall have occasion to discuss their contributions to Jewish apologetical literature in a special chapter dedicated thereto.

f. The Contributions of Jewish Physicians to Dissent. Thus it may be seen that there exists a direct connection between the role that the Jewish physician has played in Christendom and the growth of tolerance for Jews on the one hand, and the spread of religious dissent on the other. We have not attempted to tell the detailed story of Jewish participation in the development of the science of medicine; this would require too lengthy an account.[21] We have sought merely to indicate some of the many instances when Jews came into immediate personal contact with Christians, and when they affected each other's life reciprocally. Just as commercial relationships brought Jews and Christians into intimacy, with a concomitant effect upon their beliefs and customs, so too the associations which arose through the practice of the medical art and the receipt of its benefits, promoted religious and social intercourse between the two religious groups, however vehement the prohibitions of the resentful Church. We have seen that heretics learned considerable of their medical knowledge from contemporary Jewish teachers; that secular rulers and even Popes did not hesitate to run counter to ecclesiastical mandate against the employment of Jewish physicians. We have also noted that these doctors rose from the position of court physicians to the rank of royal advisors, and thus affected the course of political affairs; above all, they were important factors in the history of religious controversies between Christianity and Judaism; as authors and participants, they were accused of infecting with their own doctrines not only the community at large, but their own special patients; scholarly relationships between Christians and Jewish physicians were frequent, and upon the minds of the lower population Jewish medical men, by their skill as healers and sages, made a potent impression. Hence, it may be well understood why in a discussion of the growth of heresy and dissent in orthodox Christian circles, space must be devoted to an account, however brief, of the share of Jewish physicians.

[21] See Carmoly, E. *Histoire des médecins juifs anciens et modernes*, Bruxelles, 1844; Hollub, "History of Jewish Physicians," in *ha-Shachar*, Vienna, 1884-5; Muenz, I., *Ueber die jued. Aerzte im Mittelalter*, Berlin, 1887.

3. Catharist Practices and Their Jewish Associations

b. the practice of money-lending

1. Medieval Heretics as Money-Lenders

In the history of the medieval heretics we find that money-lending was one of their primary occupations. The heterodox parties, banned from the ordinary pursuits and activities of approved religious groups, were forced into the professions, such as money-lending and medicine, upon which the Church frowned. In this respect, they suffered the same fate as the Jews, to whom money-lending was virtually the only occupation in which, during the Middle Ages, they might engage. Thus once more were heretics thrust into the same category as the Jews, even though the latter technically occupied in Christian law a different status. Jewish and heretical culture flourished side by side in Christian surroundings; princes who favored the Jews were patrons of heretics; anti-heretical rulers, for the most part, were also anti-Jewish; moreover, the entire policy of the Church, its Popes, Councils and apologists, was to place heretics and Jews in the same class, and to indicate points of identity between the two ostracised groups; in this fashion, the polemics of the Church against dissenters were undertaken by men skilled in controversies with Jews; moreover the system of persecution developed by secular rulers and the Inquisition tended to award virtually the same punishment to heretics and Jews. Certain social factors also contributed to bring Jews and heretics, despite strong contradictions in their religious opinions, into continuous association. Proscribed and outlawed by the Church, it was a natural consequence of their isolation that they should seek each other's company; persecution made them companions, not only in theory, but in experience and fact. They were banned from the customary haunts of the believers; it is not surprising that, like the Passagii and Waldensians, many heretics became wanderers, thus emulating the Jews; heretics were excluded from the ordinary occupations of the day; hence, as noted above, they entered the two fields to which Christians, ruled by Church law, ordinarily gave little attention, namely; commerce, with its corollary occupations of money-lending and banking, and medicine. We have seen how heretics "Judaized" in their practice of medicine, not only among their own adherents, but among the believers of

the Church; we shall now see how they engaged in the still more "Judaic" business of money-lending and usury.

One of the favorite charges against Catharist heretics was that they practiced usury and retained illicit gains even after they had received the "consolamentum."[1] The Bulgarian Catharists, who were also famed as merchants, were known throughout Europe as money-lenders; hence, says Ducange, the name: Bulgarii was given to all usurers.[2] According to Pluquet, the Albigensians, who believed it necessary to deprive the clergy of their possessions, had no more zealous partisans than certain rapacious lords and usurers (ii, 242). We know in this connection that the lords who protected the Albigensians had Jewish money-lenders and bailiffs; perhaps the usurers referred to are the Jewish officials of the Lords of Toulouse, Béziers, Carcassonne and other Provencal cities. In contradistinction to this, we may remark that it was a Christian Caorsin who financed the Crusade against the Albigensians when the funds of Simon de Montfort were at low ebb. It was, however, to this same Montfort, leader of the Crusaders, that Bishop Foulques of Toulouse sent a corps of citizens, formed into an association known as the "White Brotherhood," created for the purpose of exterminating heretics and of abolishing of usury. Usury had Jewish associations, and heretics had associations with usury; hence it is likely that the heretics came into contact with Jews.

a. Their Association With Jewish Bankers. Alphandery is of the opinion that heretics learned the art of banking through their Jewish affiliations. He also points out that since traffic in money was permitted only to the banned races, for example the Jews, Saracens and others, it is logical to believe that the outlawed heretical groups adopted their occupations. Alphandery goes on to suggest that some of the Lombards may have been Milanese Patarenes, and furnishes further evidence from the fact that the heretics oftentimes compared their lot to

[1] Moneta, l. V, c. xiv, paragraph 547; Sacchoni, 1765; Petr. Vall. Sarn., 6; Et. de Bourbon, 302; Schmidt, ii, 156; Alphandery, p. 88.

[2] Pluquet, i, 528; Marca, *Hist. de Bearn.* In the "Prolegomena" of Gretser, we find p. 11: "Sunt autem Bugares seu 'Burgari' secta Catharorum quorum Ecclesiam vel potius Synagogam memorat Reinerius cap. l." The word "Synagogue" is here used in the same sense that Bernard of Clairvaux speaks of the Churches of Languedoc; they have become "Synagogues," that is to say, places of evil assembly.

that of the Jews:[3] otherwise it would be difficult to explain this strange deviation in the morals of the sect. Another point of resemblance between the Jews and heretics lies in the fact that both accumulated wealth in order to be prepared for days of persecution;[4] both also transformed their property into money as a safeguard against the day when they would be compelled to leave their homes at the command of King or bishop. The heretics, like Jews, were also compelled to face the charge that they practiced money-lending, not for this purpose alone, but merely in order to engage in usurious transactions. The Passagii probably participated in money-lending: if we interpret their name from their tendency to wander over countries in search of trade, acting at the same time, like the Slavonic Catharists, as carriers of heretical doctrines, this surmise is borne out; if, on the other hand, we accept the view that they were "farmers of revenue," collectors of the special tax which gave them their name, as Molinier suggests, they may still be conceived of as engaging in the money traffic. The Patarenes are reported to have been called Jews because of their proclivities for usury.[5] In these and other instances, the major charge against the heretics is not that they merely practiced illicit money lending, but that they were guilty of many other offenses against the doctrines and institutions of the faith; they engaged in usury, not as the fundamental principle of their system of belief, but because, as heretics, they had no other choice of occupation. We may now, however, turn to a discussion of the practice of usury as a heresy *per se*.

[3] Alphandery, pp. 88-89. "On peut dire a leur décharge que le commerce de l'argent etait peut-être au plus fort des persécutions le seul qui leur etait ouvert, comme il l'etait aux races maudites: Juifs, Sarrasins, etc. . . Ce qui semblerait corroborer cette hypothèse, c'est qui'eux-mêmes comparent parfois leur sort à celui des Juifs et qu'aussi parmi les Lombards, qui dressaient leur ban de change sur les marchés d'Europe, il se peut qu'il y ait eu des Patarins milanais. Il nous semble difficile d'expliquer autrement cette étrange déviation de la morale de la secte."

[4] Schmidt, ii, 156: "D'ailleurs leurs adversaires avouaent eux-mêmes, qu'en amassant des richesses, les croyants etaient guidés principalement par l'intention de se créer des ressources pour les jours de la persécution."

[5] Muratori, v, 85: " 'Ita primum' inquit Ferrarius, 'in contumeliam Judaei appellati a Pactis quum pignoribus capiendis, et pecunia foenore locanda caverent, ut nisi intra certam diem usura penderetur, res pignori opposita periret, ac similibus Pactis et conditionibus transfigerent.'" Muratori goes on to say, however: "Numquam Judaei appellati Paterini fuere, sed aut Manichaei aut Christiani Mediolanenses in Presbyteros incontinentes, zelo disciplinae ecclesiasticae incensi."

2. *Usury as a Heresy*

In the "Memoire" or memorandum of the errors compiled by the Inquisition against contemporary heretics is the charge that a group of dissenters asserted "that to practice money lending at a reasonable rate of interest is not any sin."[6] Though this collection of accusations (similar to that drawn up against Servetus at Geneva) is regarded as unreliable by Schmidt, who infers that this section relates to Jews themselves, nevertheless in the light of the known practices of money lending among heretics and some Christian believers, there appears to be justification for the statement in the "Memoire." So prevalent was the inclination to imitate the Jews in money-traffic that it became necessary for the Church to make an official pronouncement upon the subject. Thus Bernard of Clairvaux, who preached the Second Crusade and intervened with great courage to prevent the massacre of European Jewries, besought King Louis VII to prohibit Jews from accepting usurious rates of interest from those who set out for the Holy Land; but, he adds, in an oft-quoted sentence, "I keep silence on the point that we regret to see Christian usurers Judaizing worse than Jews, if it indeed is fit to call them Christians and not rather baptized Jews."[7] On other occasions in Christian circles we find the accusation that a Christian who engaged in the money trade was a "Judaizer" and a "bad Christian."[8] Even in Protestant literature we find similar epithets in the comparison of some Christian to Jewish money-lenders: Thomas Wilson in his famous *Discourse upon Usury*[9] in the sixteenth century remarks:

> And for this cause they [the Jews] were hated in England, and so banished worthelye, with whom I would wyshe all these Englishemen were sent, that lende their money or other goods whatsoever for gayne, for I

[6] "Dicunt quod tradere ad usuram, ratione termini, non est peccatum aliquod." Vaissette, viii, 983: "Isti Sunt Articuli in Quibus Errant Moderni Haeretici" in "Memoire touchant les erreurs des Albigeois, les penitences qu'on leur imposoit" . . . See in the chapter on "Passagii," for fuller discussion.

[7] "Pejus judaizare dolemus Christianos foeneratores, si tamen Christianos, et non magis baptizatos Judaeos convenit appellare." "Epistola" 363, Migne, clxxxii, 564. Bouquet, xv, 606.

[8] "Perniciosas fraudes que cotidie fiunt non solum per judeos sed alios malos christianos." Arch. mun. de Marseille, Livre des Status. vi, f. 180; *REJ*, xlvi, 249.

[9] Ed. 1572, f. 37 b.

take them to be no better than Jewes. Nay, shall I saye: they are worse than Jewes . . . Howe can these men be of God, that are so farr from charitie, that care not howe they get goods so they may have them.

As late as 1623, in his essay: "Of Usurie," Francis Bacon says: "Usurers should have orange-tawney Bonnets because they do Judaize."[10] Thus the stigma of usury as a Judaic practice became affixed to any similar interests on the part of Christians.

This was due not only to the abuses popularly associated with the money trade, but also to the public opinion created by the Church with reference to it. The Church, basing itself upon a mistranslation of the text Luke 6:35, appearing in the Vulgate "Mutuum date, nihil inde sperantes," but really meaning: "lend, never despairing,"[11] declared any extra return upon a loan as against the divine law; thus it prevented the mercantile use of capital by pious Christians.[12] Varying interpretations were placed upon this text, St. Augustine and Pope Julius asserting that no addition was to be expected on the price of goods bought.[13] Numerous decrees against all forms of capitalism and speculation were formulated, Pope Alexander III in 1179 declaring that all manifest usurers were to be excomumnicated. The State soon followed the Church condemnation with practical measures of confiscation by making the possessions of Christian usurers forfeited to the king after death if they died unrepentant.[14] As early as 1257, the Inquisition through a Bull issued by Pope Alexander IV extended its jurisdiction over usury as heresy;[15] in 1274 (can. 26, 27) the Council of Lyons prescribed for its punishment by the Ordinaries; and in 1311 the Council of Vienne directed Inquisitors to prosecute those who maintained that usury is not sinful; Eymerich deprecates attention to such matters as an interference with the real business of the Inquisition; it is

[10] Abbott, G. F., *Israel in Europe*, London, 1907, pp. 273-4.

[11] Theodore Reinach, in *REJ*, xx, 147.

[12] Endemann, *Die Nationaloekonomischen Grundsaetze der Kanonischen Lehre*, 1863, pp. 8 ff.; 20 ff.; Cleary, P.; The *Church and Usury*, Dublin,1914.

[13] Gratian, ii, c. xiv, qu. iii, iv where the testimony of Austin is given on the basis of Psalm 36, on the verse "All Day," and of Pope Julius and Ambrose.

[14] Ashley, W. J., *English Economic History*, i, paragraphs, 17, 22. The denunciation of 1179 states that usurers "do not observe how it is condemned by the pages of both Testaments;" see Roger de Hovedene, *Chronica* ii, 182.

[15] Alexander IV, Bull. "Quod super nonnullis," Doat, xxxi, 244; this Bull was repeatedly reissued: Raynaldus, *Annales ad an.*, 1528, No. 23; Potthast, 17745, 18396; Eymerich, *Direct. Inquis.*, p. 133.

true that when heresy diminished, the Inquisitors turned to the punishment of alleged usurers as a profitable field for exploitation. (Lea, i, 359.) Endeavors, however, on the part of both secular and ecclesiastical authorities to condemn usury as a heresy did not cease during the thirteenth century.[16] We may now turn to a study of those Christian groups which challenged these prohibitory injunctions, in most cases with surprising success.

3. The Lombards and Caorsins

The most important groups of Christian usurers during the Middle Ages were the Lombards and Caorsins, the former gaining their name from the center of their activity, namely Lombardy; the latter being called after the city of their origin, Cahors in Southern France.[17] These groups were not doctrinal dissenters, except insofar as one regards the ecclesiastical prohibition against usury as a part of the system of Church belief; they were economic protestants, yet in their treatment at the hands of many secular and religious groups, they received almost the same consideration as doctrinal heretics. It is significant to note that the Lombard usurers arose in Lombardy, the chief headquarters of the Judaizing Passagii, and that the Caorsins arose in Southern France, the center of similar Judaizing tendencies in Provence. It was from one of these merchants of Cahors, Raymond by name, that Simon de Montfort borrowed funds at a critical hour to maintain his crusade against the Albigensians. During the efflorescence of the Caorsin, Tuscan and Lombard financiers, Jews were at the height of their power as the commercial intermediaries of Europe;[18] the Crusades had opened up to them the marts of world commerce; great Jewish banking families came into prominence, of whom the Pierleoni of Italy, the house of Anacletus, the "Jewish Pope," were one example.[19]

[16] Schaub, F., *Der Kampf gegen den Zinswucher, ungerechten Preis und unlauteren Handel im Mittelalter*, Freiburg, 1905.

[17] The Lombards were also called "Lamperts," and the "Cahorsins," "Kauwerz," and "Gawerts." See Kleinpaul, *Internationale Schimpf-und Ehrennamen*, Gegenwart, 1883, nr. 5, where the terms are used to express money-changers and usurers: the word "Jew" is also cited; see comment of Guedemann, ii, 243. Cf. also Neumann, *Geschichte des Wuchers in Deutschland*, and Cibrario, p. 116.

[18] Jacobs, *Jewish Contributions*, p. 211 ff.

[19] Erler, 48:373; Muratori, *Antiq.*, i, 893.

a. Cooperation between Christian and Jewish Bankers. Jewish influence seems to have made itself felt in the circles of Christian money lending and banking, particularly during the early career of the Lombard and Caorsin movements. The relationships between Jews and these groups have an interest for us here, because, though their joint protest was against the economic policy of the Church, this policy had a doctrinal and religious connotation which made their activity almost equivalent to a heresy.[20] Before the Lombard money-lenders had acquired a firm foothold in commercial Europe, it is probable that they learned their methods of finance from Jews, that they made use of Jewish employees, and that they profited by their experience with Jews in numerous financial transactions. We know that as early as 923 a Jew was Mint-Master in Milan;[21] in Trieste, Venice, Lucca, Genoa, Pisa and other centers of Italy where the Lombards later came into power, Jews had long been recognized as authorities in the field of finance. We know, too, that Jews from Lombardy traversed Europe on behalf of financial transactions in the same fashion as the Lombards and Caorsins.[22] Though later, as we shall see, Jewish and Christian usurers were keen competitors, we may surmise that not all their relationships were in terms of business hostility.

b. Identity of Treatment accorded Lombards and Jews. The Christian usurers suffered the same persecution at the hands of the Church and its secular potentates as Jews, and were forced to undergo the same privations as their Jewish confrères and competitors. Thus a statute of Charles II, December 8, 1298, ordained that the Jews and all so-called Lombards, Caorsins and other foreigners who practiced usury, were to be driven from the Kingdom of Naples.[23] Though a contributive cause of the expulsion of the Jews may have been, by the side of their practice of usury, their opposition to the Guelfs, or adherents of the Church, and their support of the Ghibellines, nevertheless

[20] Simmonet, Jules, "Juifs et Lombards," in *Mémoires de l'Academie de Dijon*, 1865, xiii, 145-272. *REJ*, vii, 4.

[21] Cassel, p. 148.

[22] Toward the close of the 12th century, in England at Lincoln, one finds a Jew, named "Acer the Lombard," *REJ*, ii, 290; at Nottingham later we find other Jews from Lombardy; Joseph ben Menachem, Meir ben Eleazar Darshan, are Jews who bore in France the title: "Lombards." See also Saige, p. 138.

[23] Ducange, *Glossarium*, ii, 205 ff.

it is interesting to see how they are grouped with the Lombards.[24] Pope Martin is reported to have sent to the inhabitants of Messina a letter wherein he speaks of the perfidy of the Jews of Sicily; according to some commentators, this letter does not refer to the Jews, but to the heretical groups on the Island, for "in similar fashion the French called the Sicilians, Patarenes, an heretical sect particularly active in Sicily and unusually unpopular."[25]

In France, also, the same treatment was accorded the Lombards as the Jews. "The Italian merchants, commonly called Lombards," says Saige (p. 91), "experienced an identical fate and were arrested and ransomed under the same conditions in 1291." After 1306, "in truth the departure of the Jews, added to the ruin of the Lombard merchants affected likewise, in destroying all the vital elements of credit in the important centers of population threw commercial operations into disorder." (Saige, p. 105).[26]

In England, Jews and Caorsins came into contact. On the eve of hostilities between the King and the Barons, the Jews of England were assigned to Prince Edward; he on his part handed them over to their rivals, the Caorsins, the Italian money-lenders who had first appeared in England in the service of the Pope, about 1235. These Caorsins were called money-changers in order to escape ecclesiastical prohibitions against usury, but in reality they charged higher rates of interest than their Jewish competitors, by lending sums of money and extorting bonds that included both the principal and the interest. In England, as the "Pope's usurers" and emissaries, they deprived Jews of their major occupation, and hence made them unable to respond to the exorbitant monetary demands of the King. In 1252 Henry determined to persecute the Caorsins, whose competition with his own Jews was distasteful to him; but the Italian usurers defended themselves as Papal servants, and no doubt contributed their share towards the eventual expulsion of Jewry in 1290. One of the most painful experiences the Jews suffered was to be de-

[24] The story of the role of the Jews in the warfare between Guelfs and Ghibellines is yet to be told; see the attitude of the Pierleoni family, the Jews at Paris, etc.

[25] Cassel, in Erler, 48:32.

[26] Jews and Lombards had cooperated often in France; thus "Peter Lombard" was a witness at a commercial transaction at Toulouse, Dec. 8, 1207, in which Provencal, the Jew, figured. Saige, p. 149.

livered into the power of their rivals as pledges and guarantees in financial transactions.[27] Thus it is evident that in countries where the Lombards and Caorsins were persecuted, they suffered in common with the Jews; when, however, they gained the upper hand, they made their Jewish competitors grievously feel the weight of their competition.

On occasion, however, the Jews found it helpful to ally themselves with the Caorsins. Before the expulsion, they sought to copy the financial methods of their competitors in order to escape the wrath of royalty and clergy; after the expulsion, it was said that Jews sometimes disguised themselves as Italian money-lenders in order to gain admittance to countries, like England, from which they had been expelled. This trick was no doubt often successful because of noticeable similarities in physiognomy of Italians and Jews.

c. Influence of Lombards upon Jews. The net influence and effect of the Lombard competition upon Jewish financial activity was deleterious rather than beneficial.[28] The skill with which the Christian usurers circumvented the canonical law made them popular, not only with many secular rulers, but even with the Pope, who used them to good advantage in enforcing his decrees. The reliance which European rulers, particularly the kings of France and England placed in their Christian money-lenders, made their Jews less necessary to them; in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the presence of Lombards and Caorsins oftentimes made it imperative for Jews to take up their residence elsewhere.[29] One of the reasons why the Lombard Jewish community was for many centuries small in size is commonly sought in the activities of the Christian money-lenders. The need, however, remains to explain the rise of Judaizing doctrinal movements in localities where opposition to canonical regulations against usury was strongest. The answer perhaps lies in the surmise that, as in the case of so many movements, reform and otherwise, in Christendom, the Lombards before they attained to affluence and power were pro-Jewish; when, however, they attained recognition even at the Papal See, they joined their Christian co-re-

[27] Hyamson, A. M., *History of the Jews in England*, London, 1908, pp. 86-7.

[28] Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, p. 276.

[29] Pigeonnau, H., *Histoire de commerce de la France*, Paris, 1885, pp. 242, 257; see comment in *REJ*, x, 274.

ligionists in turning against the group from whom they had learned their first lessons in the methods of finance.

4. The Role of the Jew in the Development of Finance.

The competition of Christian money-lenders did not prevent the Jews of the Middle Ages from taking an important place in the development of the commercial and financial system of modern Europe.[30] Despite the numerous prohibitions against the practice of usury by Popes, Councils, and secular potentates, Jews were compelled to continue in the legendary role of the extortioner and oppressor.[31] The Jewish attitude towards usury has been defined many times, but never with sufficient clarity to satisfy those who would paint an incorrect picture.[32]

5. Usury as a Subject of Polemical Debate

It is natural that the subject of usury should become a theme of debate and argument between Jews and Christians. On numerous occasions Jews accused Christians of receiving exorbitant rates of interest, a charge which is borne out by considerable evidence. Thus Bernard of Sienna vehemently denounced Christian usury in Italy,[33] and the Austrian poet, Siegfried Helblin, asserted that Jews did not practice usury so viciously as Christians.[34] In Verona, 1408, the City Councillor declared "that in

[30] Guttmann, J., "Die wirtschaftliche und soziale Bedeutung der Juden im Mittelalter", *Monatss.*, li (1907), 257-290; Levy, R. G., "Le rôle des Juifs dans la vie économique", *REJ*, lxii, 161; Caro, G., *Sozial und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Juden im Mittelalter*, Leipzig, 1908. Schipper, J., *Anfaenge des Kapitalismus bei den abendlaendischen Juden im frueheren Mittelalter*, Vienna, 1907; Sombart, W., *Jews and Modern Capitalism*, 1913; Jacobs, J., chapters. vi, vii, and vii a, in *Contributions.*

[31] Levi, I., "Le Juif de la Légende," *REJ*, xx, 251 ff.; "Le Juif Usurier." See also *REJ*, v, 312, xxvii, 108, xlviii, 209. Nuebling, *Die Judengemeinden*, pp. 60 ff., and 100 ff., gives a summary of the legislation.

[32] Kayserling, M., *Der Wucher und das Judenthum*, Budapest, 1822; Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, pp. 236 ff.; Mischkind, L. A., "Money-Lending and Usury Among the Jews," *Hebrew Union College Monthly*, December, 1915; Weiss, *Geschichte der Juedischen Tradition*, Vienna, 1883, iii, 314; Guedemann, ii, 242.

[33] *Opera*, Venice, 1745, ii, 235.

[34] Haupt, *Zeitschrift fuer deutsches Alterthum*, iv, viii, 882 ff. Compare the interest of 2 deniers per week and per livre permitted to French Jews in 1206 and 1218, and the 15% permitted to native Christians; *Ord. d. rois de France*, ii, 304, 311.

place of the Jews, certain Christians had appeared, Christians only in name, but in manner of dealing, worse than the Jews; they practiced usury in a more sordid and unrestrained fashion than the Jews."[35]

In the apologetical and controversial literature of the Middle Ages, there were numerous discussions between Jews and Christians on the respective attitude of Judaism and Christianity towards money-lending and usury. Jews themselves appear to be cognizant of the abuses of money-lending, as charged by non-Jewish critics. Thus Joseph Kimchi of Languedoc, father of David Kimchi, and author of the *Sepher ha-Berith* (c. 1170), asserted that Christian money-lenders exact outrageous interest from their Christian brethren, whereas a Jew refuses to charge high rates to his fellow Jews.[35] In a reply by Jacob ben Elijah to the charges made by Paul de Bonnefoy in the *Liber Fidei*, Jacob uses the famous phrase: "*Hav Hav*" to denounce Christian greed. He replies to Paul in terms similar to those which Thomas Aquinas used concerning the Jews of Italy, that the Jews live by their labor:[36]

"It is true, he says, that the rulers of Ishmael [the Mohammedans] are deceitful and sinners, but they are sufficiently reasonable to demand a fixed annual tax; our princes on the contrary, think only of pillage, only to exact our gold or silver. Let one but consider how usury is practiced at the court of Rome. The domination of the earth, the war against Greece and the Mohammedans, are achieved with gold; it is necessary that the high dignitaries of the Church bring it to Rome from all countries; and if they lack it, the inhabitants of Tuscany are ready to charge usury for it; one gives five hundred for a thousand, a thousand for ten thousand, in order 'not to come with empty hands before the Savior'. In this fashion, Christians practice usury with their own coreligionists, and with the rest of us."[37]

Passages such as these, almost as well-informed in their criticism of Christian usage, are to be found in other controversial works of Jews from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries.

[35] Dalla Corte, *Storia di Verona*, ii, 297, mentioned by von Fortis, "Gli Ebrei di Verona," in *L'Educatore Israelita*, 1863, p. 201.

[35] *Milchemeth Chobhah, passim.* On the subject of *Abhak Ribbith*, see Goldziher, I., "Controverse Halachique entre Mahometans et Juifs" in *REJ*, xliii, 4; also *REJ*, lxvi, 251; lxvii, 131. See also the *Teshubhoth ha-Minim* of Joseph ha-Mekanne, in *REJ*, iv, 7-8; Jacobs, *Jews of Angevin England*, pp. 224-5.

[36] *Opera Omnia*, Parma, 1852-1873, xvi, 292.

[37] *Ginze Nistaroth*, of Kobak, Bamberg, 1868, ii, 1 ff.; Steinschneider, *Jeshurun*, Hebrew Part, vii, 85 ff.

6. Conversions and the Practice of Usury

Among the many subjects of dispute between the Church and the temporal rulers was the compensation to be made the latter whenever a Jew was converted to the faith. The attitude of the Church was one of toleration towards money-lending by Jews; they were, however, not to demand excessive interest, nor to exploit Christians. To the princes the Popes repeatedly issued warnings most earnestly to abate the nuisance of alleged usury by Jews, and not to afford Jews protection for money payments. The ecclesiastical leaders looked askance upon the increase of Jewish control over houses and estates, and particularly over church estates. Jews were commanded to cease from usury with Crusaders, and on numerous occasions the precedent set by Pope Eugenius in 1145 was followed elsewhere. Jews were ordered to pay a tenth part of the worth of their houses and estates to the Church, and in the sixteenth century, the Pope forbade them the purchase and possession of immobilia, and entrance into certain trades: the works of Cardinal Sadolet concerning the alleged usury of Jews during this period tell the story. The result of Papal injunctions with reference to usury, despite the many restrictions placed upon Jewish activity, was to centralize the money traffic of western Europe in the hands of Jews.

The secular rulers were quick to take advantage of the presence in their domains of a class like the Jews who could supply capital for their use without being liable to excommunication. Whenever large amounts were acquired by Jews through usurious transactions, the property thus secured by them fell, either during their life or upon their death, into the hands of the kings; the careers of Aaron of Lincoln in England, Ezmel de Ablitas in Navarre, Heliot de Vesoul in Provence, Beneviste de Porta in Aragon, are a few instances of this custom. A similar rule applied in England to converts, for on their baptism their property reverted to the King.[37] A regulation of this character might encourage royal officials to look with favor upon Jewish conversions to Christianity; such, however, was not the case, for it was far

[37] In 1180-1182 we find a case in the *Pipe Rolls* of Henry II. against "Jeremias the Jew," who rendered count of one mark for Isabella the convert whom he personated; inasmuch as a convert's property escheated to the king on conversion, Jeremiah probably sought to save something in the case of Arabella. Jacobs, *Jews of Angevin England*, p. 72.

more profitable for the King to prevent Jews from accepting baptism, inasmuch as a convert no longer was fair prey for extortion and taxation. As a good Christian, the King, would naturally desire to see Jews converted, but as king, he would lose their services as informal tax-gatherers. Therefore he claimed as compensation the goods and chattels of a Jew who became converted. In France, the Kings followed the same policy, and in England, it was not until 1281 that the King would renounce his right to his share of one-half the property of Jews who converted. The Church was well aware of these conflicts, and sought on every occasion possible to make the entrance of Jews into Christianity easier. The Third Lateran Council under Alexander III (who, it may be noted, had a Jewish Minister of Finance) ordained in 1179 that secular princes ought to be excommunicated who despoil baptized Jews of their goods;[38] it happened oftentimes, that Jews were discouraged from accepting baptism because they were aware their patrimony would be confiscated, on the pretext that it had been acquired through illegal usury. Alexander III again demonstrated his interest in Jewish neophytes by his warning to Archbishop Henry of Rheims that he should return to Peter, an ex-Jew, the prebends which had been taken from him.[39] Though the ordinances of Henry IV do not appear to have evoked any protest from Pope Gregory VII,[40] we find on later occasions, as in 1311 when Clement V protested against all civil law which permitted any form of usury by Christians, that the Popes were officially unbending in their pronouncements against the money-traffic; in reality, however, as in their employment of Jewish physicians contrary to canonical enactment, they followed different tactics. In their relations with secular princes both over the matter of the practice of money-lending by Christians and the issues involved in its practice by Jews, they were more concerned with the problem of discov-

[38] "Si qui Deo inspirante ad fidem se converterint Christianam, a possessionibus suis nullatenus excludantur . . .Si autem secus fuerit factum, Principibus seu potestatibus eorumdem locorum injungimus, sub poena excommunicationis, ut portionem haereditatis suae et bonorum suorum ex integre eis faciant exhiberi." *Decret. Greg.*, 5, 6, 5; 2, 20, 21; Hefele, v, 636; Hard., 6, 2, p. 1685.

[39] Jaffe, *Regesten*, 7677.

[40] But Gfoerer, *Pabst Gregorius VII und sein Zeitalter* Schaffhausen, 1859-64, vii, 762 remarks: "Only a prince who inwardly despised Christianity and placed the Talmud higher than the Gospels would introduce such vicious ordinances."

ering how they could best manipulate the regulations of Church law and the demands of practical life for their own particular interests. In this conflict between temporal and ecclesiastical rulers, the Jewish usurer and the Jewish convert were merely pawns.

III. JEWISH INFLUENCE ON THE PRO-BIBLICAL AND WALDENSIAN HERESIES

1. Biblical Movements in Southern France

"The period about the year 1170 was marked in the entire region which extended from Lyon to the Walloon country by a Biblical movement of a very remarkable character."[1] It was during this epoch that the second great Reform movement of medieval Christendom, with which we are to deal in this study, namely, the Waldensian, made its appearance. The co-existence of these two tendencies, namely the pro-Biblical and the anti-Romanist, is a fact characteristic of every Reform era in Christendom prior to and during the Reformation itself. Inasmuch as this is the first important manifestation of this phenomenon since the establishment of Church supremacy, it deserves our special notice.

2. The Petrobrussians

Before the rise of Peter Waldo, the founder of the Waldensian movement, several religious leaders appeared who combined in themselves pro-Biblical and anti-Catholic sentiments. The first of these anti-sacerdotal and pro-Scriptural heretics was Peter of Bruys, a native of the diocese of Embrun, who preached in Vallonaise about the year 1106, disseminating principles of liberty and reform "he had learned at school and found in the Scriptures." He passed for a prophet among the people, even until his death at the stake in 1126.

The causes which underlay the appearance of the Petrobrussian heresy, as it came to be known, have given students a theme for investigation and debate. In addition to the influences exerted by the breakdown of ecclesiastical power in Southern France, the cultivation of secular poetry and arts, and the political freedom and enlightenment of the local population—forces

[1] Berger, S., *La Bible Francaise au moyen âge*, Paris, 1884, p. 49.

to which we have alluded in describing the background of the Catharist heresy—a significant factor may be included to which sufficient importance as yet has not been attached. This is the status of the Jewish inhabitants in the great centers of heresy. Lea, in his *History of the Inquisition*, as we have already noted, is cognizant of this influence, for after describing the cultural achievements and communal activities of Languedoc Jewry he remarks: "It was in such a population as this that the first anti-sacerdotal heresy was preached." This collocation of liberal religious thought and liberal treatment of the Jew is a fact which obtrudes itself repeatedly in a study of Christian reform tendencies. Whether liberality towards the Jew was the outcome of heretical and independent thought, or whether a friendly attitude toward the Jew occasioned religious protestantism, is difficult to determine; that the two forces went hand in hand and influenced each other reciprocally, is undeniable. It is a rule even of modern times that hostility towards the Jew accompanies reactionary political and intellectual tendencies; *per contra*, liberalism towards the Jew and adherence to principles obnoxious to conservative and orthodox groups are inextricably interwoven. We shall have numerous occasions to test the validity of this rule both in its affirmative and negative form as we enter the field of Western religious movements.

The tenets and practices of the Petrobrussians show traces of "Judaic" influence, a factor present as well in the polemics of the Churchmen directed against them.[2] Thus, in a discussion of the doctrine of the validity of baptism for children who had not yet attained intelligence, Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny, argued from the precedent of circumcision (Lev. 12); in rebuttal of the Petrobrussian argument that the building of the Temple is unnecessary, Peter cites the Old Testament examples of the consecration of sacred places to God. (Gen. 8:22, 28; Ex. 40; I Kings 8).[3] In his opposition to the Petrobrussian view of the Sacrament and the Mass, Peter refers to the sacrifices brought

[2] Hahn, i, 412 ff.; Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny, in *Max. Bibl.*, xxii, ff. 1033-1080; Bouquet, xv, ff. 638 ff.; Clemencet, *Histoire litteraire de S. Bernard, Abbé de Clairvaux et de Pierre le Vénérable, Abbé de Cluni*, Paris, 1773, pp. 502-576; Migne, 189:719-850.

[3] *Max. Bibl.*, xxii, f. 1048-51: "Intelligite Deum Christianorum Deum fuisse Judaeorum; qui sicut tunc sine templo esse noluit, ita nunc sine Ecclesiis esse non vult."

by Abel, Noah, Abraham and Jacob and to the sacrificial cult introduced by Moses; the staff of Moses is mentioned as symbolic of the change of the elements in the Mass.[4] The performance of sacrificial rites, the offering of prayer and charity on behalf of the dead by the faithful—practices which were scorned by the Petrobrussians,—evoked from the Abbot of Cluny a defense largely based upon Old Testament passages.[5] That God hearkens to prayers of the departed Saints whom the Church adores is vindicated by numerous passages from canonical and apocryphal books of the Jewish Scriptures.[6]

A major subject of discussion in the polemical work of Peter of Cluny is the attitude of the Petrobrussians towards the Bible, and the Old Testament in particular. Like almost all heretical groups, they rejected the ecclesiastical tradition; many asserted that they repudiated the entire Bible with the exception of the Four Gospels. Peter affirmed that the Petrobrussians did not accept even the Old Testament, a fact which caused him to come to its defense in what is perhaps the most powerful portion of his tractate.[7] He demonstrates the divine validity of the Old Testament by reason of its authority as the foundation for the New Testament; the Gospels furnish proof for the sanction of the Jewish Bible, and even for the books of the Apocrypha, which, despite an inferior rank, nevertheless were accepted by the Church.[8]

It must not be supposed that the use of Old Testament passages by Catholic apologists gave them alone the right to be considered as being influenced by Judaic doctrines or literature. We know that Peter the Venerable himself was the author of a vigorous tract against the Jews,[9] wherein he lost no opportunity

[4] *Ibid.*, xxii, f. 1058-9; 1062.

[5] Ps. 62:13; 94:23; Ex. 5:17, 25, 28; II Sam. 24:17; Isaiah 8:19; II Kings 13:21; II Macc. 12:43 ff.

[6] Ex. 32:13; I Kings 12:12; 13; 32:34; Prayer of Azariah, 5:35; II Macc. 1:2; Cf. also Ps. 96:1, 2; 98:1, 5; 33:2, 3; 47:2; 150:3-5; Lev. 10; I Sam. 16:23; II Kings 3:15-16.

[7] F. 1040-44.

[8] "Propter laudabilem et per necessariam doctrinam." Hahn, i, 438, regards the Petrobrussian party as a connecting link between the Apostolic-Evangelical opponents of the Catholic Church and the Gnostic-Manicheans. He bases his views upon the traces of Neo-Manichean teachings resident in Peter of Bruys' alleged rejection of the baptism of children and of the Old Testament.

[9] Migne, 189:507 ff.

to express his true judgment concerning Jewish beliefs and practices. When we turn to the Petrobrussian attitude towards the veneration of the Cross, we find an illustration of the confusion in the use of the Jewish Scriptures which prevailed throughout the rise and career of the heretical movements. Peter of Bruys, to demonstrate his contempt for objects of veneration, caused a pile of consecrated crosses to be accumulated, and then setting fire to them, deliberately roasted meat at the flames. In his opposition to the cross, Peter anticipated the viewpoint of Zwingli and other Protestant Reformers; his motive, however, even as interpreted by his opponents, differed from that of the Swiss leader. As we shall see, both Zwingli and Calvin were accused of "Judaizing" in their hostility to the veneration of the crucifix; Peter of Bruys, however, is reported to have said: "It is a senseless thing, not to be invoked with futile prayers, but rather to be destroyed as the instrument whereon Christ was cruelly tortured to death."[10]

It is typical of the ironic contradiction inherent in the manifold employment of Old Testament passages that whereas the view of Peter of Bruys coincided with the Jewish position as to the idolatrous character of the worship of images, particularly the crucifix, though apparently without citation from Old Testament passages, Peter of Cluny defended the Catholic practice by means of the same Old Testament wherefrom the Jews drew an opposite opinion. Thus he cited Ex. 12:15, 17, I. Sam. 17; Ezech. 8, in favor of venerating the cross, and, quoting from Deut. 6, describes the manner of adoration due it; the sacrifices mentioned in the Old Testament furnish him with additional evidence.

Summarizing the material concerning the Petrobrussian heretics, we find, first, that the advanced intellectual and social position of the Jews in the region where heresy made its initial appearance helped to create the spiritual ferment and upheaval wherefrom movements of dissent arose. We find, too, that the doctrines of the Petrobrussians served to elicit from Catholic apologists, particularly Peter, Abbot of Cluny, arguments supported by and chosen from the Old Testament; even in the matter of the veneration of the cross, in regard to which heretics approached most closely to a "Judaic" position, the Churchman

[10] Jonae, Aureliens, *De Cultu Imaginum;* Abelard, *Introd. ad Theolog.*, Lib. ii, cap. 4; Alphonse a Castro, *Adv. Haereses*, Lib. iii, 168.

found vindication of orthodox practice in the Jewish Scriptures. Though the evidence is at times contradictory, it appears that the Petrobrussians were strong "Scripturalists," that is to say, they advocated a return to the literal word of the Bible, thus serving to inaugurate the pro-Biblical tendencies which reached great clarity among their successors.

3. Lambert of Begue

Lambert of Begue (c. 1177), a contemporary of Peter Waldo, founder of the Waldensian sect, was a champion of the pro-Biblical movement. He busied himself with a translation of the Bible: according to the *Chronicle* of Alberic, monk of Trois-Fontaines, Lambert was not only a distinguished preacher of a new religion, but he translated from the Latin into the Romance languages many books, several of them from the New Testament;[11] he specialized on a translation of the Lives of the Apostles. But Berger reminds us (p. 50) that it was in the country of Liege, where Lambert was active, that about the same time, the *Moralities On Job* was translated. Hence we may surmise that Lambert's interests were not confined solely to the New Testament.

4. The Insabbatati

An heretical group which is difficult to classify, but which may be mentioned in connection with the pro-Biblical parties, is the so-called Insabbatati. Several interpretations have been given to this appellation which deserve our attention here, particularly because of their bearing upon the Waldensians, and upon the Sabbatarian doctrines of the Judaizing Passagii, who shall engage our attention later. One view held by scholars is that these heretics acquired the name: Insabbatati, because they did not observe the Sabbath,[12] but wished to celebrate only the Christian

[11] *Monumenta Germaniae Scriptores*, xxiii, 855; see also the testimony of the *Chronicle* by Gilles d'Orval; *ibid.*, xxv, 112; Lib. iii, Par. 43.

[12] Perrin, *Histoire des chrétiens albigeois*, p. 9. "Et d'autant qu'ils n' observaient d'autre jour de repos que le Dimanche, ils les appellèrent Insabathas, comme qui dirait n'observans aucun Sabath." Arnold, G., *Ketzerhistoire*, 378 b: "Insabbathae oder Insabbatharii, weil sie nur den Sonntag wolten gefeyret wissen." Hahn, ii, 263 mentions that Massonus in the Preface to Alanus, *Tractatus de Waldensibus*, and the authors of the Italian manuscripts concerning the Waldensians in Cambridge are also of this opinion. Ducange, ii, 2 refers to Vignerius, ann. 1159, together with Perrin, but disagrees with this view; Monastir, pp. 72-3, quotes Father Natalis-Alexandri in favor of this interpretation.

Sunday. This hypothesis implies that the sect stood in direct antithesis to the Passagii and may have represented a movement of protest against their Seventh-Day Sabbatarianism.

A second interpretation, however, gives to the Insabbatati an immediate connection with the "Circumcisi" or Passagii.[13] There seems good ground, nevertheless, to believe that if the name referred to the Waldenses, it could not have applied to any Judaic Sabbatarianism on their part, inasmuch as they did not hold the festivals of the Church, including the Sunday Sabbath, in great reverence; there is, moreover, no evidence as to any Seventh-Day Sabbath observance among medieval Waldenses. The third, and most likely view, is that "Insabbatati" referred to the peculiar form of dress which they adopted in imitation of the Apostles, namely a sandal with a kind of plate, whence they acquired the name of "Shoed" or Zaptati, or Xabatatenses.[14] In an edict of King Alphonso of Aragon in 1192, this name appears, and the monk Evrard of Bethune, a contemporary of the early Waldenses, gives us the original source of the designation.[15] Though the possibility of a Jewish derivation of the sectarian name thus disappears, the fact that Christian historians did not hesitate to seek it therein, is an item worthy of notice.[16]

5. Peter Waldo

It is in the person of Peter Waldo, who gave his name to the Waldensian movement, that the Biblicist agitation found its

[13] Ducange, ii, 2 mentions the view: "quod in Sabbato judaizarent," and takes issue with it; the text from Perrin might also be taken to mean that they observed the Saturday Sabbath. The Prolegomenon of Gretser to the work of Lucas of Tuy, p. 13, has: "Circumcisi forsan illi qui aliis 'Insabbatati,' 'non quod circumciderentur' inquit Calvinista (Goldastus in Bernardum Lucemburgium qui in Cataloga Haereticorum scribit), 'sed quod in Sabbato judaizarent.' At Sabbatum adeo non observabant Waldenses, ut omnia omnino festa exterminarent, totum que vetus Testamentum repudiarent, quemadmodum ex Reinerio liquet."

[14] Ducange, ii, 2, has: "verum ait Prateolus, quod qui inter eos perfectiores irant signum quoddam in superiore parte sui sotularis, quod Sabbatem appellabant, deferre solerent." Gretser, *op. cit.*, p. 14 supports this view. D'Argentré, the Inquisitor Pegna, Benoist, Flathe, Leger, Fuesslin, Kiessling, Mayerhoff, Neander, Lea and others accept it.

[15] *Max. Bibl.*, xxiv, f. 1572: "Quidam autem, qui Vallenses se appellant . . et etiam Xabatatenses a Xabatata potius, quam Christiani a Christo, se volunt appellari. Sotulares cruciant, cum membra potius debeant cruciare."

[16] In the *Shulchan 'Aruch*, 53:518, we find reference to Jewish heretics who pray *without* sandals.

most ardent exponent. Prior to his appearance, a certain Henry of Lausanne had gained wide reputation as a formidable heresiarch: he had preached against the Church and the clergy at Le Mans as early as 1116; he had rejected infant baptism, despised the Churches, expressed opposition to orthodox views concerning the Eucharist, and in general had voiced his opinions with clarity and power, "not as the Scribes and the Pharisees." But Waldo's career showed wider and richer interests than any of his predecessors or immediate contemporaries; not the least important of these was his attachment to the study and translation of the Bible, an activity characteristic of nearly all Protestant Reformers not merely at the commencement but during the course of their life-work.

Waldo was a citizen of the city of Lyons in France about the year 1170. In Lyons, for a long time a vigorous center of French learning and culture, Jews were substantial and important members of the community; during the ninth century, the hostility of Bishops Agobard and Amolo was directed against their "Judaizing" influence at court and among the peasantry. Just as the Catharist movement is said to have originated in those localities where Arianism once had a foothold, so heretical movements arose where Jews were powerful either formerly or contemporaneously. For in this city of Lyons, about three centuries after the polemics of Agobard and his disciples exposed alleged Jewish influences in the political and religious life of the times, the Waldensian sect had its rise through the conversion of Peter Waldo from a career of comfort and wealth to one of asceticism and self-denial. In this very conversion to the oath of poverty, we discover details indicative of the presence of Biblicist interest.

The accounts of the conversion of Waldo contain references to these Biblical tendencies. Thus the anonymous writer of Passau relates that the sudden death of one of the prominent citizens of Lyons at a banquet so shocked Waldo that he gave his property to the poor, taught them to imitate the voluntary poverty of Christ and the Apostles, and forthwith began to translate the Bible into the vernacular.[17] Stephen of Bourbon (to whom we are indebted for much of our knowledge concerning Walden-

[17] Schaff-Herzog, xii, 243, article by Albert Clot. This account is accepted in the biography entitled: *Peter Waldo; the Reformer of Lyons; His Life and Labors.* Based on the French of Rev. B Tron, Vaudois Pastor at La Torre By the Rev. J. N. Worsfold, London, 1880, pp. 11 ff.

sian Biblicism) remarks that Waldo's conversion arose through curiosity: hearing of the Gospels, Waldo secured two priests to translate them for him. In like fashion, he later obtained vernacular versions of other books of the Bible and of the sayings of the saints. The testimony of Stephen forms one of the three original sources for our information, and hence deserves closer notice. In his *Des sept Dons du Saint-Esprit*,[18] Stephen tells us that he was very well acquainted with a priest of Lyons, named Bernard Ydros,

"who while he was yet a youth and practiced the profession of scribe, wrote for Valdensis for pay, the first books which were owned by his sect; these were translated and dictated to him by a grammarian named Stephen of Anse [Anse is a city near Lyons, on the Saone], who later received a benefice in the cathedral of Lyons . . . A man, rich in goods, named Valdensis, an inhabitant of this city, hearing the Gospels and desirous, since he was well-read, to understand their meaning, made a pact with these two priests: one was to translate into the vulgar tongue, the other to write down what the former dictated; this they did. They wrote jointly several books of the Bible and numerous citations of the Saints gathered by titles which they called Sentences. ("Similiter multos libros Bibliae et auctoritates sanctorem multas per titulos congregatas, quas sententias appellabant.") . . . This sect commenced about the year of the Incarnation 1180 [variant 1170], under Jean called Bellesmains, Archbishop of Lyons (1181-1193)."

We find embellishments of this testimony among historians of the Waldensians; at first, we are told,[19] Waldo read with difficulty his Latin manuscript, the Vulgate, "rejoicing as one finding great spoils;" then he translated and expounded Scripture to his family, and later to the objects of his philanthropy; so "the house of the rich merchant was at once a Bethlehem and a Bethel." After the Holy Scriptures had been translated from the Latin, Waldo determined to publish a translation in the Romance or Gallic dialect, in order that his followers might read therein. Waldo never tired of reading the translation thus made: "he became a sort of walking Bible."

What was the nature of the translation made by Waldo and his co-workers? The paucity of evidence has resulted in great

[18] *Anecdotes d'Etienne de Bourbon*, published by M. Lecoy de la Marche, Société de l'Histoire de France, 1877, pp. 291-3; No. 343.

[19] Comba, E. *History of the Waldenses of Italy*, London, 1889, p. 25.

confusion on this point.[20] It seems likely that this first translation embodied the New Testament and the Book of Psalms. While adopting the Latin Vulgate, it appears that the translators compared it with several manuscripts preserved in the libraries of Piedmont and Lombardy. The result of these labors was that in the Gospel of John alone twenty corrections of the Vulgate were made. When the translation was completed, all who desired were permitted to make copies, and Waldo himself preached the Bible to the poor.[21]

The second important reference to the Waldensians as Biblicists is associated with their role at the Lateran Council of 1179.[22] Walter Mapes, the Welshman, delegate of Henry II of England,[23] furnishes us the record of the event in his *De Nugis Curialium*.[24]

> I saw in the Council some Waldenses, ignorant and unmannered people, called by the name of Waldo, their chief, who was formerly a citizen of Lyons on the Rhone. They presented to the Pope a book written in the dialect of Gaul, containing the text of and a glossary to the Psalms, together with several portions of the Old and New Testaments.[25]

The immediate question is: What were these texts which Mapes saw? From 1173 to 1179—from the conversion of Waldo to the Third Lateran Council—the interval was too short to expect that during it there originated a new translation, other than the one made by Waldo and his colleagues. Hence the hypothesis appears correct that the Waldensian translation, viewed at Rome and presented to Pope Alexander III, was Waldo's transla-

[20] Comba, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-9, refutes various theories concerning the scope of the work and the methods of revision attributed by Gilly and others to Waldo.

[21] "Pauperes qui ad eum confluxerunt docuit N. T. textum vulgariter."

[22] This Council made several significant decrees concerning Jewish activities: Jews were not to hold Christian slaves or servants; Christian testimony against Jews was admissible; converted Jews were not to be deprived of their properties. A Jewish delegation waited on the Pope, Alexander III, in connection with these canons. There is no direct evidence, however, that the Jewish question was brought into juxtaposition with the Waldensian at this Council or that the Jewish met the Waldensian delegation.

[23] Jacobs, J., *Jews of Angevin England*, London, 1893, pp. 275-6, tells how Mapes refused "to be just to Jews and Cistercians;" and pp. 284-5 tells of his witty remark on hearing of the conversion of two Cistercian monks to Judaism.

[24] Edited by Thomas Wright, *Cambden Society*, 1850, p. 64, Dist. I, c. xxxi.

[25] "In quo textus et glosa Psalterii plurimorumque Legis utriusque librorum continebantur."

tion, augmented and perhaps revised.[26] If we accept the testimony of Walter Mapes as adequate by reason of a genuine acquaintanceship with the books involved, "we are therefore brought to believe that the first Waldensian version comprised a certain number of more or less isolated books, accompanied by notes, if not commentaries, all collected into one volume."[27] It was at most a collection, as Tron says, "somewhat complete."[28] Whatever the character and contents of the Waldensian volume, it was illustrative of the profound attachment the Waldensians professed for the Biblical word.

The popularization of Scripture in the language of the country continued apace with the growth of the pro-Biblical movement. Thus at the end of the twelfth century there were formed in the city of Metz groups ("conventicules") for the study of the Scripture, a practice which the Church was quick to regard as heterodox and revolutionary. In a letter to Bishop Bertram, written in 1199, Innocent III remarked:

> You intimated to me by letter that in the diocese of Metz as well as in the city itself, a multitude of laymen and women, carried away by I trow not what desire to know the Holy Scriptures, had the Gospels, the Epistles of St. Paul, the Psalter, the Moralities on Job and several other books translated for them into French.[29]

To the people Innocent wrote:

> Assuredly there is nothing that is not laudable in the desire to understand the Scriptures, but to meet in secret, to usurp the ministry of preaching, to dispense with the ministry of the priest, to the extent of scorning it, there lies the evil, and some remedy must be devised. Who does not know the depth of meaning contained in the Scriptures? If when endeavoring

[26] Comba, p. 169. Berger, *op. cit.*, p. 37, says: "We have given up looking for them. We have several very old Psalters with glosses, no one of which is written in the dialect of Lyons, and as for the other books, they are insufficiently described. In any case, Walter Mapes, who was charged with the task of disputing with the Waldensian representatives, ought to have spoken of them from first hand knowledge."

[27] Berger, pp. 37-8; Comba, p. 170.

[28] Reuss, *Revue*, 1851, pp. 332-4, remarks that if it could be proved that Mapes examined the books to which he alludes and was versed in their dialect, we should be obliged to admit that "the work of the Lyonnese was an annotated Bible, and as that kind of edition or copy was very common, no difficulty is at hand."

[29] Baluz, i, 432 ff.; Potthast 780; *Magn. Bull. Rom.*, p. 159.

to penetrate it, learned men be obliged to recognize their insufficiency, you will be the more so in that you are simple and illiterate. Hence the Divine Law has wisely decreed that any beast touching the Holy Mountain should be stoned to death; this typifies that common people may not presume by their intellect to attain to the sublime heights of Revelation and to preach to others. The Apostle, on the other hand, exhorts us not to think of ourselves more highly than we ought. We must have knowledge, but not too much. There remains for you, therefore, but one thing to do, namely to obey. Do so voluntarily, and you will not be compelled by force.

To the Bishop, the Pope has something further to say:

Why do you not tell me whether these people err as regards the faith, whether they depart from wholesome doctrine? Inquire into this without delay; be in a position to tell me especially who is the author of that translation; what is his object in view; what faith do they who read it profess, and the reason of their teaching? Do they hold our Apostolic See and the Roman Church in veneration? We desire to be clearly informed concerning these things for our guidance.

The obscurity which veiled the translations in question at the time of Innocent has not been dispelled. It is apparent that they did not embrace a complete translation of the Bible or even of the New Testament, but only of isolated books, accompanied by a commentary, similar to the work, bound in one volume, which the Waldensians had brought to the Lateran Council in 1179. Various theories have been advanced concerning the nature of the translations in use among the "conventicules" of Metz; the most important is the hypothesis of Berger, who suggests that there may have been a relationship between the paraphrased version of Bishop Haimon of Halberstadt (who, as we have seen, was reputed to be a Hebrew student), and the Biblicist movement at Metz.[30] Comba, on the other hand, has the following to offer on this point (p. 173):

We do not refuse to recognize the relation, if any there be, between the above-mentioned Book of the Gospels, and the Biblical movement of Metz; but why should this exclude a less fragmentary translation? When Berger tells us that 'The Psalters with and without annotations were numerous at

[30] On the fact that the paraphrased version was not the work of Haimon de Landacob, a monk of Savigny, of the Cistercian Order in Normandy, as Berger suggests, pp. 46-7, but of Haimon of Halberstadt; see Suchier, H., "Zu den altfranzoesischen Bibeluebersetzungen" in *Zeitschrift fuer romanische Philologie*, 1884, pp. 413 ff.

the end of the XII. century' and reminds us 'that the period about 1170 was marked by one of the most remarkable Biblical movements in all the region which extends from Lyons to the country of the Walloons', we have no option but to conclude, without him it is true, that there must have been sufficient in the world at that time, both for the Waldensian version and the translation of the manual of the Halberstadt Bishop.

Whether then, we adopt the view that the Waldensian version was a separate and distinct work, or that it bore a relationship to existent versions, the fact remains that the Waldensian translation in its original form has disappeared. For the purpose of demonstrating the existence of a strong pro-Biblical tendency at the time when the Waldensian movement arose, it is sufficient to refer to the evidence of the records we have noted.

6. The Waldensian Bible

We may turn with greater security to the manuscripts in Waldensian literature which have survived. Of the ancient Biblical versions, two, more or less debatable, have come down to us: the manuscript of Lyons, and the manuscript of Paris, both of which deal with books of the New, not of the Old Testament. The modern Waldensian translation is represented by four manuscripts, the first, the Cambridge, belonging to the end of the fourteenth century; the second, the Grenoble, which in addition to the complete New Testament, contains Ecclesiastes, twelve chapters of Proverbs, ten chapters of the Book of Wisdom, and fifteen chapters of Ecclesiasticus; the third, the Dublin (c. 1522), containing the New Testament, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, the Book of Wisdom, and the first twenty-three chapters of Ecclesiasticus; the fourth, the Zurich manuscript (between 1490 and 1550), which includes the New Testament with marginal references to numerous parallel passages from the Old Testament and Apocrypha; no less than thirty-two books of the Jewish Scriptures are indicated in this fashion by the copyist, among them Judith, Tobit, the Fourth Book of Esdras, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus and the thirteenth chapter of Daniel.

These manuscripts, both ancient and modern, have survived. There are indications that many have perished. The treatment meted out to the Waldensians by the orthodox party resulted in the frequent destruction of the heretical literature; the refuges whither the dissenters fled were not immune from attacks either

by "enemies" or "false brethren," notwithstanding the fact that the "Barbes" were diligent "in translating the books of the Holy Scripture, as much as they could, for the use of the disciples." The first prohibition issued to laymen, forbidding them to keep in their homes books of the Old and New Testaments, was promulgated through the efforts of the Church Councils, among them Toulouse, Tarascon and Béziers. The decree was framed in terms which betray great irritation on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities, and a strong determination to resist the radical Biblicist tendencies which characterized the Waldensian system.[31] It appears then that there may have been translations of the Biblical books which because of the prohibitions of the Church were kept under cover and hence perhaps lost. The fact that the later Waldensians were capable Hebraists lends likelihood to the surmise that the early progenitors of the movement established the tradition for this interest.[32] We have no proof that the original Waldensians made use of the Hebrew text of the Bible, though we know that during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries many Christians and heretical scholars were acquainted with the Hebrew language and literature. The Waldensian Bible seems to have been a translation into Provencal, with fragments taken from the Vulgate. As nothing indicates a connection between the most ancient Provencal version and the translation made by Waldo, the beginnings of the Waldensian Bible, which in itself was the product of a slow evolution, are shrouded in doubt. By placing the early Waldensian Biblicists by the side of the Old Testament and Hebrew scholars during the period of the heresies, we may hazard the conclusion that a few at least of the pro-Biblical heretics sought to make use of the original Bible text whenever the Vulgate failed to satisfy them.[33]

[31] "Arctis sime inhibemus" says the decree of the Council of Toulouse, 1229. Vaissette, iii, 411, an. 1237, remarks: "We find in the formations laid and the judgments pronounced that the heretics commonly called Waldenses, in the country read the Gospels in the vulgar tongue."

[32] Vuilleumier, H., *Les Hébraisants Vaudois du XVIe siècle*, Lausanne, 1892, 29 pp. This work is by a Professor of the Faculty of Theology at the University of Lausanne.

[33] The story of medieval Christian Hebraists is a theme to which we have devoted ourselves above.

7. Waldensian Biblical Commentaries and Literature

We turn now from Waldensian Biblical versions to their other writings of Old Testament interest. The first of these is the so-called *Moralities on Job* mentioned in the Bull of Innocent III.[34] Another work is the so-called *Cantique*,[35] a commentary upon the "Song of Songs" with a translation which closely follows the Vulgate, the very alterations of which it imitates. It bears a relationship to the Gallic-Italian sermons preached in Piedmont, probably by a cleric to clerics: mention is made of martyrdoms, of lions and leopards, by whom are meant Emperors who persecuted the Jews.

The Decalogue furnished the Waldensians material for a treatise on the "Ten Commandments," contained in a little Waldensian catechism.[36] In a Taborite Confession of Faith, dated 1431, containing a series of treatises under the general title: *Treasure and Light of Faith*, we have a tract on the Ten Commandments, which is a compilation twofold in character, namely Catholic and Hussite. Through the former source it obtained an ancient origin; the Hussite revision served to render its arguments precise and vigorous, particularly with regard to the worship of the Virgin and the Saints, and the veneration of graven images, all of which the Waldensians forbade.

The Jewish Scriptures played a role not only in works dedicated to special passages and books from the Bible, but also in Biblical references included in various works devoted to other topics. Thus in a discourse on the "Word of God" the preaching of Christ's Gospel is referred to in terms of ancient Biblical preaching: Eldad and Medad upon whom the Spirit of the Lord rested, are quoted as having preached freely without the intervention of Moses; for the same reason, the humble of Christ, upon whom the Spirit of the Lord rested, were enabled to preach freely the

[34] Berger, pp. 47-8; the *Moralia* has been published by Leroux de Lincy at the end of the *Livres des Rois*, a volume which contains Pope Gregory's *Moralities on Job*. See also the works of Suchier and Foerster.

[35] Herzog, *Rom. Wald.*, pp. 72-6; *Zeitschrift fuer die Hist. Theol.*, 1861, 4th part; Comba, pp. 209 ff.

[36] Bernard Gui, *Practica Inquisitionis heretice pravitatis*, edited by Douais, Paris, 1886, p. 250: "articulos fidei septem de divinitate et septem de humanitate, et decem precepta decaloghi." Hahn, ii, 679-687 reprints from *Lou Libre de las Vertus*, in Leger, f. 51-6, an "Exposition des Commandements de Dieu."

word of God without the intervention of Bishop or Pope. "Would to God the Prelates possessed the spirit of Moses; they would not hinder those who sing to Thee, O Lord, neither would they close their mouths." Herein the fears of Pope Innocent III lest a study of the Scriptures by the laity would lead to the breakdown of ecclesiastical authority in the interpretation of the Bible found ample justification. In the very text of the Old Testament, Waldensians found vindication for direct popular preachment among the masses of common folk.[37]

In the *Noble Lesson* we find poetic material based on Scriptural stories, commencing with Adam, passing through Noah, Abraham and Moses, down to the coming of Jesus; it is asserted, in conventional terms, that the new Law is superior to that of Moses, largely through the testimony of the Sermon on the Mount.[38] In this poem there are traces of Apocalyptic ideas, borrowed by the Waldensians from their contemporaries, and revised in the light of their own Scriptural hermeneutics. Thus in the literature which has survived, we find indications of the influence of both Old Testament and Jewish themes. If other works had come down to us, it is certain these references would be augmented. "We have been called upon," it is written by the Waldensians, "to pass through innumerable persecutions which have often threatened to destroy all our writings; so that it was with difficulty that we were able to save the Holy Scriptures." By the same token, it was an arduous task to preserve other sacred writings which doubtless bore witness to the imprint of "Judaic" elements.

8. Waldensian Doctrine Concerning Scripture

For the Waldensians, the Scriptures constituted the very fountain-head of all religious knowledge, and were alone a sufficient guide to salvation.

[37] The language of this discourse on the "Word of God" is strongly reminiscent of the famous Narbonne dispute. The mention of St. Bernard, Innocent III and even of Nicholas of Lyra and John of Andrea indicates that the manuscript either originated or was revised during the fifteenth century.

[38] The *Lesson* did not originate at the time of Waldo, but as late as the Reformation. There are several references to Jews: "Les Juifs furent ceux qui le cruxifierent" (Hahn, ii, 640); "Juifs et Grecs ils prechaient, faisants plusieurs miracles," p. 641: "Mais cela trouvons que l'écriture dit, très-fort les poursuivaient Juifs et Sarrasins," p. 641.

We shall first briefly say that the Law of the True God is by itself sufficient for the salvation of the entire human generation; it is a Law of perfect liberty, whereto it is not right to add anything, or wherefrom to take anything; there is not any kind of good which is not sufficiently comprised in the same His Law.[39]

The Waldensians distinguished between three successive laws: the Natural Law, the Law of Moses and the perfect Law of Jesus Christ.[40] Thus there was a dominant evangelical emphasis in the Waldensian system, a fact which gave rise to the belief that one group of the heresy sought to leave aside the Old Testament entirely.[41] But Hahn (ii, 271) is correct when he remarks that the Waldensians distinguished themselves from the Catharists who rejected the Old Testament, by the vary fact that they attached validity not merely to the New but to the Old Dispensation,[42] and that many of the dissenters knew large sections of the Old Testament from memory. The Inquisitor of Passau remarked that the heretics had translated the whole Bible into the vernacular; the Church had sought vainly to suppress these, but the heretics persisted in their devoted study of the Scriptural word. He knew a peasant, for example, who could recite the Book of Job word for word; many of them could repeat the New Testament from memory, and though they were simple peasants, they were nevertheless dangerous controversialists.[43] This familiarity with Scripture was shared by the Catharists who, according to Lucas of Tuy, were so profoundly skilled in the Bible that the Christian should avoid disputation with them as he

[39] Melia, Pius, *The Origin, Persecutions and Doctrines of the Waldenses*, London, 1870, gives the Scriptural background for Waldensian tenets. Compare Deut. 4:2: "You shall not add to the word that I speak to you, neither shall you take away from it."

[40] Cf. the view combatted in the polemics of Joseph and David Kimchi concerning the three Laws, in *Milchemeth Chobhah*, Constantinople, 1710, *passim*.

[41] "Vetus Testamentum non recipiunt ad credendum," observes David of Augsburg, "sed tantum aliqua inde discunt, ut nos per ea impugnent et se defendant, dicentes quod superveniente evangelio vetera omnia transierunt." One reading has simply: "Vetus Testamentum non habent vel recipiunt, sed evangelia."

[42] "That they are the true Church appears above all from their retention of the Word of God and that not merely to the New but also to the Old Testament." Pseudo-Rein. in *Max. Bibl.*, xxv, f. 265: "Item, Testamenti Novi Textum et magnam partem veteris vulgariter sciunt corde;" f. 263.

[43] Anon. Passaviens, cap. 1, 3, 7, 8.

would a tempest, unless of course he himself were adept in the Law of God so that he might vanquish them in debate.[44]

The role of the Scriptures in the disputes between Waldensians and their Catholic opponents was marked by the same contradictions as in other controversies. The Waldensians were quoted as being opposed to all approved practices of the Church which were unsanctioned by the written word of the Gospels. In reply, the Catholic doctrine was affirmed:

> Besides the Holy Scriptures, the traditions of the Church are to be admitted, without which both the existence and meaning of the Holy Scriptures would be uncertain, and many things necessary to salvation would be defective.

Quotations only from the New Testament are cited to support this view; the ecclesiastical apologists refute Waldensian reference to Deut. 4:2 as applicable only to the ceremonial and legal observances of the Jews. The dispute at Narbonne furnishes insight into the contradictory use of Scripture by both Catholics and their adversaries. The Catholics, turning the Scriptural argument against their foes, remark:

> You are in a state of rebellion against the Church; as a matter of fact, you no longer obey her, either her priests or her bishops. By so doing you violate the principles of the Scriptures.[45]

The dispute continues with this colloquy: the Waldensians say:

> Envy is old, and you would not be the first who have been affected by it. We read in the Old Testament, in the Book of Numbers, chapter 11, that two men called Eldad and Medad, having received the Spirit of God, prophesied in the camp of Israel. This caused a great commotion. A young man ran to tell Moses: 'Eldad and Medad do prophesy in the camp.' Hearing this, Joshua, the son of Nun, answered and said: 'My Lord, Moses, forbid them.' But Moses answered: 'Enviest thou for my sake? Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that the Lord would put His spirit upon them.

[44] *De Altera Vita*, Lib. ii, cap. 9; Lib. iii, cap. 5.

[45] The texts then quoted are from the New Testament used so frequently as a means of combatting both religious and political rebellion: 2 Thess. 3:14; Heb. 13:17; Matt. 18:17. For the use of these texts in the American Revolution, see Straus, O., *Origins of the Republican Form of Government*, New York, 1885, *passim*.

To which the Catholics reply:

> That has nothing to do with this case, for you are not true but false prophets . . . You know the Scriptures compare heretics to bulls.[46]

It is apparent from this illustrative controversy that Scriptural citation was employed both on behalf of and against the Waldensians; oftentimes the identical text would be given two contradictory interpretations by the same disputant or essayist. But it must be noted that Scripture was employed by both the orthodox and heterodox parties, and lay at the foundation of their thought. The fundamental cause of disagreement lay rather in the passages selected, the method of exegesis, and the emphasis involved.

9. The Scriptural Canon of the Waldensians

As the Waldensian movement throughout the centuries of its career developed and systematized its literary and ceremonial traditions, it was able to determine upon its Scriptural Canon as well. Waldensian literature in the centuries prior to and during the Reformation gives evidence of the increasing importance attached to the Old Testament; with the advance of Hebrew scholarship, the Jewish Bible came to play an increasingly important role, a reflection in part of the same tendency operative among both the Reformation and pre-Reformation movements of a similarly anti-Romanist character.[47] The several "Confessions of Faith" whereby the Waldensians sought to declare their principles of faith contain references to the names of the Old Testament and Apocryphal books considered sacred, and emphasize also the importance which the dissenters attached to the Scriptural word. In the famous correspondence between the Waldensian "Barbe" Morel and Oecolampadius, Morel stated

[46] "Taurus vocent haereticos." Cf. Ps. 22:13 and 68:13.

[47] Hahn, ii, 652 and 654, gives us the documents which contain a statement of the Waldensian Canon; they include: "Confession de Foy des Vaudois des Vallées," from Leger, i, f. 92-5, Jones, iv, 44-46; Article 3 is "Concerning Sacred Scripture." The "Briéve Confession de Foy," 1532, in Leger i, f. 95-6, made in Piedmont; the "Confession de Foy" presented to the King of France, in 1544, in Leger, i, f. 109-110, Article 11; the "Glaubensbekenntniss vom Jahr 1655" in Leger, i, 112-116; "Briève Confession de Foy des Eglises Reformées de Piemont" (Hahn, ii, 668-9) (. . "que dans l'Ancien Testament doivent estre compris seulement les Livres que Dieu a commis a l'Eglise Judaique" . . .), give us the source material concerning Waldensian beliefs and literary traditions.

his doubts on several questions, among which the following occur (Comba, p. 294):

8. What difference is there between the ministers of the Word of the Old Testament and those of the New?

9. Which are the books of Scripture we are to hold as truly canonical?

10. Is allegorical interpretation useful for the explanation of Scripture?

11. Were the judiciary and ceremonial precepts given in the Law of Moses abolished by the coming of Christ, or should we still observe them?

12. Must the ministers of the Word teach all that is contained in the Scriptures without any distinction?

13. How are we to understand the true and faithful interpretation of Holy Scripture, so as not to be led astray by the numerous commentaries and different interpretations now existing and daily accumulating? . . .

15. Is marriage legitimate in all degrees of relationship except those indicated in chapter 18 of Leviticus?

In this list of interrogations, we find others which arise out of issues involved in a study of the Old Testament:

"29: Are civil or other laws invented by men, and by which the world is ruled as to temporal things, legitimate in the sight of God? For it is written: 'The laws of the nations are vain'.

30. Did God ordain that magistrates should inflict the death penalty on murderers, thieves and other such evil doers, or does He wish that a punishment be inflicted upon them, which by subjecting them to a severe penance, shall make them better? For according to the opinion of the many, the magistrate carries the sword to inflict this punishment, but not the death-penalty, as God does not desire the death of the sinner, but rather that he should turn from his wickedness and live . . . .

35. Must all that is added to the principal be considered usury?"

On these and many other points, Morel, speaking for the Waldensians, asks enlightenment from the great scholar, Oecollampadius. "Through our fault, alas!" he says, "we have neglected the study of the Scriptures, so that we have not understood them as thou dost. We therefore come to thee to be guided, instructed and edified."

10. Waldensian Principles of Exegesis

Not only was the Scriptural word a subject for constant reading and discussion; it was also the material for instruction in divine worship and in the school. Among the Waldensians, the minister or teacher carried his little book in hand, containing

various portions of the Bible, sometimes the whole of the New Testament, with chosen selections from the Old. They aimed first of all at inculcating the actual text of Scripture, without commentaries; whatever was not in conformity with the text was mere fable. Because of this insistence upon the written Scriptural word, we meet Waldensians familiar with long passages and entire Biblical books; the missionaries were famous for their skill in repeating the contents of the Bible from memory.

Though they held fast to the actual Bible word, it was natural, however, that the Waldensians developed a method of explanation and interpretation. Waldo and his colleagues revolted against current ecclesiastical exegesis which laid stress upon the mystical sense of the text. This mystical or allegorical method of interpretation was repugnant to the later Waldensians as well.[48] Criticism has been made of Waldo's exegesis "for being too literal, and on that account it did not, whatever some writers of our day may think, agree with the scholastic method." (Comba, p. 243.) To the founder of the movement the Biblical writing itself was sufficiently clear; he desired merely to furnish a literal translation thereof. Bernard of Gui remarks that the Waldensians of Southern France insisted upon the observation of Gospel precepts exactly as they were inscribed, without commentary.[49] It was not otherwise in Germany. David of Augsburg and his associate of Passau accused their victims of adhering too closely to the literal meaning, and of rejecting all mystical expositions.[50] It appears that the allegorical method was unpalatable to the early settlers in the Alpine valleys: Morel, writing to Oecolampadius, wished to be informed as to whether it is admissible and adapted to popular instruction. It is true that certain Waldensian compilations of Catholic derivation, such as the treatises on the "Virtues," and the "Cantique," had admitted

[48] "Crediderim ex officina Catharorum ea delineamenta prodiisse, praesertim cum Reinerus testetur, Valdenses mysticum sensum in Scripturis rejecisse." Ricchinius, quoted in Hahn, ii, 269.

[49] "Nec aliquam expositionem super eis recipiunt;" *Practica*, p. 252.

[50] "Sensu proprio verba evangelii interpretari presumpserunt, videntes nullos alios evangelium juxta literam omnino servare, quod se facere velle jactaverunt . . Mysticum sensum in divinis SS. refutant." They give the impression that they are following the true reading: "Boni et sancti homines, qui haberent rectam scripturam." Wattenbach; *Ueber die Inquisition gegen die Waldenser in Pommerm u. der Mark Brandenburg*, Berlin, 1886, p. 44.

allegory; these, however, were the exceptions.[51] It was this strict adherence to the Word of God that led them to repudiate the intricate structure of Catholic hermeneutics upon which the institutions of the Church had been reared: the validity of Tradition, as expounded by Pope, Council and apologist, was rejected.[52] In place of ecclesiastical exegesis which demanded the intervention of priest or prelate, the Waldensians substituted the principle that each man was permitted to make his own deductions from Scriptures, and was free to interpret as he desired.[53] It was this inclination towards the literal method of exegesis which prompted Waldensians to make use of the commentaries of Nicholas of Lyra, the distinguished student of Rashi and the Jewish commentators, whose exegesis played so significant a role in Christian scholarship; thus in the Discourse on the "Word of God," Lyra is quoted, and in the later Waldensian commentaries abundant citations, both direct and indirect, appear. Though the revolt from orthodox exegesis and the return to the literal word of the Bible did not, as in the case of the Judaizing Passagii, result in the adoption of the Mosaic system of law and interpretation, nevertheless it inaugurated a tendency in Christian religious life which was destined to guide it more and more to a correct understanding of the great controversial passages in the Old Testament upon a misconstruction of which the Church had built its doctrinal system.

II. Judaic Aspects of Waldensian Theology

The "Judaic" elements in Waldensian theology deserve our attention at this point. The central theme of Waldensian doctrine lay in its opposition to the teachings of the Catholic Church concerning the ritual and sacerdotal system. The term

[51] Pseudo-Rein. in *Max. Bibl.*, xxv. f. 265: "Item, mysticum sensum in divinis scripturis refutant praecipue in dictis ac actis ab Ecclesia traditis: ut quod gallus super campanile significat Doctorem."

[52] *Ibid.* "Item Decretales, et Decreta et dicta et expositiones sanctorum respuunt, et tantum inhaerent textui . . Item dicunt quod doctrina Christi Apostolorum sine statutis ecclesiae sufficiat ad salutem. Quod traditio Ecclesiae traditio Pharisaeorum." Refut. Errorum. *Ibid.* f. 305. "Septimo dicunt, quod ea, quae constituuntur ab Episcopis et Ecclesiae Praelatis non sunt servanda, eo quod sint traditiones hominum, non Dei."

[53] "Que chacun peut expliquer l'Ecriture Sainte comme il uy plait, et selon les inspirations de son esprit particulier." Cf. Additions to the Short Confession of Faith by the Reform Churches of Piedmont in 1655. Hahn, ii, 673.

of reproach popular among the leaders of the Reformation was to the effect that the ceremonialism of the Church was "Judaic"; among the Waldensians, the epithet synonymous therewith was Pharisaical. "The tradition of the Church is the tradition of the Pharisees" is the oft-repeated accusation of the heretics.[54] The Lombardy Waldensians affirmed that departure from the Roman Church was permissible because it was no longer the Church of Jesus Christ, but was governed only by Scribes and Pharisees. The works of the priests consisted in rendering the Law of God of no effect, in order to establish their own traditions "after the manner of the Pharisees."[55] In a description of the missionary tactics of the Waldensians, who, it is interesting to observe, disguised themselves like wandering hawkers or pedlers (similar to the "Passagii"), we are told of their frequent attacks upon the Pharisaical tendencies of the Church.[56] After gaining admission for the display of his merchandise "he will recite some passage of Scripture. . . . When he begins to fix the attention of his hearers, he will say: 'The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat,' or 'Woe unto you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men; for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in,' or else: 'Beware of the Scribes who devour widows' houses, and for a pretence make long prayers.' (Matt. 23:2, 13; Mark 12:38-40.) The listener will then ask: 'To whom are these imprecations addressed?' He answers: 'to the priests and monks.' Then the heretic compares the condition of the Romish Church with that which concerns his party . . . 'Your teachers,' he says, 'are fastidious in their dress and manners; they like the chief places at feasts and to be called, Master, Rabbi, Rabbi! We do not look for such Rabbis![57] . . . And because we have the real faith in Christ and all of us teach a pure and holy doctrine, the Scribes and Pharisees persecute us to death, even as they did Christ himself.' "

The charge that the verses in Matthew 23 were applicable to the priests of the Catholic Church proved a thorn in the side of

[54] "Quod traditio Ecclesiae sit traditio Pharisaeorum." "Refut. Errorum," in Pseudo-Rein., in *Max. Bibl.*, xxv, f. 265.

[55] "Quod omnes observantiae religiosorum sint traditiones Pharisaeorum. Quod traditio Ecclesiae sit traditio Pharisaeorum." Inquisitor of Passau.

[56] *Max. Bibl.*, xxv., 273; Inq. of Passau tells the story.

[57] "Rabbinos vero tales non quaerimus."

its apologists. In his defense, Moneta calls attention to verses 2 and 3 where mention is made of those who sit in Moses' seat. Equally repellent to Churchmen was the accusation that not merely was the Church Pharisaic, and its priests comparable to the Scribes denounced by Jesus, but also that the Church of God had become a Synagogue, a Babel, an Assembly of Satan, a diabolic congregation.[58]

This was a favorite appellation among the heretics against the orthodox Church, though it was used as well by the apologists of the Pope against the heterodox groups.[59] It need not be remarked here that these terms are used in a literary and metaphorical rather than an actual sense. They indicate the facility with which material applied to Jews and Judaism was carried over into the field of domestic Christian controversy; they are valuable also as an approach to the definition of the term "Judaizing" which has engaged our attention. The basic reason for the use of these epithets is that the Waldensian groups, in keeping with other heretics, rejected the entire hierarchical system; its legalism and ceremonialism savored of what the Christian world called: "Judaism;" hence the terms: "Pharisaical," "Synagogue" and "Judaic" came easily to their lips.

This is further seen in the Waldensian tenet that the blessings and consecrations practiced in the Church do not confer sanctity upon things or persons; they condemned the consecration of vestments, water, salt, ashes, candles, etc., the consecration of priests, churches, altars, etc., saying that though the words were by themselves holy, they did not confer this holiness upon others.

[58] Moneta, f. 303, 314, 407, f. 430 ff. cf. Hahn, 302-3: "Domus confusionis, Babylon, meretrix, et Synagoga Diaboli." Cf. the words of Bernard of Clairvaux that the Churches in Languedoc had become "Synagogues"; see also the references to the same phrase in Bernard Gui's *Practica* and elsewhere. Perrin, p. 263, has: "La S. Eglise est reputée Synagogue, et la Synagogue des malins est reconnue pour mére de ceux qui croient en la loi." "Credimus quod Romana Ecclesia est Domus confusionis Babylon, meretrix et synagogadiaboli contra fidem." Stephen de Bourbon, in d'Argentré, i, f. 89. Moneta, f. 392. *Lib. Sentent.*, f. 306: . . "quod plus fecit (Johannes XXII) de malo ecclesie Dei quam fecerint omnes heretice priores, quia tempore priorum hereticorum adhuc ecclesia Dei remansit in statu suo, set nunc non videtu esse Dei set diaboli synagoga." *Lib. Sentent.* f. 37, 92 *et passim. Practica* pp. 152, 238, 274.

[59] In the avowal attributed to the Barbe Martin that his penitents transgress moral laws we find the phrases: "tam extra synagogam." Comba, p. 354.

To this the Catholic answered that both Scripture and tradition supported their practice, and quoted from Exodus 29:21 and 40:9ff. as precedent.

a. WALDENSIAN OPPOSITION TO IMAGE-WORSHIP

In their opposition to image-worship, the Waldensians approached a "Judaic" position. In the Treatise on the Anti-Christ, we find the words:

> The Anti-Christ makes the people idolaters; he deceitfully causes them to serve the idols of all the world under the name of Saints and of relics . . . He causes the worship of Latria, due only to God, to be given to men, male and female Saints, departed from this world, and to their images, noisome corpses and relics.

Reinerius reports that the "Waldensians say that images and pictures are to be abolished." "They say that Christians are idolaters by reason of images and the cross." (Pilichdorff.) Cappel summed up their opinions in the words: "Images and the sign of the cross are detestable." For this hostility to image-worship, it is not surprising that the Waldensians sought sanction in the Old Testament. Though they were not definitely accused of Judaizing because of this tendency, as were Zwingli and Calvin during the Reformation, the arguments the Waldensians employed were substantially the same. They quoted from Deut. 5; Exodus 20:4, 5; Isaiah 44:8 ff.; and Wisdom 15:4; in the *Exposition des Commandements de Dieu* there is a lengthy exposition of the Second Commandment as vindication for rejection of the worship of images, saints and relics.

But Catholic spokesmen were equally prepared to appeal to the testimony of the Old Testament. They cited Exodus 25:18; 16:32; Numbers 21:8; I Kings 7; they mentioned how Moses was ordered to make certain figures and to place them in the Sanctuary; they asserted that Biblical passages did not prohibit the making of figures and paintings, but forbade their manufacture for the express purpose of adoration as idols and gods. Thus, inasmuch as both the pro-imagist and anti-imagist groups sought vindication in the Old Testament, as they had previously done in the Iconoclastic Controversy, one is left in a quandary as to which view deserves the title of being "Judaic." In both parties, the Jewish Scriptures found recognition as the source of authority. It is important, however, to observe that the attitude

of the Waldensian heretics was in entire conformance with the traditional Jewish viewpoint on image-worship, and hence, in a more real sense, may be styled "Judaic."

b. INVOCATION OF SAINTS; PURGATORY; OATHS

The same comment may be made with reference to their views concerning the invocation of saints. The opinions of the heretics in this respect were strongly Christological, but at the same time rigorously monotheist; they read almost like a passage from medieval Jewish polemical works against Catholic doctrine. Thus, the Waldensians refuse to invoke the Virgin Mary or the Saints; they believe that mortals need no intercession except through Jesus; they offer their entire devotion to God; He alone is to be praised and supplicated. (Deut. 6:13.) He alone knows our needs, and requires no reminder from the prayers of the Saints; He alone can help us; the Saints have a duty to themselves, not to us; the act of invocation of Saints is an affront to God, for not God but His servants and creatures are worshipped thereby.[60] It is not surprising, however, that the defenders of the Catholic doctrine drew upon the arsenal of Old Testament texts, and point by point cited Scriptural verses in rebuttal of Waldensian arguments.[61]

Waldensian views concerning purgatory were also developed upon the basis of Old Testament passages: inasmuch, it was said, as there is no mention of such a place as purgatory in the Biblical Law, or in the works of the Apostles, coincident with the opinions of the Jews, therefore it must be agreed that purgatory is a fiction invented in later centuries. Church apologists, on the other hand, replied with quotations from Paul and Matthew, Ecclesiasticus 7:37 and the 12th chapter of the 2nd book of Maccabees; supplementary texts were cited from canonical

[60] Cf. the treatise: "Invocation of Saints" in *Treasure and Light of Faith*; numerous quotations appear herein taken from Scripture, and even Wycliffe, "lo doctor evangelio" is mentioned. The *Confession of Faith* presented to the King of Bohemia by the Waldensians in 1535, Article 17, quotes from Job and Isaiah in its strong monotheistic attack upon the doctrine of the Invocation of Saints.

[61] Among the passages cited are: Ps. 82:6; Song of Songs 1:4; Ecclesiasticus 44; Ps. 149; 150:1; Deut. 32:43; II Kings 19; Dan. 9; Gen. 19:22; Dan. 13; Ps. 121; Job 5:1 and others.

books as well.[62] The Waldensians asserted that it was a matter of indifference whether the dead are buried in consecrated ground; the Catholic reply was fortified with numerous Old Testament citations.[63]

Waldensian opposition to the taking of an oath even in the court of justice awakened Catholic response on the basis of Deut. 6: "Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and thou shalt swear by His name," and Jeremiah 4: "Thou shalt swear as the Lord liveth in truth and in judgment and in justice." The orthodox group disagreed with the heretics in their interpretation of Wisdom 14:31 and Matthew 5:34, using many Scriptural passages in their refutation.[64]

Every lie, said the Waldensians, is a mortal sin; the quotations: "The mouth that lieth killeth the soul" (Wisdom 1:11), and "Lying lips are an abomination to the Lord" (Prov. 12:22) are to be understood literally. To this the Catholics made answer that though every lie is a fault, certain lies do not make men guilty of mortal sin; Scriptural passages, they argued, are to be understood with limitations and not interpreted absurdly. The verse: "Every man is a liar" would condemn all men to perdition if the Waldensian tenet were accepted; untrue assertions made by Joseph the Patriarch, by the Jewish midwives and Judith are cited by the Catholics in rebuttal.[65]

[62] The first and Second Books of the Maccabees were acknowledged by the Catholic Church as canonical, though they were excluded from the Jewish canon. Upon the text: "Judas making a gathering, sent 12,000 drachmas of silver to Jerusalem for sacrifice to be offered for the sins of the dead," voluminous commentary was written: "it is therefore a holy and wholesome thought to pray for the dead that they may be loosed from their sins." St. Augustine remarks concerning this passage in *De cura pro Mortuis*, chapter one: "We read in the books of the Maccabees that a sacrifice was offered for the dead. Though nothing of this kind can be read in the Old Scriptures, nevertheless the authority of the Universal Church which is officially famous for this practice deserves consideration." Among the supplementary texts are Proverbs 24:16; Ps. 69:15, 16, etc.

[63] Gen. 49:29 ff.; 50:13; 25, 26; Exodus 13:19; II Sam. 2:4-6; I Kings 13:22; II Kings 23:18; I Kings 2:10; Isaiah 14:19, 20; 53:9; Jer. 7:32, 33; 22:18, 19; 26:23; Ezech. 3:94, 5, 11 ff.; Tob. 4:3; 12:12; Eccl. 6:3; Judith 8:3.

[64] Gen. 6:13; 22:16; 32:40; I Sam. 20:2; Isaiah 45:23; 62:8; Jer. 4:2; 12:16; Ps. 63:12; 89:36; 110:4; Dan. 12:7.

[65] For a passage concerning truth-telling among Jews and Christians, see Joseph Kimchi's "Sepher ha-Berith" in *Milchemeth Chobhah.*

Thus the program of the Waldensian movement was essentially anti-sacramental and anti-ecclesiastical.[66] In the eyes of the dissenters, the Roman Church was false and apostate and deserving of destruction.[67] Though they in turn created a doctrinal system and ecclesiastical institutions of their own,[68] nevertheless they sought to avoid the errors which they assailed in the parent organization from which they broke away. Their protest against orthodox doctrine and ceremony was stimulated by a combination of influences, in which the New Testament, of course, played a dominant role. At the same time, however, it must be remembered that though the Church had established its organization upon the outlines suggested by the Jewish Scriptures, nevertheless the heterodox party, by reason of its re-emphasis upon the Biblical word and its dissemination among the masses, made use of the very texts employed by Catholic opponents together with numerous other passages, for what was deemed "revolutionary" and "heretical" doctrine.

c. WALDENSIAN "IDENTITY" WITH "ANCIENT ISRAEL"

Additional evidence of Waldensian dependence upon the Old Testament is found in the movement's progress after its rise in medieval France. More and more the dissenters came to regard themselves as the true "Israel" allied in spirit and experience with ancient historic "Israel." This view was formulated and cultivated by historians of the Waldensian movement, who thereby merely gave voice to a long-cherished opinion on the part of its adherents. Thus Muston speaks of *The Israel of the Alps*,[69] and throughout the work applies Biblical phraseology to the entire Waldensian systems, its champions and its history. Ackland in his Preface to the Arnaud history compares the Waldensians to the Maccabees in terms similar to those used with reference to the Puritans in England and America, the Taborites in Bohemia and other groups which fought for religious

[66] Their attack upon indulgences was refuted by the Church with arguments based on Gen. 4 and Isaiah 58.

[67] Melia, Pius, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

[68] One of the questions asked of the candidate for ordination in the Waldensian Church was whether he believed "in the divine promulgation of the Law of Moses on Mount Sinai." Comba, p. 266.

[69] Translated by Hazlitt, 2nd ed., London, 1853.

liberty against great odds.[70] This comparison has a literary rather than a historical value,[71] and lies in the realm of sermonic and homiletical interest. But it illustrates the tendency to refer to Jewish sources for similarities and analogies to events in contemporary religious life, characteristic of the Reform movements as well the anti-Reform groups in Christendom.

The terms popularized by Muston and others are employed frequently by other Waldensian historians, among them Comba, who speaks of the "Exodus" and the "Dispersion" of the persecuted believers. Peter Waldo is "the Moses of this little people which were going out of the land of bondage" (p. 39); he was "the Father, the Abraham of the Israel of the Alps before he became its Moses" (p. 241); the missionaries went forth at the behest of the Waldensian Barbes in Italy "to preach repentance and feed the scattered sheep of persecuted Israel in the valleys of the Alps" (p. 288); "it was as if from the valleys there re-echoed the voice of Simeon, welcoming again the Savior of the Israel of the Alps" (p. 159).[72] Biblical titles were applied to the

[70] Arnaud, *The Glorious Recovery by the Vaudois of their Valleys*, London, 1827.

[71] Thus it is asserted that both ancient Jews and Waldensians were attached to their religion with an almost excessive heroism; their spiritual leaders became military leaders; just as Antiochus Epiphanes sought to conquer Judea, so tyrants sought to subjugate Piedmont. We read that "many Jews went down into the wilderness to dwell there, both they and their children and their wives and their cattle;" "they were gone down into the secret places." So, too, the Waldensians went with their families to the wildernesses of the highest mountains and concealed themselves in caverns and other secret places. The Jews would not fight on the Sabbath; the Waldensians would not take up arms until authorized by their pastors, the Barbes. For the same length of time that the Temple of the Jews was defiled, the Catholic sanctuary set up Piedmont remained; at the expiration of the period of exile and desolation, namely three and a half years, the Waldensians, like the Jews, recovered their power and were restored to their territory.

[72] In a circular letter in 1368, written by the Lombard Brethren John Gerard, Simon and Peter to their coreligionists, we find the following description of an incident in the time of Constantine when Sylvester was Pope: "Having heard this voice, the Poor of Christ went forth with more courage and they were driven out of the synagogue." Thus were fulfilled the words which are written: "They shall put you out of the synagogue; yea, the time cometh that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God's service." . . . It is therefore evident that the elect are exposed to persecution on all sides, as much from Pagans and Jews as from false Christians and all the world. "Now as regards the branches, you must know this, that formerly when the servants of Christ seemed to have disappeared because of persecution a man was raised up. He was named Peter of Val, and had a companion, John Lyonnais, so

Barbes as well. These pastors, well versed in science, languages and the study of the Scriptures "may be compared to the Elders of Israel" whose "parishes consisted of the dispersed tribes of the 'Israel of the Alps' of which they were the 'Levites and the Judges.'" Like Jewish teachers they practiced a trade in addition to their religious duties; like contemporary Jewish religious leaders they were skilled in the art of medicine; in fact Jewish physicians may have been the instructors of the Waldensian Barbes. The name of the latter is said to have been derived from an original Hebrew source.[73]

12. Personal Associations of Jews and Waldensians

We may now turn to the question: were Jews and Waldensians in personal relationships and affiliations? We know that in the city of Lyons, long noted for its important and influential Jewish community, the Waldensian heresy made its initial appearance; even as early as the ninth century, the Jews of Lyons had been the target of vigorous polemics by Agobard and his disciple Amolo, the local Bishops, because of the prosperity and influence the Jews had attained. In Metz, a center of Waldensian heresy, the city where the controversy concerning the study of Scripture by the laity arose, the same spirit of tolerance prevailed which in Languedoc aided the appearance and spread of heterodox tendencies. "Metz," says Comba (p. 60) "notwithstanding her bishop, was a city of refuge. She did not even repel the Jews who were proscribed everywhere. 'It was the

called after the city of Lyons. Our adversaries see in him a fool because he was driven out of the synagogue . . . If he were driven out of the synagogue, it was only through a judgment of men, not of God. That happened to others."

[73] "Was war nun natuerlicher und passender als dass man fuer das weltlich klingende Wort Senior (davon Signore, Seigneur, gebildet ist) and fuer den Ausdruck Presbyter (Aeltester) eine Benennung waehlte, die zu dem ganzen judaisirenden Ausdruck der errichteten Theokratie [in Milan] passte? Man duerfte hierzu nur ein Wort aus dem Hebraeischen wie beim Capitaneus von Rosch uebersetzen. *Diess Wort war das hebraeische* ברבן (*Bart*) *Barba. Auf diese Weise sind ohne Zweifel die Barben der Waldenser entstanden.* Sie sind, wenn diese Ansicht richtig ist, noch mit ihren Namen ein Ueberrest jenes romfreien, mailaendischen Gottesstaats, welchen Angilbert 844 gruendete, und Gregor VII erst zu erschuettern vermochte." Heber, Ph., *Waldo, Kaiser Karls des Grossen geistlicher Rath und die Aelteren Waldenser*, Basel, 1858, p. 29. This suggestion, while worthy of consideration, must be accepted with caution. It is indicative of an inclination on the part of historians at least to trace Waldensian institutions to "Judaic" origins.

city of those who had no habitation—a mixed city if ever there was one."[74] Hence it will not be surprising if Waldenses be found there (1180-1212)." This remark is important because it bears directly upon a situation we have found to exist almost universally: where there is political and religious reaction, not merely Jews but all heterodox groups are proscribed; where, (as noted before), a liberal attitude towards novel thought obtains, a friendly policy towards Jews is manifested. It was in this city of Metz, too, that the monk Siegebert of Gemblours during the twelfth century conducted his studies in Hebrew and the Bible. He had so complete a knowledge of the Bible tongue that he was able to correct the versions of Scripture from the original. "Several times he worked on it with the Jews who had conceived for him great affection because like them he preferred the text of the Hebrew to that of the versions."[75]

Not only during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were Waldensians and Jews grouped together. There are indications that Jews were compelled to assist in the campaign against the persecuted Waldensians because of their residence in territories ruled by anti-Waldensian leaders. Thus in 1384 the Jews of Savoy gave to Duke Amadeus VII the sum of 17,541 lires as their contribution to the campaign against the heretics. It is not stated whether this tax was furnished voluntarily or under duress.[76] In the fifteenth century the Jews were included in an accusation which charged them with a conspiracy in company with Hussites and Waldensians against the ruling powers.[77] It has been asserted that the statement which appears in the Book of Acts of the Theological Faculty of the University of Vienna, January 10, 1419, was inspired more by imagination than by fact; the opponents of the Hussites, who two years later undertook a military crusade against them were anxious to discredit the Bohemian heretics by allying them in the public mind with the despised Jews and Waldensians. In our study of the Jewish aspects of the Hussite movement we shall observe that although

[74] Michelet, *Hist. de France*, ii, b. iii.

[75] *Spicilegium*, vi, 536; quoted in *Hist. Litt. de la Fr.*, vii, 115. On Christian Hebraists prior to and during the heretic centuries, see above.

[76] Guedemann, *Erziehungswesen*, ii, 163-4; Cibrario, *Della economia politica del medio evo*, 4 ed., Turin, 1854, p. 394.

[77] Wolf, G., *Studien zur Jubelfeier der Wiener Universitaet*, Vienna, 1865, pp. 22-3.

Jews were forced to take sides against the heretics in order to remain at peace with the communities of which they were residents, nevertheless many were treated favorably by the Hussites to whose interest it was to make common cause with them. Side by side with the evidence that there were personal relationships between Provence Jews and Waldensians during the thirteenth century, there is evidence that during the fifteenth century Hussites and Jews were in frequent contact, and Hussites and Waldensians were affiliated both directly and indirectly. This correlation between the three groups at various intervals may not establish definitely the accuracy of the statement by the Theological Faculty. The note, however, is significant as an indication of the popular attitude towards Jews as a factor in the rise of heresy and as allies of heretical groups, among them the Hussites and Waldensians.

During the sixteenth century, prior to and after the commencement of the Reformation, personal relationships between Jews and the later Waldensians multiplied. Vuilleumier's study on the "Waldensian Hebraists of the Sixteenth Century" affords us evidence of the activity of several converted Jews, who exercised both a mediate and intermediate influence upon these Waldensian students of Old Testament and post-Biblical Hebrew literature. These converts included Michael Adam, Elias Levita, and the celebrated Immanuel Tremellius, the last-named being a visitor at Lausanne in the spring of 1554.[78] It was natural that the Waldensian scholars should make use not only of the literary contributions of Rabbinical literature, including the works of Rashi, the Kimchis and others,[79] but should avail themselves of the personal assistance afforded by contemporary Jewish teachers. The names of the converted Jews who thus proved themselves of service have survived; we may take it for granted that in addition, Waldensian scholars appealed to bona fide Jews for aid in the explanation of academic problems, to whom in writing they have not made acknowledgment.[80] As late as the nineteenth century we find Waldensians

[78] Becker, Wilh., *Immanuel Tremellius, ein Proselyten-Leben im Zeitalter der Reformation*, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1891, p. 25.

[79] Vuilleumier, H., *Les Hébraisants Vaudois du XVIe siècle*, Lausanne, 1892, pp. 21, 27, 28 *et passim*.

[80] This was often the case, during the Middle Ages and later. See Soury, J., *Des Études hébraiques et exégétiques au moyen âge chez les chrétiens d' Occident*, Paris, 1867, *passim*, and above.

and Jews grouped together not in scholarly but governmental relationships. Thus in Italy, September 13, 1849, a Ministerial Commission was created for the purpose of reorganizing the particular administration of Waldensians and Jews.[81]

[81] "Creazione di una commissione ministeriale pel riordinamento delle amministrazioni particolari al Valdesi et agli Ebrei," d. d. le Settembre 1849; cited in Hahn, iii, 396.

IV. THE PASSAGII

1. The Rise of Heresy in Lombardy

a. background for heresy in lombardy

"Judaizing" during the so-called "heretic centuries" was most pronounced in Lombardy. For the growth of heresy in general and Judaistic dissent in particular, conditions were eminently favorable. The proximity of Provence and Lombardy, the similarity of climate, the long traditions of common dynastic descent and other factors promoted a sustained religious, social, commercial and political intercourse between the inhabitants of the two regions; and the liberalist tendencies of Southern France found a counterpart in Northern Italy. Lombardy was a center for efforts at political independence; there the Italian communes fought tenaciously for emancipation from Roman Emperor and Roman Pope; there the conflict between Guelf and Ghibelline was staged. Political hostility manifested itself in religious heterodoxy: Arnold of Brescia, a violent opponent of Frederic Barbarossa, became also a bitter antagonist of the Catholic Church; at Milan, Verona, Cremona and numerous other Italian cities, political self-determination and religious freedom went hand in hand.

b. position of the lombard jews

The position of Jews in Lombardy from historic times seems to have been favorable. The Arian chiefs of Lombardy from the very first had shown clemency to their Jewish subjects, and had maintained this attitude even after the triumph of Catholicism.[1] We have little evidence concerning the number and true strength of North Italian Jewish communities. The presence of Lombard and Tuscan bankers appears to have served as a

[1] Erler, L., "Die Juden Italiens im Mittelalter" in *Archiv fuer katholisches Kirchenrecht*, Mainz, 1882, 48:11-12. Guedemann, M., *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der Juden in Italien waehrend des Mittelalters*, Vienna, 1884, pp. 5 ff., 13, 60 *et passim*.

deterrent force against Jewish settlement, inasmuch as Jewish bankers could compete only under severe restrictions with their Christian imitators. However, although there is no mention of Jews in the early Lombard laws, numerous references to them appear in the enactment of the Frankish sovereigns, including Liutprand, Charlemagne, Lothair and Louis II, and in the decisions of the contemporary Church Councils, including Friuli and Pavia. That Jews attained to positions of wealth and prominence in Northern Italy, adjacent to Lombardy, is attested by the career of the distinguished Pierleoni family prior to and during the rise of Italian heresy.

c. "JUDAIZING" BEFORE THE RISE OF HERESY

"Judaizing" in Lombardy and nearby sections of Italy appears early in the historical records. The Council of Rome in 743 issued a decree in Canon 10 which, under penalty of excommunication, forbade Christian maidens and widows to wed Jews; moreover, Christians were not to sell slaves to Jews.[2] A Capitulary of Charlemagne in 789 deplored the fact that Christians were celebrating Sabbath with the Jews;[3] and in 796, the Council of Friaul (Friuli or Forojuliense) complained in Canon 13 that the peasants were misled by the Jews to remain idle on Saturday.[4] Emperor Lothair in 832 renewed Pope Gregory's prohibition against the sale of Church objects to Jews. In 850 the Council of Pavia forbade Jews to collect taxes and to exercise any judicial power over Christians either in civil or criminal processes; this Canon was also promulgated by the Emperor Lothair and Louis II.[5] An interesting item which betrays the close intimacy between Jews and Christians is found in the order given by Pope Nicholas I (854-867) to Bishop Arsenius of Orta, to the effect that he must change his mode of dress, inasmuch as it savored of Judaism; he is commanded not to visit the Pope until he has dispensed with his Jewish garments and has determined to use the customary gowns of the priesthood.[6] In

[2] Harduin, *Coll. Conc.*, iii:1928 ff.; Mansi, *Coll. Conc.*, xii:382 ff.

[3] Mansi, xiii:152.

[4] Harduin, iv:847; Mansi, xiii:830.

[5] Harduin v:26; Mansi, xiv:930; *Mon. Germ.*, Leg. 1:400.

[6] Joannes Diaconus, in his biography of Gregory I; *Opera* 1:207. "Nam reverendae memoriae Nicolaus pontifex Arsenium, quondam Hortanae civitatis episcopum, Judaicas tunc primum pelucias introducere molientem, adeo

view of the fact that the priestly vestments were modelled after the prescriptions of the Levitical laws in the Old Testament, Guedemann's suggestion (*op. cit.*, p. 48) that the Christian Bishop sought to introduce the Jewish "Tallith" is not improbable.[7] This incident, together with the strong "Sabbatarian" tendencies in early medieval Christianity in Italy, indicates the presence of powerful Jewish elements in the thought and practice of the time. The fact that a Capitulary of Bishop Hayton of Basel instructed his diocese to celebrate the Sunday rest from morning to evening, it being permitted, however, on the Sabbath to work from morning to evening, "lest they should be captured by Judaism," is further proof of the current fear of "Judaizing" among Christian ecclesiastics.[8]

d. OLD TESTAMENT ELEMENTS IN THE THEOCRACY AT MILAN

At Milan in Northern Italy, destined to be the main center of heretical activity during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there are indications that there existed for nearly two centuries a theocratic system of religious and political government, modelled after the pattern furnished by the Old Testament. In 844, Angilbert of Pusterla, aided by Joseph of Ivrea (Eporedia-Turin), minister of public instruction under the Emperor Lothair, with the neighborhood of Turin under his special instruction, inaugurated a theocracy at Milan, free from the domination of Rome and taking as its fundamental law (as did the Puritans of New England many centuries later) the statutes of the Pentateuch. This state incurred the enmity of the Roman Popes, but it was not until 1058 that it was successfully assailed. Gregory VII proved an implacable foe, and soon after his papacy the theocratic state at Milan succumbed.

adversatus est, ut ei palatinam processionem vellet adimere, nisi superstitiosae gentis vestes abjurando, cum sacerdotalibus infulis consuetudinaliter procedere statuisset."

[7] Cf. Venetianer, L., *Juedisches im Christentum*, Frankfurt, 1913, pp. 80-82, concerning the use of vestments based on the "Tallith" in the Christian cult.

[8] Mansi, xiv:395: "ne Judaismo capiantur." This Capitulary recalls the complaint of Pope Gregory I against the "Judaic" Sabbath observance of citizens in Rome, and is a forerunner of the Passagii in the 12th and 13th centuries, and the Neapolitan Neophites of the 15th century. Quadragesimale Roberti (Caraccioli da Lecce), 105; mentioned by Guedemann, p. 49.

According to reliable historians of Milan, the Biblical commonwealth was characterized by both names and ceremonies drawn from the Old Testament. In the national sanctuary, at Caroccio, there was an imitation of the Ark of the Covenant with Christian emblems. White oxen drew the Ark, decorated by a white silk flag with a red cross. Each one of the six chief Judges who sat at one of the six gates and publicly issued judgment, was called Capitaneus.[9] The Church attendants who served at the assembly of the clergy were called Levites. Serving women in fulfilment of the prescription in Exodus 38:8 busied themselves with the presentation of the show-bread. The number of the chief-pastors and assessors of the Archbishopric who pronounced judgment on Church problems was twenty-two, according to the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet. On many other occasions the assessors were sixteen, the number of the greater and lesser Prophets. On the highest city-tower a Shepherd's Staff was raised, to signify that the Chief-Shepherd resided there, to whom belonged power to direct the city, in temporal and spiritual affairs. Indeed, according to Heber (p. 29) the Hebraic element predominated in the Milan theocracy. The word: "Capitaneus" was derived from the Hebrew ראש and the root of the terms: "Senior," "Signore" and "Seigneur" was the Hebrew זקן meaning "beard," "bearded one;" "in this fashion" asserts Heber, "without doubt the Barbes of the Waldensians arose." These Hebrew words indicate for him the "complete Judaizing manifestation" of the theocracy.

If this evidence is trustworthy, it would imply that the founders of the Milanese state either knew the Hebrew Bible in the original, or derived their terminology from the Vulgate, in turn based upon the Hebrew text. Though we have a reference to a Jew as Finance Minister ("Magister monetae") at Milan in 923,[10] the Jewish community in this locality was small in number, and it is not likely that they exerted any discernible Hebraic influence upon the local political and ecclesiastical regime. We may regard the Milanese Biblical commonwealth as one of the

[9] Heber, P., *Waldo . . und die aelteren Waldenser*, Basel, 1858, pp. 16, 29 ff. and 57 has brought this material together, and gives as his sources Ughelli, the Milanese Sigonius, Ripamontius, Tristan Calchi and others; he refers also to Landulph, Anastasius, Baronius, Ericius, Puteanus and others of the pro-Papist group.

[10] Cassel, "Juden" in *Allgem. Encyclopaedie*, Sect. ii, 29:148.

many experiments made in Christian history to erect a polity based upon the Old Testament; Charlemagne, Zwingli, Calvin, Muenzer, the Hussites in Bohemia, the Puritans in England and America, are a few names in the story of these efforts. That the Old Testament theocracy found a welcome in Milan is not surprising, for it was in this city that the Judaizing Passagii made their headquarters in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; it was there also that in the thirteenth century the potentates of the Roman Church found nests of heretics in close association with the Jews: "in the campaign against the innumerable heretics in Milan who appeared there in the second and third decade of the thirteenth century, the Podesta promised to expel all the Jews as well, and to accept no more in the city and its environs against the wish of the Archbishop." (Cassel, p. 149.)

e. GIRARD OF MONTFORT AND THE RISE OF HERESY

Judaizing tendencies did not disappear with the decline and gradual obliteration of the Milanese theocracy. In the eleventh century the signs of heresy as a definite movement came into notice, first in the region of Turin; there the early manifestations of the Catharist or Dualist heresy, destined to sweep over all France and the Italian Peninsula, found a champion in the person of Girard of Montfort. It is important to observe that these heretics were accused of affiliation with Jews. Thus Glaber Radulphus asserts with reference to the dissenters of Montfort:

"They worshipped idols after the fashion of the pagans, and were accustomed to offer pernicious sacrifices with the Jews."[11]

The historian may have used as the foundation for this charge a knowledge that in the vicinity of Turin an Old Testament or Jewish theocracy had had its center. It is more likely that he was actuated by a spirit of venom against the heretics, and sought to discredit them by linking them up with pagans and Jews; Schmidt characterizes it as only "an invention."[12]

[11] "Colebant idola more paganorum; ac cum Judaeis inepta sacrificia litare nitebantur." Glab. Radulph., "Historia sui temporis" in Bouquet, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, x, 45.

[12] Schmidt, C., *Histoire et Doctrine de la Secte des Cathares ou Albigeois*, Paris, 1849, i, 23.

The heretics of Montfort accepted the Old Testament by the side of the New, in apparent contradistinction to the later Catharists, who rejected the Jewish canon.[13] Yet this doctrine did not stamp them as Judaizers; it placed them in the orthodox Christian group, or among the so-called "Absolute Dualists" of the Catharist movement, who were the oldest party in the movement and did not reject the Old Testament in its entirety. Girard's profession of monotheism appears to have been dictated not by any Judaic impulse, but rather by a desire to conceal his true belief in the dual nature of the Godhead. An effort to see in the Montfort heretics the precursors of the Passagii, a bona-fide Judaizing movement, finds little support in the evidence available. Though the followers of Girard were Lombards and at least in the eyes of their opponents were distinct from other sects,[14] any points of similarity are overshadowed by the fact that the Passagii as a distinct heretical party do not emerge until about 1163, over 130 years later than the Montfort group. A Judaizing current set in motion by Girard may have deepened and broadened sufficiently to give rise later to so systematized a heresy as that of the Passagii; but the radical difference in doctrine between the two groups argues against this affinity. The Judaic element in the heterodoxy of Girard seems to have been small, and to have been singled out only by reason of the polemical zeal of a strongly partisan Catholic historian.

f. JOHN "THE JEW:" THE CATHARIST BISHOP

An important item of evidence concerning the Jewish elements in the religious life of Lombardy and the growing Catharist movement is found in the appearance of an heretical Bishop, called: "John, the Jew."[15] This John was the successor to Marcus, Bishop of the Italian Catharists who formed, about the year 1150, a single diocese attached to the Bulgarian, or absolute dualist, party. It was during the Bishopric of John that the

[13] "Vetus ac novum Testamentum, ac Sanctos Canones quotidie legentes tenemus." Landulphus Senior, "Historia Mediolanensis," in Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, iv, 89.

[14] Monastir, *Historie de l'Eglise vaudoise*, i, 46.

[15] Vignier, *Historia ecclesiae sanctae*, Leyden, 1601, p. 268. Schmidt, i, 61-2, gives this citation, but furnishes little information concerning the career of John, the Jew. Doellinger, J. v., *Beitraege zur Sectengeschichte des Mittelalters*. Munich, 2 vols., 1890, also mentions him.

schism between the Bulgarian absolute dualists and the Dalmatian relative dualists was introduced into Italy. In 1167 Nicetas, Bishop of the absolute dualists in Constantinople, profiting by the cordial relations between the Italian Adriatic ports and the Greek Empire,[16] visited Lombardy to instruct his Occidental brethren in polemics against the Bulgarian order. Marcus, Bishop of the Italian absolute dualists who had been attracted by the doctrines of the relative dualists, placed himself under the tutelage of Nicetas, and accompanied him, together with his ministers, to the Council summoned by Nicetas at Saint-Felix de Caraman in the County of Toulouse; after he had accepted a renewal of his "Consolamentum," he re-entered the ancient Order of Tragurium.[17]

John, the Jew, was the successor to this Marcus. No mention is made of him among the participants in the Council of 1167; but it seems clear that he was an adherent of absolute dualist doctrines, in view of his succession to Marcus, who had repledged his allegiance to the order of Tragurium. Therefore an attempt to apply the appellation of: "Jew" to John as being the result of an endeavor on his part to soften the rigid dualism of the ancient Catharist Church in favor of a Jewish monotheism, must be discounted. Under his Bishopric efforts were made, not by John, but by his opponents, to give precedence in Italy to the Bulgarian order of mitigated or relative dualism, and it was those of the Italian Catharist Church who remained faithful to the old-time tradition, that retained John, the Jew, as their Bishop; while those who embraced the modified doctrine accepted as their Bishop a certain Peter the Lombard, of Florence.[18] The exact reason for the recurrence of this schism is not clear from the records: the fundamental cause no doubt lay in matters of belief, yet if John, the Bishop of the Orthodox group, was in reality a Jew, this fact may have furnished the immediate reason for the rapid rise and spread of mitigated dualism. Catharist

[16] Sismondi, J. C. L. S. de, *Histoire des républiques italiennes du moyen âge*, Paris, 1809, ii, 187.

[17] Bouquet, xiv, 448; Vignier, p. 268.

[18] On Peter Lombard, see *Acta SS.*, April, II, 595; May, V, 86, 87; Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, Venice, 1717, iv, 156 ff. He should not be confused with Peter Lombard of Paris, author of the *Sententiae;* nor with the Peter Lombard mentioned in a commercial transaction of the Jews of Toulouse, Dec. 8, 1207; cf. Saige, G., *Les Juifs du Languedoc*, p. 149.

dissenters may have been as unwilling to follow a leader of Jewish descent, even though converted, as, thirty years before many Cardinals and a whole party in Christendom refused to support Anacletus II, a Pope of Jewish origin. John quickly passes from sight after the growth of the schism; thereafter two Catharist orders reigned simultaneously in Italy, one attached to Tragurium and Albania, the other to Gorizia and Bulgaria.

The documents do not inform us why John was known as a Jew.[19] He may have been an apostate Jew who had first become a Christian and then a Catharist, or who accepted Catharism outright. He may have been of known Jewish descent, like Anacletus, though himself the offspring of professing members of the Church. Another surmise is that he may have been a Christian attracted first to Judaism and later to Catharism. He may have been either a forerunner or a surreptitious member of the Passagii, if we accept the hypothesis that the latter were known as Jews; the first official notice of this group in an ecclesiastical document, it is true, occurs in 1184; nevertheless it is plausible to believe that the forces which brought the Passagii into the public eye twenty years later were active in the days of John, the Jew; as a *sub rosa* participant therein, he may have given the Judaizing movement further impetus. Another hypothesis is that he may have acquired his title by reason of a protest against the accepted Catharist notion that the Mosaic writings were to be rejected as the work of a Demon. The absolute dualists included as canonical portions of the Old Testament, among them the Book of Job, the Psalms and the Prophets; John may have promoted this inclination, in response to an increasing public opinion in his locality, and championed a reacceptance of the Mosaic Law, either spiritually, or in some respects, literally, as the Passagii a few years later demanded. The interplay of opinion between the absolute and relative dualists concerning the status of the Old Testament may in part

[19] Various Christian Churchmen and Catharists contemporary with John, the Jew, bear his name. John, the Teuton, a member of the Amauricians, a Waldensian offshoot, was the author of a sermonic fragment. (Haureau, B., *Histoire de philosophie scolastique*, Paris, 1872-80, ii, 93.) A certain John was deacon at the Catharist seat of Montségur. (Peyrat, ii, 24, 29.) John of Lugio, or John of Bergame, the center of the Judaizing Passagii, cannot be identified with John the Jew, even though he stands as a modifier of stringent into relative dualism in the direction of a monotheistic Catharism. (Schmidt, ii, 52 ff.)

account for the contradictions in the viewpoint of the group to which John belonged. Whatever may be the origin of his name, John, the Jew, must be regarded as a symbol of a growing Jewish influence in current Christianity and an example of the attention devoted to Jewish life and individual Jews by non-Jews.

g. THE JEWISH ISSUE IN THE PAPAL SCHISM OF 1130

1. *The House of Pierleoni*

The major factor in the preparation for the appearance of a Judaizing heresy during the twelfth century was the election of Anacletus II, a member of the Jewish House of Pierleoni, to the Papal chair, in 1130. For several years the Christian world was agitated by a conflict between two rivals for the religious leadership: Anacletus and his opponent, Innocent II. The central issue in this warfare was that Anacletus belonged to a Jewish family which after its conversion had won for itself a prominent place in Italian Christendom. An ancestor of Anacletus, Baruch by name, had embraced Christianity, taking the name Benedictus Christianus, and had married a member of an old Roman aristocratic family.[20] His son, Leo de Benedicto, and his grandson, Petrus Leonis, who first used the name Pierleoni, were staunch defenders of the papal cause in the war against the imperial party; Pope Urban II took refuge in their castle at the entrance to the Ghetto, near the bridge leading to the Tiber Island, and there in 1099 he died. Leo's son, Petrus Leonis (died 1128) before the coronation of Emperor Henry V in 1110 conducted the negotiations with the latter concerning the Investiture. Petrus Leonis had vainly sought to gain the post of City Prefect for one of his sons, but he was successful in marrying one of his daughters to King Roger II of Sicily.[21] In the light of Roger's marriage to the granddaughter of a converted Jew, his relations with Jews as merchants, as subjects of his conversionary zeal,

[20] Baronius, *Annales*, ad an. 1111, n. 3.

[21] "(Rogerius) filiam Petri Leonis, sororem Anacleti pontificis, uxorem duxit et ab eodem coronatus, regium stemma nunc gerit." Ordericus Vitalis: "Hist. eccles.", 3:13, 5, in Migne, 188:938. See Erler, 48:386-390, for a detailed account of the Anacletus episode.

and as alleged usurers, have a special interest.[22] It is not surprising to learn that, according to report, a court favorite of Roger became a secret Mohammedan and a great patron of the Jews; it was reported that he visited their synagogues frequently and furnished them with oil for their lamps and with other necessities.[23] In the later years of his life (he died in 1154), Roger sought to convert Saracens and Jews, and rewarded richly any convert.[24] It appears, however, that during his reign, coincident with the growth of pro-Jewish tendencies in Northern Italy, numerous conversions to both Mohammedanism and Judaism occurred: Roger ordained severe laws against apostates from Christianity, threatening them with the loss of their property, their birthright and other rights; Frederic II accepted these laws for his Constitutions and repeated them with additional severities.[25]

2. *Anacletus, the "Jewish Pope"*

These and other Judaizing tendencies are intimately bound up with the career of the Pierleoni family and particularly of Anacletus. The latter was another son of Petrus Leonis who also was named Petrus; he first became a Monk at Clugny, then, through the activity of his father, Cardinal; and finally, in 1130, after his father's death, he was chosen as Pope.[26] This was the signal for a split in the ranks of Christendom, one party, with its headquarters at Rome being the advocates of Anacletus, the other being a German-French alliance with its chief supporters

[22] After his conquest of Corfu, Cephalonia and a part of Morea in 1146, Roger invited the local Jewish populations to Sicily, because he recognized their skill as traders and silk-weavers; "Annales Cavenses" in *Mon. Germ. Script.*, 3:192; Muratori, *Script.*, 7:925. A decree against the practice of usury, emanating perhaps from Roger or William II and accepted into the Laws of Frederic II seems to have been directed particularly against the Jews; Const. 1:6, in Carcani: *Constitutiones regum regni utriusque Siciliae*, Naples, 1786, p. 7; Huillard-Bréholles: *Historia diplomatica Frederici II.*, Paris, 1852-61, 4:10.

[23] Romualdi Salernitani, "Chronicon" in Muratori, *Script.*, 7:194. Romuald was Archbishop of Salerno (1158-1181).

[24] *Ibid.*, 7:196.

[25] Const. 1:3, in Carcani, *op. cit.*, p. 6; Huillard-Bréholles, *op. cit.*, 4:8; 5:206, 216; Boehmer-Ficker: *Regesta Imperii V, 1*, Innsbruck, 1881, 2365.

[26] "Chronicon Mauriniacense" in Duchesne: *Historiae Francorum scriptores*, Paris, 1636-49, 4:376; Migne, 182:34; Gregorovius, F., *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*, Stuttgart, 1859-72, iv:346 ff., 391 ff.

the Emperor Lothair and Bernard of Clairvaux, who headed a movement on behalf of the Anti-Pope Innocent II. In the ranks of Innocent's adherents were to be numbered the entire European royalty of the time, the Councils of Rheims and Pisa, and the majority of the Roman Catholic clergy; the brother-in-law of Anacletus, Roger of Sicily, and the Duke of Aquitania were the leading supporters of the Roman nobles in their efforts to sustain the authority of the so-called "Jewish Pope."

For it is indubitable that the burden of accusation against Anacletus lay in his Jewish descent. If so recent a writer as Voltaire could not forgive him his Jewish ancestry, how much the less his contemporary opponents. They placed great stress upon the survival of Jewish characteristics in Anacletus himself and his family; thus, the Pope was said to possess a strongly Hebraic physiognomy; his family were accused of practicing usury, and of bribing the Roman nobility to uphold the claims of Anacletus. Nothing was spared in the denunciations his foes heaped upon him: Arnulf, Archdeacon of Lagi and later Bishop of Liseux, and Bishop Meinfredus of Mantua painted him as a Jew and worse than a Jew.[27] Ordericus Vitalis reports in his account of the Rheims Synod (1119), that Petrus, the father of Anacletus, was hated because of his usurious dealings, and that a brother of the Pope was deformed, looking more like a Jew than a Christian.[28] Archbishop Walter of Ravenna stigmatized the schism of Anacletus as a "heresy of Jewish perfidy,"[29] a term

[27] "In Girardum ep. Englolismensem invectiva sive de schismate orto post Honorii II Papae decessum" (Chapter 3 ff.): "Cujus avus (Leo), cum inaestimabilem pecuniam multiplici corrogasset usura, susceptam circumcisionem Baptismatis unda damnavit . . . . Cumque ipsi numerosam progeniem series successionis afferret, dum genus et formam regina pecunia donat, alternis matrimoniis omnes sibi nobiles civitatis adscivit, machinante jam humani generis hoste, ut quasi quodam veteri fermento tota Romanae sinceritatis conspersio corrumperetur. Ex hac itaque diversorum generum mixtura, Girarde, Petrus iste tuus exortus est, qui et judaicam facie repraesentat imaginem et perfidiam voto referat et affectu . . . jam nec Judaeus quidem, sed Judaeo deterior . . . Infidelis universitas illa, quam sequeris. Petri Loenis est, nondum fermento judaicae corruptionis penitus expiata." For other charges against Anacletus, see Muratori, *Script.* iii, 1:423 ff.; *Mon. Germ. Script.* 12:711; "Epist. Mantuensis episcopi ad Lotharium," Neugart: "Codex diplom. Alemanniae," ii, 63, 64, dipl. 849, in Jaffé: *Gech. des deut. Reiches unter Lothar d. Sachsen*, Berlin, 1843, p. 89.

[28] "Hist. eccl." 3:12, 10, in Migne 188:878.

[29] Udalrici, "Bamberg. codex" in Jaffé: *Mon. Bambergensia*, Berlin, 1869, p. 424.

which might well have been applied to the Judaizing Passagii a half century later. Bernard of Clairvaux, destined to play an important role in the warfare against rising heretical movements in Provence in 1146, poured forth his indignation upon Anacletus, the despoiler, in company with his followers, of all the churches, altars and sacred ecclesiastical objects in Rome; the repute of Anacletus even among his friends, wrote Bernard to the Emperor Lothair was low, whereas Innocent II was above any suspicion; it was "to the shame of Christ that a Jewish offspring had come to occupy the chair of Saint Peter."[30] The contemporary biographer of Bernard of Clairvaux, the Abbot Ernald, reported that Anacletus as Cardinal and Legate had amassed untold riches; that these together with his patrimony, he had distributed among the people; that later he had robbed churches of their valuables for further distribution. When even evil Christians had refused to destroy chalices and golden crucifixes, Anacletus summoned Jews for this purpose, and they zealously shattered the holy vessels and pictures; by means of the gold secured from the sale of these objects, Anacletus, it was reported, was able to persecute the followers of Innocent II, his rival.[31] Anselm, Abbot of Gembloux,[32] Bishop Hubert of Lucca,[33] and Andreas Dandolo, the Venetian Doge and historian, bring similar[34] testimony against Anacletus, omitting no adjectives of calumny to describe him.

The Papal party which supported Innocent II found a clue for their attacks in the words of their leader to the Emperor Lothair, May 11, 1130, styling Anacletus "Anti-Christ"; his Cardinals confirmed this opinion to the Emperor.[35] In a letter to the Archbishop of Rouen, October 6, 1131, Innocent called the usur-

[30] "Ut enim constat, Judaicam sobolem sedem Petri in Christi occupasse injuriam . . " Ep. 139, 126, 127, 244, in Migne: 182:294, 280, 282, 439.

[31] "S. Bernardi vita," 1. 2, c. 1, in Migne, 185:269, 292 ff.

[32] "Anselmi Gemblacensis continuatio" (of the Chronicle of Sigebert), in *Mon. Germ. Script.*, 6:375.

[33] Udalrici, "Bamberg. codex" in Jaffé: *Mon. Bamb.*, p. 426.

[34] "Chronicon Ventem" in Muratori, *Script.*, 12:277; see also the Lives of Popes by the noted Bernard Gui, Pandulphus Pisanus and Cardinalis Aragoniae, in Muratori, *Script.*, iii, 1, p. 433 ff.

[35] "Innocentii II. Papae Epist. et Privilegia" in Migne 179:55 ff. Udalrici, *op. cit.*, p. 428, 430. Walter of Ravenna in a letter to Norbert, Archbishop of Magdeburg, writes in similar vein; *ibid.*, p. 426. See also the "Chronic. Maurin." in Migne, 182:35.

pation of Anacletus "an insane Jewish perfidy."[36] The position of the "Judaeo-Pontifex" was successfully maintained by him until his death January 25, 1138, when Innocent II secured supreme sway in Christendom.

3. *The Schism of 1130 and Contemporary Jewry*

The schism of 1130 made a profound imprint on Jewish life and thought of the time. According to Christian writers, the Jews held their heads high because of the selection of one of their number, even though an apostate, to the highest office in Christendom; Innocent II refers to this in his letter to Emperor Lothair:

> The Church with divine foresight has chosen and appointed you, like a second Justinian, as a Law-giver, and like a second Constantine against the unbelief of the Jews, and their heretical impiety.[37]

Though the charge that Jews assisted the Pope in robbing churches was undoubtedly a calumny, it is quite probable that they sided with Anacletus in the controversy with Innocent II. The interests of their own safety in Rome, where his sovereignty was unquestioned, must have prompted them to adopt a policy of obedience to Anacletus; there is evidence also that the latter was friendly and liberal in his treatment of them. The cold response with which Innocent greeted the Jewish delegation on his entrance into Rome warrants the assumption that he was well aware of their former allegiance. By contrast, Gregorovius pictures, not without a trace of irony, the attitude of the Jews on the coronation of Anacletus:

> Among the tumultuous processions of homage which he held, our glance might have discovered the Jewish Synagogue, erected on the site of the fabled Palace of Chronatius, the Rabbi with the great, veiled Roll of the Law at their head; we may well imagine that the Children of Israel had never yet greeted a Pope with such sincere hymns of malignant congratulation, or with so many curses.[38]

Additional evidence concerning the profound imprint made by the career of Anacletus upon Jewish minds is found in the copious

[36] "Judaicae perfidiae furorem," Jaffé, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum*, Berlin, 1851, Reg. 5370.

[37] Schlosser and Bercht, "Archiv II." p. 370, in Jaffé, *Geschichte des deut. Reichs*, p. 118

[38] *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, iv:400.

literature on the mythical Jewish Pope, called in Jewish legend Andreas or Elchanan.[39] It is entirely plausible that the elevation to power of a member of a formerly Jewish family gave impetus to the activity of local Italian Jewish communities, and to a vigorous assertion of their own traditions and opinions.[40] There is no ground for the supposition that all the opponents of Anacletus used the threat of Jewish control as a pretext for inciting the fanaticism of the masses: both Bernard of Clairvaux and the rulers of France and Germany, even though partisans of Innocent II, condemned the persecution of Jews.

4. *The Fate of the Pierleoni Family*

A word may now be said concerning the destiny of the Pierleoni family after the death of Anacletus. It was not long before the brothers of the deceased Pope came to terms with Innocent; appeasing him by the judicious use of their wealth,[41] they continued to exercise a prominent influence in the warfare between the Guelfs and Ghibellines. Together with the Frangepani, the Pierleoni became the staunchest supporters of Pope Alexander III, and it is not too much to affirm that the Jewish sympathies of this pontiff were to be traced to their suggestion. Their rank constantly improved, by favorable marriages and the increase of their wealth, and the highest officials of Christendom boasted of their friendship. "Even the Austrian Emperors were honored to profess relationship to the Pierleoni, until, full of dismay, they discovered that under these circumstances they would have to seek their ancestors in the Ghetto of Rome."[42]

[39] Enelow, H. G., "Anacletus" *JE*, i, 550-1; 578-80 on "Andreas;" Handler, G. H., *Elchanan, the legend of a Jewish Pope*, London, 1910. Guedemann, pp. 79 ff.

[40] For further material concerning Anacletus, see Vogelstein and Rieger, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, Berlin, 1895-6, i, 214 ff., *et passim;* Zoepffel, *Die Doppelwahl des Jahres 1130*, Goettingen, 1871, with extensive bibliography.

[41] Petrus Diaconus, "Chronicon Casinense," 1. 4, c. 129, in Migne 173:978.

[42] Gregorovius, *op. cit.*, 4:395. See also his comments concerning an early member of the family, *ibid.*, p. 393. (Leo) "allied himself in marriage with the Roman nobility, who eagerly sought the golden daughters of Israel for their sons, or betrothed their own daughters to baptised Jewish progeny." This Leo, whose baptismal godfather had been Pope Leo IX, had left Rome with Pope Gelasius II, and played a significant role in the election of Calixtus II (1119-24). Leo was appointed head of the Papal Legation to France in 1123, and fulfilled several important ecclesiastical missions, presiding also at the Councils of Chartres and Beauvais.

5. *The Anacletan Schism and the Rise of Heresy*

The Anacletan schism must be regarded as one of the major causes responsible for the growth of heresy in general during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and for the rise of the Judaizing Passagii in particular. The decrease in veneration for the Pope aided in creating the atmosphere for movements which challenged his authority and the power of the Church he headed.[43] By the same token, Christian and Jewish agitation concerning the question of the Pope's Jewish descent focussed the attention of the age upon the Jewish group and Judaism, especially in the regions where the schismatic controversy was at its height. Several Church historians have traced the Judaizing heresy of Lombardy and Provence to the schism of 1130. Gieseler[44] is one who points to a note quoted from Landulph's *History of Milan* as evidence that the Passagii took their origin from the pro-Anacletan party. The Milanese historian mentions the excommunication in 1133 by the Archbishop of Milan levied against the opponents of the Emperor Conrad and the Pope Anacletus:

> By reason of this excommunication, the circumcised ignore Christ, the son of the Virgin, and a very large party of the Quirites and Lombards esteem less the author of divine and human law.[45]

This note indicates that the Archbishop of Milan sided with the Jewish Pope and his imperial protector against Innocent and Lothair. Landulph, viewing the later rise of the Passagii, inclines to the opinion that they gained courage for their Judaizing propaganda from this ecclesiastical disapproval of the enemies of Anacletus, the Jew. It is difficult correctly to estimate the role of this excommunciation in the growth of Lombard heretical movements; there is no doubt, however, that it contributed to the momentum the pro-Jewish party had already acquired.[46] Whatever may be the chronological sequence of events and influences emanating from the Anacletan schism to the Passagian heresy, the appearance of a genuine Judaizing movement in Italian and Southern French Christianity cannot be denied. To this sect, we may now devote our attention.

[43] Schmidt, *Histoire des Cathares*, i, 60.

[44] Gieseler, J. C. L., *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, Bonn, 1824, ii, 2, 563, 34.

[45] Muratori, *Script.*, v, f. 513. "Ex cujus excommunicationis radice circumcisi Christum filium Virginis ignorant, et maxima pars Quiritum et Longobardorum auctorem divinae et humanae legis minime amant." See also Hahn, *Geschichte der Ketzer*, iii:6-7.

[46] Neander, *Kirchengeschichte*, Hamburg, 1826, v, 2, pp. 796-7, seems to attribute importance to the remark of Landulph; Zoeckler, article in *Real-Encyclopedie*, Leipzig, 1904, pp. 705-6 doubts its value.

2. The Passagii

The sect of the Passagii represents in most obvious and tangible form the Judaizing aspects of heterodox movements in Christendom during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. At the very moment when the Catholic Church seemed to be firmly intrenched, vigorous movements of dissent arose to challenge its authority. A cluster of sects appeared during the twelfth century which persisted in spite of all efforts to uproot them. About the major heresies of the age, namely the Waldensian and Catharist, a mass of minor groups congregated; among these were the Patarenes, the Petrobrussians, the Arnaldists, the Speronists, the Joseppini, Siscidentes, Runcarii, Poor Men of Lyons, and numerous other sectarian units which proved a source of constant irritation to the ecclesiastical authorities. Each sought to break away from the overlordship of the Church and to express religious concepts through untried and original forms. Among these nonconformist parties, the Passagii take an important place. The evidence concerning the doctrines practices, name, locality and career of the sect is relatively small.[1] Sufficient data exist, however, to indicate the strong Jewish elements in its system and life. Before, however, we can assign the Passagii to any particular category among the heretical movements of the time, a survey of their tenets and observances must engage our attention.

a. Doctrines of the Passagii

1. *Concerning the Mosaic Law*

The fundamental doctrine of the Passagii was that the Mosaic Law should be literally observed. In this attachment to the legal and ceremonial precepts of the Pentateuchal Code, they

[1] Tocco, *L'eresia nel medio evo*, Florence, 1884, p. 143. See Appendix to this chapter for a summary of the source and bibliographical material. The activities of the Passagii sprang directly out of the religious life of their period and hence the group has many points of association with contemporary movements.

have an affinity with the Judaizers of early Christianity and with all Judaic groups in Christendom which have sought to preserve literalism in Old Testament exegesis. They are herein opposed to the Catharist heretics, contemporaneous with them, who professed with respect to the validity of the Old Testament, a belief completely at variance with the views of the Judaizing sect. By the Catharists, the Mosaic Law was viewed as the revelation of the Evil God, of Satan, who in their eyes was identical with the God of the Jews; though they accepted several portions of the Jewish Scriptures, they did so only in accordance with their own particular mode of exegesis; the Pentateuch and all Jewish ritualistic injunctions were rigorously banned. In this hostility to the Mosaic Law the Catharists were carrying to extremes the traditional attitude of orthodox Christendom which called for a "spiritual" rather than a literal interpretation of Old Testament laws.

The Passagii, in opposing both the conventional Christian and the heterodox viewpoint, and in thus returning to the minute exactions of the Deuteronomic and Levitical codes, may have been prompted by the same spirit of protest and reaction which in the early days of Marcionism had produced the philo-Jewish Clementine Homilies. Anti-Mosaic radicalism when carried to excess has often produced a strong counter-current of philo-Mosaism; the Passagii proved no exception to the rule. In the eyes of Churchmen during the heretic centuries, the "enigmatic Passagii" had introduced a "return to Jewish ritualism and Pharisaic observance,"[2] and thereby placed themselves in the category of Mosaic Judaizers who in every period of religious storm and stress have made their appearance in Christendom.

According to the testimony of Bonacursus, the Passagii believed that the Law of Moses ought be observed to the letter, that the Sabbath, circumcision and other prescriptions of the Code had retained their full authority.[3] This evidence is confirmed by the words of Gregory of Bergame, who adds "in solennibus," referring no doubt to the detailed regulations of

[2] Alphandery, *Les Idées Morales*, Paris, 1903, p. 197.

[3] D'Achery, i, f. 211: "In primis enim dicunt quod Mosaica lex sit ad litteram observanda, et quod Sabbatum et Circumcisio et aliae legales observantiae adhuc habere statum debeant." Muratori, f. 152: "Vetus testamentum esse observandum in solennibus et in Circumcisione, et in ciborum perceptione, et in aliis fere omnibus, exceptis in sacrificiis."

Jewish ceremonialism concerning the Holy Days and solemn festivals; "in ciborum perceptione" refers to the dietary laws; "exceptis in sacrificiis," sacrifices alone being excepted from the legalistic obligations of the Passagii, a fact which points to specific Rabbinical influence. Further light may be found in a sentence drawn from a document of the Inquisition in Carcassone, Provence, wherein "the articles in which the modern heretics" erred, are mentioned.[4] Heretics are described who urge that "the law of the Jews is better than the law of the Christians;"[5] but it is difficult to say whether this statement bears directly on the Passagii in Northern Italy, or refers to a sect or a group of individuals in Languedoc. The "memoire" of the Inquisition, according to Schmidt (ii, 4), contains a mélange of contradictory assertions by Waldensians, Catharists, "and even Jews;" Schmidt seems to imply that the article concerning the alleged superiority of the Old Testament over the Christian dispensation, and the line concerning heretics who defend the practice of usury,[6] apply not to Christian heretics or Judaizers, but to Jews. Though he has given much attention to the Passagii elsewhere, Schmidt ignores them in his consideration of these two pregnant sentences. If these "articles" point to the Passagii, we may infer that information concerning their doctrines had reached the Inquisition at Carcassonne even so late as the latter half of the thirteenth century, when the sect had begun gradually to disappear; on the other hand, the Inquisitors, in the light of a reference to the "Circumcisi" in Papal Bulls may have invented the accusation, though this does not appear likely; a third hypothesis is that the heresy of the Passagii may have spread to Southern France, perhaps to Doubs, where in the thirteenth century a strong Judaizing tendency arose among the population; the Albigensians themselves may have imitated in some respects the doctrines of the Passagii, knowledge of whom came to them either by

[4] "Isti sunt articuli in quibus errant moderni haeretici." Vassaitte, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, Toulouse, ed. 1879, III, 983-4, 985-6; VIII, Preuves 311-CCXVI.

[5] "Dicunt quod lex Judaeorum melior est quam lex Christianorum." This is quoted by Graetz, *Geschichte*, vi, 217; English Edition, iii, 402, 517, and by Abrahams, Israel, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, Philadelphia, 1895; ed. 1917, pp. 401-2, as proof that the Albigensian movement was stimulated by the association of heretics with learned Jews.

[6] "Dicunt quod tradere ad usuram, ratione termini, non est peccatum aliquod." Vaissette, *loc. cit.*, no. 7.

hearsay or through reports of the Inquisition. An important suggestion concerning the significance of the "article" in the record of the Inquisition is advanced by Hahn (i, 158-9). In a description of the Catharist view that the Old Testament should be rejected as the work of the Evil God, he mentions the opinion of Lucas of Tuy, who affirmed that the Catharists accepted Holy Scripture not according to the letter, but according to the inner meaning; this principle, however, did not apply to the Old Testament, as Lucas states, inasmuch as it would be contrary to the entire Catharist system; it must be understood, as he describes it, as characteristic of only a part of the sect.[7] To the remarks of Lucas, Hahn appends the assertion of the Inquisition, and interprets the phrase "lex Christianorum" to mean "without doubt the ecclesiastical laws and institutions."[8] Whether the phrase applies to the New Testament or to Church traditions is not so important as the fact that there existed a group of heretics who believed in the superiority of the "Jewish law," interpreted either as the Mosaic Code, or Jewish ecclesiastical and Rabbinical institutions. Thus it appears that these statements concerning the attitude of the Passagii and allied Judaic groups define their viewpoint only towards the relationship of Christian and Jewish Law. No mention is specifically made of the status of Catharist anti-Mosaism in comparison with Christian acceptance of the Old Testament and with Jewish philo-Mosaism. This may indicate, by the side of other data, that the Passagii were an anti-sacredotal, anti-Catholic Judaizing party, entirely without association with the Catharist movement.

2. *Concerning the Sabbath*

The insistence by the Passagii upon the literal observance of the Sabbath commandment reflects the strong Sabbatarian in-

[7] Lucas Tudens., in *Max. Bibl.*, xxv, f. 241: "Item haeretici quidam dicunt: Verum est, quod continetur in novo et veteri testamento, si intelligitur secundum mysticum intellectum: ad literam autem nulla sunt omnia, quae continentur in eis. Quia quod legitur de Christo, quod coecos illuminaverit et alia signa fecerit, de illis intelligendum est, qui erant in peccato et detinebantur mentis, non corporis coecitate."

[8] "Hieher gehoert die Behauptung in dem Reg. Inq. Carc. a. a. O. f. 372. 'Dicunt quod lex Judaeorum melior est quam lex Christianorum,' wo ohne Zweifel unter dem letzteren die kirchlichen Gesetze und Einrichtumgen zu verstehen sind." Hahn, i, 159.

fluence in the Christian Church from its earliest beginnings to the present day. During the epoch of the Passagii, so-called "ecclesiastical Sabbatarianism," namely, a rigorous and minute observance in "Jewish fashion" not of Saturday, but of the Sunday Sabbath, had become firmly ingrained in Catholic life. The application of this Sabbatarian precisianism by the Judaic Passagii may have come not through the transfer of the "Jewish" method of celebrating the Sabbath from the first to the seventh day, but from the belief that Mosaism in its entirety, including seventh-day Sabbatarianism, was binding upon all Christians, a principle fulfilled later by the Sabbatarians of Hungary and other lands.[9] In what manner the Passagii celebrated the Sabbath is unknown; whether they independently imitated Jewish practices, or joined with Jews in their synagogues, cannot be determined.

The Sabbatarian inclinations of the Passagii drew forth vigorous rebuttal from Christian apologists. Bonacursus directs against them texts which, interestingly enough, were employed by Christian controversialists in disputes with Jews themselves.[10] This identity of apologetical method used against Jews and Christian Judaizers is indicative of the desire of the Church to force these dissenters into the Jewish camp, so that eventually, as in the case of the Hungarian, Moravian and Russian Judaizers, they might become indubitably and completely Jews.[11]

[9] Concurrently with the Passagii, the sect of Insabbatati flourished; if we accept the view that they were "non-Sabbath observers," then they have a place in our discussion of this precept observed by the Judaizers; if, however, we designate them as "Sandalled Heretics," they do not deserve consideration in our treatment of the problem; as anti-Sabbatarians they may have been the reflex and counterpart of the Passagii. Inasmuch as the second interpretation of their name is more probable, they have no further interest for us here.

[10] In argument against the literal observance of the Mosaic Law, the following passages were quoted: Matt. 7:12; Luke 16:16; Rom. 6:14; 7:1 ff.; 10:3, 4; 13:8; II Cor. 5:17; 3:6; Gal. 3:19, 24; 5:14, 18; I Tim. 1:8 ff.; Heb. 7:12, 18; 8:8 ff., 13. In argument against the literal observance of the Sabbath, Bonacursus refers to John 5:10 ff., Col. 2:16; Ex. 16:4.

[11] Sufficient evidence is not at hand to show whether the Passagii in answer to their Christian opponents made use of arguments and texts employed by Jewish scholars in public and written controversies with Christians. See Hahn, iii, 67:8, where he mentions the arguments of several Christian apologists against the literal observance of the Sabbath by Jews: Petr. Ven. in *Max. Bibl.*, xxii, f. 1012; *Tract. anon.*, in Martene, v, f. 1515; *Rab. Maur. adv. Jud.*, in Martene, v, f. 470. See also below, for annotations of Jewish polemical writings law by law. Whenever Bonacursus discusses a passage of the Old Testament which enjoins the observance of the Seventh Day, he seeks to discard its legalistic character and transform it into an allegorical or spiritual injunction.

3. *Concerning the Dietary Laws*

The length to which the Passagii carried their acceptance of the Jewish law may be perceived in their attachment to Mosaic dietary regulations. In the dualist Catharist church, rigorous rules concerning the use of food by the "perfects," or the pietists of the movement, had been devised. According to strict Catharist doctrine, the use of meat, eggs, milk and of everything, except fish, which was the result of animal propagation, was prohibited. The reasons for this abstention were manifold: God had cursed the animals; flesh springs from impurity; Jesus and the saints had abstained from meat; Paul's testimony, wrenched from its context, was also quoted. The Catharists referred to the word of Peter as evidence: "Lord, I have not as yet eaten anything common or unclean," but Moneta, the Inquisitor, who informs us that from this text the heretics deduced the view that all four-footed creatures and all birds are forbidden as food, takes his words as proof that Peter *judaized*, that is, judged certain foods, according to Jewish custom, as illicit and prohibited.[12] Thus the general inclination of Catharists to separate between permitted and forbidden foods may be designated as "Judaic;" the sanctions for their custom differed profoundly from the justifications furnished by Jews for their own particular practice, yet the principle remained the same; in like manner, during the sixteenth century, the Catholic practice of distinguishing between fit and unfit foods at certain seasons of the year elicited from Zwingli and his contemporaries the remark that the Church imitated the Jews therein. The statement by Moneta that Peter, upon whose testimony the Catharists in part relied for the sanction of their custom, judaized, leads to the supposition that Churchmen regarded this tendency on the part of the heretics as Judaic in theory if not in form.

While this observation, similar to what we have said concerning the Judaic principle of "ecclesiastical sabbatarianism," must not be pressed too far, no doubt can be raised concerning the truly Jewish motive and nature in the attitude of the Passagii towards the dietary laws. Many questions arise, it is true, concerning the precise character of their observance: Did they

[12] Moneta, f. 138-141. See Bonacursus, *Spicileg.*, i, 214, cap. V. "Quod sit morticinum, et quod quaedam in lege per significationem ad usum sunt prohibita."

learn the custom from the Jews? Were they in touch with Jewish communities from which they secured their ritually fit meat? Did they possess their own ritual slaughterers? Or was the acceptance of the rite merely theoretical, and unobserved practically? Would the Jews eat at the same table with the Passagii, or did they hold the Judaizers in suspicion as incomplete Jews? Did the Passagii possess the "Certificate of Judaization" which the Inquisition affirmed all converts to Judaism carried with them, or was this "Certificate" fictitious? Other questions of similar character may be urged for a closer definition of the nature of Passagian practice; lack of information from original sources, however, prevents any response. Comparisons with similar phenomena under similar conditions in other periods of Church history may be made, but except for their hypothetical value, they give us little insight into the life and habits of these medieval heretics.

4. *Concerning Circumcision*

The attitude of the Passagii towards circumcision, however, furnishes us with information, founded upon textual evidence, concerning their system; in their adherence to this Jewish practice, they placed themselves definitely outside the pale of orthodox Christianity. In early Apostolic days, the Paulinian party separated itself sharply from the Petrine Judaizing group by reason of the latter's defense of the rite of circumcision as incumbent upon all converts from heathendom to Judaism. Except for sporadic recurrences, the practice of circumcision disappeared in the Western Church; in the East, however, it maintained itself among the Churches of Abyssinia, Armenia and Egypt. In the Middle Ages, the Passagii revived it; after the Reformation, various Christian sectaries, among them the Sabbatarians and the followers of Joanna Southcott in England, adopted the Abrahamitic rite. The Passagii appear to have included the obligation of circumcision within the Mosaic law; it is not known whether they distinguished it definitely as a pre-Mosaic institution as well. Bonacursus testifies that the Passagii urged that the Mosaic Law *ought* to be observed; this may be a sign of their theoretical rather than practical attachment to Jewish observances, among them the Sabbath, circumcision and other legal provisions which *ought* have continuous

validity. Gregory of Bergame mentions that according to the Passagii the "Old Testament," a term more inclusive than the Mosaic Law, ought be observed. From these indications, then, it may well be that the Judaizers understood both the pre-Mosaic and extra-Mosaic nature of the ordinance of circumcision.

The laws of Frederic II include the "Circumcisi" among the heretical sects of the day, condemned by the Church. The identification of these "Circumcisi" with the Passagii cannot be questioned, though doubt has been expressed concerning the correct reading of the document: it has been suggested that in the 1238-9 edition of the laws, the comma placed in the text between the words: "circumcisos" and "passaginos" be omitted; the two terms thus united would give the translation: "the circumcised Passagii." But it is true that as early as 1133, the name "Circumcisi" occurs in the excommunication by Archbishop Anselm issued against the opponents of the Jewish-born Pope Anacletus and his Imperial patron, Conrad; the phrase in this connection refers not to the Passagii, who do not appear to be active until several years later, but to the pro-Anacletus party, which by reason of the Jewish descent of its candidate, was satirically called: "The Circumcised." But it is easy to understand why the name: "The Circumcised" might have been given by Christians to the Passagii as well; this title may have been more customary in Christian circles; hence in 1238, an editor, desiring to make clear the exact significance of the word "circumcisi," or wishing to insert a name current at the moment, added the word: "Passagii" to the text, in the nature of a gloss.[13] On the other hand, it may be that the editor, finding the name: "Passagii," and desiring to define it correctly, inserted before it the word "circumcisi" in order to establish the true identity of the sect.

The material offered by Lucas of Tuy concerning the heretics of his day has also been taken to refer to the Passagii. He speaks of those "who circumcise themselves and come to Christians under the guise of Jews for the purpose of disputation, and propose heretical questions."[14] Schmidt (ii, 294) accepts this reference as applicable to the Passagii; Molinier rejects it, and Alphandery (p. 168) accepts Molinier's conclusions. The Spanish

[13] Todd, *The Books of the Vaudois*, p. 107.

[14] p. 159: "circumciduntur et sub specie Judaeorum quasi gratia disputandi ad Christianos veniunt, et haereticas questiones proponunt."

churchman may have had in mind the Albigensian heretics in Southern France, some of whom Judaized; he may, on the other hand, have heard of the Passagii by report; moreover, he may refer to an Italian and Provence wing of the same Judaizing movement. To whom specifically Lucas of Tuy, then, intended his statement to point, we cannot determine; we are convinced, however, that at this period a Judaizing movement was abroad, news of which had penetrated from the lands of heresy to orthodox Spain.

The name "circumcisi" has been interpreted by several investigators in the sense of "all-holy," derived from the Greek: "pantos agioi" (παντως αγιοι); this view has been championed in particular by the author of a Dissertation on the "Circumcisi" of the thirteenth century, extant in the library of Bremen.[15] In the light of the well-established fact, however, that the Passagii did observe, or at least urge the observance of the practice of circumcision, this interpretation does not carry conviction. The Archives of the Inquisition at Carcassonne in Southern France afford proof that heretics during this period followed the Abrahamitic rite. Among the questions asked the prisoner, either a Jew or a relapsed Jewish convert, was the following: "In what manner do Jews circumcise Christians otherwise than themselves?"[16] In an anonymous tractate concerning the Pauvres de Lyon, wrongly attributed to Étienne de Bourbon in the thirteenth century, occurs a further reference on this point which throws light upon the question:

> Concerning the Circumcision of Judaizing Christians. Note that the Jews circumcise their own boys differently from their method with our adult Christians when the latter judaize; inasmuch as they cut only a half-circle on top in their skin, rather than an entire circle as they do in the case of their own male infants.[17]

[15] *Dissertatio rationem nominis Circumcisorum, qui sec. XIII haeretici fuerant, investig.*, in *Bibl. Bremensi nova classis quintae, fasciculo secundo.* Hahn, iii, 2-3 has noted this work; Molinier has passed over it in silence. See also Fueslin, *Kirchen und Ketzergeschichte der mittlerenzeit*, Leipzig, 1772, i, 47

[16] "Quomodo circumcidunt Christianos aliter quam suos?" "Interrogatoria ad Judaeos." Vaissette, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, viii, Preuves to vol. iii, c. 987-88. Gui, B., *Practica*, p. 289.

[17] "Anony. tract. de haeres. pauper. de Lugd.," in Martene, v, c. 1794: "De circumcisione Christianorum judaizantium. Nota quod Judaei aliter circumcidunt pueros et aliter Christinaos nostros adultos quando judaizant, quia scindunt eis pellem desuper semiplene, non totum circulum sicut in pueris

Pegna, a commentator on Eymerich, compiler of the *Directorium Inquisitorum*, remarks that he had questioned at Rome both Jews and apostates, among them noted Rabbis; all of them had affirmed to him that they knew of no such practice; moreover, those who were circumcised in this special fashion would not be reputed as Jews.[18] This does not imply, however, that in some localities, particular *minhagim*, or local customs, concerning the reception of Christian converts into the Jewish fold, did not obtain.[19] On the other hand, the statement of Christian polemical writers, among them members of the tribunal of the Inquisition, that special treatment was provided for Christian converts, may have been pure figment of the imagination; they were often guilty of manufacturing fantastic accusations against heretics and Jews.

It is doubtful whether the passage in the "Interrogations" and the "Anonymous Tractate" refers directly to the practice of the Passagii. The Inquisitors may have devised a chart for the examination of Jewish, Rejudaizing or Christian Judaizing prisoners, by listing all the questions they desired to ask the accused; in this task, they may have been aided by a Jewish apostate, whose zeal to compromise his former brethren or a philo-Jewish Christian oftentimes outstripped that of his Christian associates. The reference in the document does not appear to concern a Judaizing sect; it applies to Christians who were accepted into Judaism by Jews after submitting to certain initiatory rites. The list of questions may have been drawn up with the assistance of an Inquisitor who had gained his experience in Italy where he had come into contact with or had heard of the Passagii. There does not seem here to be any organized Judaiz-

suis faciunt." Israel Levi, *Les Juifs et l'Inquisition dans la France Meridionale*, Paris, 1891, p. 11, includes this portion in the "Interrogatoria" of the Inquisition immediately after the question mentioned above, on the methods of circumcision. Gui, pp. 289-90 also includes this portion among the "Interrogatoria," with slight variations of text.

[18] Pegna, p. 94, commentary on Eymerich, *Directorium inquisitorum*, Rome, 1578; Levi, *op, cit.*, p. 11, note 1.

[19] Jewish evidence concerning the circumcision of Christian converts during the Middle Ages is almost nil. For a 12th century work on circumcision by Rabbi Jacob Ha-Gozer, see Glassberg, A. J., *Zikhron Berith ha-Rishonim, Die rituelle Circumcision*, Cracow, 1892. See *REJ*, xxv, 123. On the modern attitude towards circumcision of proselytes, see Philipson, D., *The Reform Movement in Judaism*, New York, 1907, pp. 192 ff; 500 ff.

ing Christian heresy, but isolated examples of Christian apostasy to Judaism which the Inquisitors for their own ends may have greatly exaggerated. None the less, the passage presents excellent comparative data concerning possible relationship of the Passagii with Jews. Did the Passagii have their own "ritual circumcisers," similar to the Southcottians of England in the nineteenth century, or were they circumcised by Jewish "Mohelim," either "semisplene," or in a manner identical with the Jews? In the eyes of the Church and of the Christian laity, this practice was the most distinctive in the entire Passagian system. Even the Catharist heretics united with the Church in opposition to the rite of circumcision; to them it was the work of Satan, a bloody and savage custom, typical of the Old Testament. We have no evidence concerning the attitude of the Catharists towards their co-heretics, who, exiled in company with them from the fellowship of the Church, professed allegiance to the practice of circumcision which the main body of contemporary heretics abhorred. The Church, like the heretical Catharists, regarded circumcision as primitive and carnal; it adopted its customary method of escape from strict adherence to the letter of the Mosaic law and the Abrahamitic rite by championing the "spiritual" exegesis of these ordinances. The controversialists in their polemics against the Passagian demand for Christian adherence to the Old Testament statute, cited passages from the New Testament which supported the figurative value of the law: thus, it referred to a circumcision "not of the flesh, but of heart." The same arguments which were employed by Christian apologists against the Jews were advanced against the Passagii; thus the latter were forced step by step into direct association with Jewish communities in their localities. Isolated from the Catharist fold and from the Christian family as well, the Passagii had no recourse except to form an independent, fractional, floating sect, divorced from contact with any mother-body, or to affiliate, as we believe many members eventually did, with the Jews themselves.[20]

[20] The vehemence with which Christians rejected the practice of circumcision by the Passagii may be seen in the remarks of Benedict, *History of the Baptists*, Edinburgh, 1813, ii, 412 ff. "The account of their practicing circumcision is undoubtedly a slanderous story, forged by their enemies, and probably arose in this way: Because they observed the seventh day, they were called by way of derision, Jews, as the Sabbatarians are frequently at this day;

5. *Concerning Sacrifices*

The Passagii made an exception of sacrifices in their adherence to the Mosaic Law. This view was good Jewish doctrine, for since the Temple had been destroyed, Jews were unable to offer sacrifices. The Passagii, influenced perhaps by Rabbinical literature, may have shared the Jewish hope for the restoration of the Temple with the priestly sacrifices, and considered their daily prayers only as a "temporary substitute" for the divinely ordained sacrificial cult. Christian apologists saw no occasion herein to dispute with them; the bare fact of their exemption of sacrifices from the list of their Mosaic duties alone is stated. In this viewpoint, as in others we have described, the attitude of the Passagii on the subject of the validity of the Mosaic Law is unqualifiedly Jewish. Were we at this moment to end our analysis of their doctrine and practice, we would be tempted, except for our knowledge of the Christian birth of their followers, to classify the Passagii as complete Jews. Other elements now enter, however, which complicate the question.

6. *Concerning the New Testament*

The Passagii accepted the New Testament. By this act, they separated themselves from the opinions of thorough-going Jews, and fell into the historic category of Judaizing Christians. Like the ancient sects of the Christian communion, among them the Nazareans, Ebionites, Elkesaites, Sampseans and others, the Passagii sought to harmonize the Old and New dispensations. The Catholic Church had pretended to follow a similar policy, but in this process had negated and virtually obliterated, by its "spiritual" exegesis, the authority of the Old Testament. In the Eastern Church, the synthesis between the two Laws had been effectually accomplished; both retained almost equal status; adherents of the Armenian and Abyssinian Churches claimed the

and if they were Jews, they either did, or ought to, circumcise their followers. This was probably the reasoning of their enemies. But that they actually practiced the bloody rite is altogether improbable." Bonacursus argued in his attack upon the Passagii that the ordinance of circumcision was to be observed not literally, but spiritually; he quotes Rom. 2:28; Gal. 5:2; Col. 2:11. A passage from Isidore wherein Deut. 30:6 and Is. 43:18 were interpreted, was quoted by him in order to state the Christian viewpoint as opposed to that of the Passagii.

benefits of both revelations, though as Christians they preferred the New Testament, believing it a fulfillment of the Old. During and after the Reformation, the attempt to harmonize the literal validity of the Mosaic Code with the dogmatic obligations of Christianity was made by several English and Continental sectaries, among them the Anabaptists, the Puritans, and the Southcottians, all of whom thereby lifted the Old Testament into a prominence it had not for centuries enjoyed in Christian life. Thus the Passagiian doctrine of a co-ordination between the Jewish and Christian law was no innovation, nor was it an isolated phenomenon in Christian history. Thanks to the ancient types of which they were in part the unconscious reproduction, we are able to identify and classify certain otherwise obscure tendencies in the system of the Passagii: the religious fermentation of the heretic centuries had brought to the surface, in the words of Molinier, "all the primitive dregs with which Christianity had been charged when it found itself yet in the state of a young wine, saturated with impurities." For the Christian historian, the Jewish ordinances were "the primitive dregs" of Christianity; for the student of Judaizing tendencies in Christian history, they represent the basic ingredients of Christian thought which periodically gained the recognition historically denied them.

If the testimony of the Inquisition concerning a group of Judaizing heretics in Provence is taken to refer to the Passagii, the latter regarded "the law of the Jews as superior to the law of the Christians."[21] We learn of the degree to which they approved of New Testament doctrines in contradiction to those of the Old Testament from a few sentences in the source material which describes their attitude towards Jesus; it is safe to say, however, that the Passagii were more Jewish than they were Christian. Nevertheless we are in danger of disproportionate emphasis if we omit a consideration of the Christological notions of the Passagii, and concentrate our entire interest upon their attachment to the Mosaic injunctions. Molinier refers to the belief that the Passagii were Judaizing Christians, but he does not champion it; their conception of Jesus inclines him to classify them as Judaizing Catharists. Acceptance of the Gospel by the side of the Pentateuch excluded the Passagii from fellowship

[21] Vaissette, viii, c. 983-4; Preuves to iii.

with the Jewish community, just as in early Christian centuries the Ebionites and their companion groups had been forced out from communion with their former coreligionists. The hostility of the Churchmen demonstrates that the Passagii had no entrance into Christian circles; their qualified and incomplete acceptance of the New Testament points also to their separation from the Catharist household. Thus again, the Passagii stand aside and alone, forming virtually an independent, self-contained heretical unit.

7. *Concerning Jesus*

When we examine the Passagian viewpoint concerning Jesus, it becomes difficult to discover a characteristically Jewish motif; doubt is thereby thrown upon the Jewish character of other doctrines they professed. Bonacursus speaks as follows:

> They say that Christ, the Son of God, is not equal to the Father, and that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, the three persons of the Trinity, are not one God, and one single Substance.[22]

Gregory of Bergame adds to this: "For they say that Christ is a first and pure creature."[23] Two major questions are involved in a discussion of this doctrine: first, the nature of the substance of Jesus Christ; secondly, the true meaning of the Trinity. According to the Passagii, the three persons in the Trinity are not coequal and consubstantial. Jesus Christ is not the equal of God, his Father; he is a creature, created by God and lower than God. There is no unity of substance between the Father and Jesus, and between the Father and the Holy Spirit. These ideas proved unsatisfactory to Christian apologists, who in refutation of the Passagii asserted that Christ is God and of like substance with God;[24] they affirm that Christ is divine;[25] the Holy Ghost is God and of one substance with the Father and the Son; there

[22] D'Achery, i, f. 211; "Dicunt etiam quod Christus Dei Filius non sit aequalis Patri, et quod Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus, istae tres personae non sint unus Deus et una substantia."

[23] Muratori, v, f. 152: "Dicunt enim, Christum esse primam et puram creaturam."

[24] The passages quoted are John 1:5; 5:18; 14:8, 9; 20:28, 29; 21:17; Rev. 1:6, 17. For the eternal witness of Christ, the apologists cite Ps. 45:1; 2:7, 11; Dan. 3:25; Is. 66:6, 7; Mich. 5:1; Ps. 72:17; Prov. 8:24 ff; Job, 28:20, 21.

[25] Is. 45:14, 15; 40:12; Bar. 3:36-38; see also D'Achery, i, f. 214.

is one Almighty God; there are not three Gods.[26] Zoeckler[27] takes the Passagian concept of the nature of Christ as the basis for classifying the sect as a Judaizing Subordinationist party. Molinier is of the opinion that these views of Jesus and the Trinity betray the Passagii in their true guise as Judaizing Catharists, inasmuch as the so-called absolute dualists in Catharist ranks speak of the substance and nature of Jesus in terms identical with those of the Passagii; even the relative dualists and the adherents of John of Bergame or Lugio, held similar views. It is certain, then, that the Passagii did not profess an orthodox Christian view of Jesus, since the Church opposed their doctrine. It is of course clear, on the other hand, that their opinions concerning Jesus were not Jewish in character; though they may have intended to express a form of Jewish monotheism in their desire to diminish the prominence of Jesus,[28] nevertheless this effort is insufficiently sustained, and is contradicted by various implications inherent in the statement of their views which has come down to us. In support of a monotheistic tendency in the Passagian system, it may be noted that the words "Dei Filius" in apposition to "Christus," in the sentence: "quod Christus, Dei Filius, non sit aequalis Patri," may have been inserted by Bonacursus to express his own veneration, and may not correctly express the view of the Passagii; Gregory of Bergame omits the words: "Dei Filius" entirely, thus lending color to the hypothesis that the Judaizers in Jewish vein did not so much affirm the existence of three coequal substances, as deny the entire concept of the Trinity. The assertion that Jesus is a "primary and pure creature," also may have been intended to prove that Jesus was not a God, but a human being, as Jews traditionally had proclaimed. The anxiety of Christian controversialists, similarly to their custom in disputes with Jews, to prove the divinity of Jesus, his identity in substance with God, his miraculous birth, lend added support to this view. Yet the fact that Catholic spokesmen felt called upon to re-affirm the unity of God, made up of the three Persons, who are not in themselves three Gods, indicates that the attitude of the Passagii was neither a rejection of the Trinity nor an affirmation of mono-

[26] John 4:24; Job 33:4, 6; Ps. 33:6; Gen. 1:26; Is. 40:12; John 5:6.

[27] *Real-Encyclopedie*, Leipzig, 1904, p. 706.

[28] For Jewish views of Jesus at this period and in the locality of the Passagii, see the *Wikkuach* of David Kimchi, and the *Sepher ha-Berith* of Joseph Kimchi.

theism. The Passagii may have purposely avoided too exact definiteness and clarity in their doctrine, in order that the Church might misunderstand them and they be retained in the ranks of the heterodox party. A complete severance from current belief in Jesus would have been too great a demand upon heretics who had been born and educated as Christians, however strong their Judaizing inclinations. The example of several Judaizing groups in Christian history which refused to renounce adoration of Christ despite their fellowship in the Jewish group, the tendency of modern Unitarians to lapse into a semi-traditional viewpoint with reference to the divinity of Jesus, and to modify their regard for him merely as a human among humans, may serve as an index to a similar phenomenon in the life of the Passagii.

Hahn (i, 58) regards the attitude of the Passagii towards Jesus and the Trinity as a recrudescence of the Arian heresy which agitated the early Church and had never been entirely extirpated. This hypothesis is more plausible than Molinier's view which would classify the Passagii as Judaizing Catharists, because they denied the *homoousion* of the three Persons of the Trinity. If we accept the view that there are traces of Arianism in the doctrines of the Passagii, we have further grounds for placing them in the ranks of Judaizing Christians, who had championed this heresy from the first. We cannot deny that the Passagii had direct relationship with Catharists; they may have been strengthened in their conception of Jesus by similarities in the viewpoint of the absolute dualists; this fact, however, is not sufficient to rob the Passagii of their character as an independent and self-demarcated Judaizing Christian entity.

8. *Opposition to the Church*

The climax of the errors of the Passagii Bonacursus finds in their custom of universally judging and condemning all the learned men of the Church of Rome and the entire Roman Church.[29] In this opposition to the reigning Church, the Passagii differed in no wise from the heretic groups of their own time or of succeeding generations. Under the head of "Doctores Ecclesiae," the Passagii included the Popes, priests, ecclesiastical spokesmen and apologists, all of whom were distasteful, no

[29] D'Achery, i, f. 211: "omnes Ecclesiae Doctores, et universaliter totam Ecclesiam Romanam judicant et condemnant."

doubt, on two counts: first, because of dissent on matters of opinion; secondly, by reason of the corruption which in their eyes had come to characterize the Church hierarchy. A protest against immorality among the priesthood had been rapidly followed by an intellectual revolt in which the Passagii shared.[30]

But the denial of Church authority on the part of the Passagii was prompted by other motives. Just as the Karaites had repudiated the Rabbinical system as a valueless superstructure erected on the foundations of the Bible, so the Passagii attacked the entire ecclesiastical order as un-Biblical and without Scriptural authority. Manichean heretical groups, among them the Catharists, had created, as a result of their pronounced enmity to the Roman Church, a new chain of tradition; they had established their own rites and practices, many on the pattern of Christian models, but none the less contrary to Church doctrine. The Waldensian Bibliophile heretics had thrown off the yoke of the Catholic hierarchy as irksome and without binding force. The motive of the Passagii was even more extreme: they broke from ecclesiastical overlordship in order that they might reestablish in Christian life the pristine word of the Jewish law and thereby bring Christianity back to its original sources, untainted by the foreign elements it had acquired in its historic career. Thus by reason of their literalism in accepting the Mosaic Law with its demands for Sabbath celebration, circumcision, observance of the dietary laws and festivals, and other legal prescriptions, and also by their renunciation of all extra-Biblical institutions and doctrines, the Passagii may be designated as Christian Karaites.

b. SCENE OF PASSAGIAN ACTIVITY

We turn now from our consideration of the doctrines and practices of the Passagii to a discussion of the locality wherein they appeared and were most active. Italy was the land of their

[30] William of Puy Laurens in Provence remarked, as we have noted, that it was more honorable to be a Jew than a priest; Bouquet, xix, f. 193. Bernard of Clairvaux (Ep. 241, i, 237) remarked: "The Churches are without people, the people without priests, the priests without due respect, and in short, the Christian people are without Christ. The Churches are reckoned as Synagogues, and the Holy place of God itself is accounted an unholy thing; the Sacraments are no longer held sacred and the holy days are deprived of their solemnities." See also Lea, *op. cit.*, i, 31, iii, 636.

origin and propaganda. In Lombardy, the northern part of the Peninsula, Gregory of Bergame, to whom we owe a part of our knowledge of the Passagii, made his home; Bonacursus, our other chief informant, was an inhabitant of Milan. In the second part of the refutation, ascribed like the first part to Bonacursus, but written perhaps by another author, we find mentioned in addition to the Passagii only two sects, the Catharists and the Arnaldists; during the last fifty years of the twelfth century, the Catharists had their most prominent centers of activity in the plains of the River Po; the Arnaldists recruited their adherents largely from the Lombard communes (Alphandery, pp. 180 ff.); it appears likely, therefore, that the third sect mentioned in the second part of Bonacursus, namely the Passagii, also had its seat in Lombardy. The center of Judaizing interest appears to have been the city of Milan. Bonacursus delivered his attacks on their doctrines in this neighborhood; Étienne of Belleville reports a public dispute held in a church of a Lombard city, probably Milan, by the chiefs of seven different sects, each of which pretended to be the true Church.[31] He also recounts that a Waldensian coming from Milan where he had lived for eighteen years informed him that in this city there were seventeen sects, each hostile to the other.[32] Several of these sects may be classified among the Waldensians and Catharists; the names of others cannot be deciphered. It may be that one of them was the Passagii, or the successors of the Judaizing party under another name. It may be too, that the Church with which John, the Jew, had been associated, engaged in the controversy at Milan narrated by Étienne. These and other hypotheses must remain

[31] Argentré, *Collect. judic.*, i, 86, contains a discussion of Etienne de Belleville's *De septem donis spiritus sancti*, wherein this reference occurs.

[32] *Ibid.*, i, 86. See Schmidt, i, 144 note 2, and 145, note 6. Innocent III called Milan "quasi quondam erroris sentinam." Lib. xv, 3, p. 189, in Baluz, ii, 693. Compare the remark made in connection with Holland, where the Verschorists and the "Hebrews" were active during the post-Reformation period: if the Devil himself wished to found a sect, he could find adherents in Holland. Amsterdam in particular was regarded as the breeding place of heresies. Étienne tells that at the beginning of the 13th century, the Marquis of Montferrand in Auvergne burned a work entitled: "Libros omnium Sectarum," representing the labor of forty years. Inasmuch as the Passagii were active during the lifetime of the Marquis and had been mentioned in ecclesiastical documents, it is probable that they were included in his list of sectaries.

indefinite through lack of adequate documentary evidence. The existence of a group in Milan which sought to imitate the model of organization suggested in the Old Testament, to which we have already referred, lends substantiation to the view that the Judaizing Passagii originated in this locality. The Passagii may have been survivors of the ancient theocracy, the insistence of which upon literal observance of the Old Testament was a continuation, perhaps unconscious, of an earlier belief that the ritualistic and Levitical ordinances of the Mosaic Law might be combined with Christian doctrines and forms. In response to the question whether the Passagii at Milan were in contact with the Jewish community of the city, we must admit that the absence of information concerning the life of Milanese Jews during the heretic centuries, and particularly the silence of the Jewish sources, make definite answer impossible. During the papacy of Gregory IX, however, bitter complaints were made against heretics because of their association with Jews, who repeatedly made common cause with the foes of the Church: thus, in the second and third decades of the thirteenth century, the Podesta in his efforts to eradicate heresy in Milan promised to drive out all the Jews and to permit no further Jewish settlement in the city and its environs unless the Archbishop gave his consent.

c. DATE OF THE PASSAGII

Paucity of evidence renders it difficult to determine the exact chronological limits of Passagian activity. Before the first official notice of the movement by the Council of Verona in 1184, Judaic influences in Lombardy had been cumulatively operative, reaching back to the time of Anacletus, if not even beyond this date. The time when the heresy disappeared is also uncertain. Until the year 1291 the sect was anathematized in company with other heresies; its name was transmitted in the formula of denunciation from one Pope to another. Thus in the denunciation of 1291 the Arnaldists who had disappeared at least a half century before are joined with the Judaizers. As late as the sixteenth century the Passagii were included in documents directed against heretics, a pronouncement of Pope Julius II in March, 1511, containing a reference to them. This final statement, however, is purely formal, and has little worth as an indication of the fact that the Passagii actually continued their career until the date of

the statement.[33] Judaizing endured in Southern France until the close of the thirteenth century at least; in Northern Italy, the Passagii reached the apogée of their activity near the end of the twelfth century, and maintained themselves, though weakly, for several decades. The sum total of the period during which the Passagii existed as an organized sect may be said to reach not more than one hundred years.

d. DERIVATION OF THE NAME: "PASSAGII"

1. *From the Greek*: "*All-holy*"

The name of the Passagii furnishes many points of information concerning their doctrines and practices. Its orthography differs in the various documents extant.[34] One traditional derivation of the name is from two Greek words: παντως and αγιοι, giving the meaning: "all-holy." Ducange, the lexicographer of medieval Latin, has accepted this view, because, he says: "The Passagii affected in their life a perfect sanctity."[35] Pluquet,[36] Jas,[37] and others have adopted this etymology. Molinier, in describing the reasons for this interpretation, reminds us that the word "Kathari" had a supposedly Greek origin. But, he argues, since the names of heretics were largely of popular derivation, it is unwise to turn to a learned language, unknown certainly to the masses, and during the Middle Ages, unknown perhaps even to scholars themselves.

[33] *Magnum Bullarium Romanum*, i, 507-8. Cf. Fredericq, P., *Corpus documentorum Inquisitionis haereticae pravitatis Neerlandicae*, 1889, i, 499-500.

[34] *Passagini* in the Condemnation of Lucius III, Laws of Frederic II, bulls of the Popes of the 13th century; *Passagii* in Bonacursus; *Passagii* in the beginning of Gregory of Bergame's treatise; *Pasagiani* in the title of the Section consecrated to the Judaizers; *Pasagini* in the beginning of this part. Ducange in addition to the form *Passagini* gives *Passagivi*, apparently a mistaken reading of the text from which he extracted it; also *Passagenii*, the origin of which he has not indicated. The several orthographies in the modern languages are based upon one or the other of these ancient renditions.

[35] "Quod vitae sanctimoniam simulabant Passagini sunt appellati, a Gr. ut videtur πασαγιος *Glossarium*, v. Passagini, v, 120.

[36] *Dictionnaire des hérésies, des Erreurs, des Schismes*, Paris, 1847, i, 1075.

[37] *De Waldensium secta*, 1834, p. 28: "interpretari fortasse praestat omnino sancti, ut a voce infimae Graecitatis πασαγιος deriventur." Jas mentions this view, but inclines to one he states first: "Nomina plerique interpretanutur, per itinera errantes, vagabundi."

2. *From "Vagabonds"*

A second derivation, mentioned by Schmidt, Huerter, Jas and other investigators, implies that the name Passagii meant "voyagers, vagabonds."[38] Schmidt declares that in this sense it applies perfectly to those Judaizing heretics who went, "as formerly the Jews, from place to place, not having a fixed habitation." Molinier disagrees with this etymology on both philological and historical grounds. From the philological point of view, he remarks that most of the Neo-Latin languages of Middle Europe, the Italian, Provencal, Catalan and Spanish, offer even today terms expressing the idea of travels or repeated journeys, drawn from the root which may be present in the name of the Passagii.[39] It is also likely that these languages during the Middle Ages possessed expressions more or less approaching in sense their modern meanings which are taken to have suggestions for an explanation of the name of the Passagii. No word, however, has been discovered which is in the exact grammatical form of the word: Passagii, or which contains precisely the meaning of wanderers, vagabonds, travelers from place to place which some investigators attribute to the title. Molinier in his protest against the opinions of Schmidt, remarks that the latter

[38] Schmidt, ii, 294; Huerter, iii, note 9 of page 11 of the French translation; Arnold, G., *Unpartheyische Kirchen und Ketzer historien*, Schaffhausen, 1740-2, 378 b: "Passageni weil sie nirgends sicher waren und immer wandern mussten." Perrin, *Histoire des chrestiens albigeois*, Geneva, 1618, p. 8: "And forasmuch as like poore passengers, they wandered from one place to another, they were called Passagenes." Fuesslin, *Kirchen und Ketzergeschichte*, i, 46: "Mich duenkt am natuerlichsten zu seyn, wenn man sagt: dieses heisst Wandler, oder wie wir heut zu Tage zu reden pflegen, Schwaermer. Die Griechen nannten sie αστατοὶ d. i., unstete Leute, die bald hier, bald dort sind. Wir wuerden sagen 'Vagabunden'." For other authorities who support this view, see Hahn, iii, 2, note 2.

[39] Ital. Passegguare; prov. passeha; catal. passejar; spanish: Pasear. On the Italian, see Muratori, ii, 1261. The name Passagerius seems to have been common, for in the 13th century the most famous Italian notary was Rolandinus Passagerius of Bologna. The notaries whom he trained were known as "Lombards" and often sought their fortunes across the Alps in Provence and Northern France; see Paetow, *Battle of the Seven Liberal Arts*, Berkeley, 1916, p. 25. One of the localities situated in the Departments of Maise-et-Loire of the Marne district, of Doubs and of Haute-Saône, where Jews during the Middle Ages settled in large numbers, bore the name: Passavant. (*REJ*, xix, 253 and 258.) The name presents a parallel to the Italian; it does not seem likely, however, that there was a direct connection therewith.

is caught in a vicious circle, inasmuch as he commences with the hypothesis that the Passagii were Judaizers and then ascribes to them habits commonly associated with the Jewish race. He warns us that the only definite fact we know concerning the Passagii is that they observed the Mosaic Law: their Sabbath celebration, practice of circumcision, distinction between permissible and prohibited foods, may have been bound up in no way with habits of vagabondage. It is impossible to say that medieval Jews were more definitely wanderers then than during any other century of their checkered history. In truth, says Molinier, during the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Jewish communities were blessed with an opportunity to live a secure and sedentary existence: their unexampled prosperity was a product thereof; their highly developed culture could not have emerged except for a temporary cessation of their wanderings from country to country. Hence, he affirms, Jews were at the time of the Passagii neither wanderers by choice or compulsion; Christians therefore had no reason to give Judaizing heretics a name suggestive of mythical Jewish folkways. The remarks of Molinier are concluded with a statement that inasmuch as the condition of the Jews was so variable, the application of a name breathing contempt on the part of the Church could not have been stimulated by a comparison with the Jews. Alphandery (p. 173) speaks of the "moral independence" of the Jewish communities of Southern France and Northern Italy in the same terms.

To these arguments, it is necessary for us to reply that the life of the Jews, even in Southern France, was by no means so stable and ideal as Molinier and Alphandery imagine. The Crusades, beginning in 1097, had inflicted irreparable injury on the Jewish settlements of the Rhine cities; Jews had been forced into apostasy; they had been repeatedly expelled from small towns and large cities; persecution in one form or another even in the most enlightened portions of Provence and Lombardy had never completely ceased. Moreover, though individual Jews were esteemed, collectively the people lived under a ban as outcasts and pariahs. To attribute to heretics excluded in like fashion from the pale of civilized Christendom because of their pro-Jewish viewpoint, a name further indicative of their Jewishness, does not seem to have been improbable. A wandering life,

moreover, was typical of large sections of medieval Jewry even though a majority lived in safety and relative comfort: thus, Jewish travelers in Europe and the Orient were numerous; troupes of Jewish scholars moved from one to another Jewish center of learning. The most distant communities were in regular communication, either through the "Responsa" literature of the Rabbis, or through the agency of migratory students, many of whom came from Russia to France in order to continue their labors at its celebrated academies.[40] Although, then, it may argue too intimate knowledge by Christians of medieval Jewry's inner life to believe that they gave to heretics a name made popular by Jewish scholars, nevertheless the role of the latter in perpetuating the notion of Jews as migrants, may have contributed to the rise and justification of the name of the Passagii. The migration of Jewish merchants, also, was familiar to the Christian world, particularly after the Crusades; we find in this fact an added reason for a Jewish association in the title of the Judaizing heretics: the suggestion that they may have defended money-lending at interest, as the Inquisition of Carcassonne charged against a group of Provence heretics, would be in entire keeping with their character as wanderers, both for religious and mercantile purposes: it was the custom of Jews to transform their real property into money because of the frequency with which they were compelled to change their residence; this money, like the Judaizing heretics, they usually placed out among borrowers on interest. The Passagii may have assumed a designation on their own initiative; they may have learned it through their own contact with conditions and institutions of contemporary Jewish life.

3. *From "Pass-Dwellers"*

A third suggestion for the derivation of the name: "Passagii" is that of Gilly; he makes the Passagii a group of the Waldensians who dwelt in the mountains and valleys of Piedmont in the Alps; from their residence in the passes, i.e. "passagium," their

[40] *Hist. Litt. de la France*, xxvii, 438: "To these centers of instruction, just as to the French universities, hastened pupils from distant countries, from Slavic lands, from Bohemia and from Germany. Like the traveling students of that period, the pupils of the Rabbis traveled the land, mocking at distance, insensible to privation, going from one master to another in their thirst for instruction." See also *JE*, v, 450.

name may have originated.[41] While this suggestion is ingenious, it implies too close an association of the Passagii with the Waldensians; the latter were strongly Bibliophile, though by no means inclined to urge the observance of the Old Testament in the stringent manner of the Judaizers. The main center of Passagian activity was the city of Milan; nothing is said of life among the "passes" of the Alps. It is of course dangerous to argue "a silentio" on this as on other points: the Passagii may have originated in the Piedmont region and then gravitated towards Milan and Provence; they may represent an offshoot from the Waldensian fold, differentiated from the mother-group by their pro-Biblical radicalism: the position of the Waldensians represented a moderate philo-Biblicism; the Passagii, however, were Old Testament extremists. Various investigators have contended that the Passagii deserve classification in the Waldensian party.[42] Hahn (iii, 3) and others reject this contention on the ground that pro-Biblicism is the distinguishing characteristic of neither the Passagii or the Waldensians. We cannot subscribe to this statement: the Waldensian movement was essentially a revolt against Catholic domination, based on a return to the Bible, the Old as well as the New Testament; its major impulses arose from Biblical study. The same influence operated in the origin and spread of Passagianism. Hence we may plausibly argue in favor of a nexus between the two movements. Before we state our own conclusions, we must weigh other data which an elucidation of the name of the sect affords.

4. *From: "Passagium," a Crusade*

The word "passagium" may be explained in the sense of an armed journey against unbelievers, a Crusade. The name of the

[41] Gilly, *Waldensian Researches*, London, 1831, p. 61, quotes the Latin Glossary "sub verbo 'passagium' iter, transitus, vulgo passage." Bert, p. 21, supports this view, and groups the Patarini, Subalpini, Montani, Vallesi and Passagini together.

[42] Ducange in his *Glossarium* regards the Passagii as a Waldensian sect; at the end of his article, he makes them identical with the Speronistae, giving a cross-reference to the Paronistae, a deformation of the true name of the Speronistae. This is an error, since the Speronistae, though established in Verona and Lombardy, and composed of Provencals and Italian, were pure Catharists. (Schmidt, i, 65; Alphandery, p. 186.) Lea, *op. cit.*, i, 88 regards the Passagii as a branch of the Waldensians; so too Kiesling, *De variis Waldensium nominibus et sectis*, Jena, 1739, p. 24; and Erbkam in Reuter's *Repertorium*, lvi, p. 38.

Passagii suggests the term "passagium," a pilgrimage to the East, to the Holy Sepulchre, a tour on behalf of the Church, as the word was employed during the epoch of the Judaizing sect.[43] Usserius,[44] Neander,[45] and others support this derivation of the name of the Passagii from the word: "passagium." They argue that the doctrines of the Judaizers show the imprint of Palestinian influence, cultivated through the medium of the Crusades. Allied with this effort at a discovery of the origin of the Passagii, must be reckoned the viewpoint of Guerike who regards the Judaizers as the spiritual descendants of the Upper-Phrygian Judaizing group, known as the "Attinganes", a party affiliated at one time with the ancient Ebionites, and mentioned in the Epistle to the Colossians.[46] It must be noted, however, that the Passagii in contradistinction to these Athingani, accepted circumcision; the Judaizers accepted anti-Trinitarian views which can be traced to remnants of the Arian heresy in Italy, and to other influences which in no way link them with the ancient Phrygian group.[47] Jas regards the Passagii as survivors in the

[43] Maitland, *Facts and Documents Illustrative of the History, Doctrine and Rites of the Ancient Albigenses and Waldenses*, London, 1838, p. 449. Ducange cites Jacobus de Vitriaco: "Fecit treugas usque ad magnum Passagium"; Sanutus, who says of Peter, the Hermit: "Deinde per illas partes transcurrens et ad passagium cunctorum corda succedens." The Will of Charles, the Fair, states: "Je laisse a la Terre Sainte 50 mille livres a payer et delivrer quant passage general se fera, et este mon entente que se le passage se faisoit en mon vivant, de y aler en ma personne." In the Book of Sentences, we find one passed against Magister Guillermus Garricus of Carcassonne, Professor of Law, who besides being guilty of heretical practices had been detected in a conspiracy with other persons to destroy the books of the Inquisition. He was ordered for these and other offenses to serve in the next Crusade, either personally or by substitute: "in primo generali passagio tenearis personaliter transfretare." Hahn, iii, 2 mentions the "Suasoria Passagii pro. Frid. III, Imp.," in Freher, ii, 26: "Passagii vero vocabulo nihil aliud designamus, quam expeditionem militarem numerosissimam adversus infideles per Christianos indictam, quam si sequuntur cruce signati, plenariam peccatorum remissionem merentur, appellaturque Passagium sermone Italico, quasi transitus."

[44] *De Christian. eccles. success. et statu.*, London, 1687, cap. viii.

[45] v, 2, p. 797.

[46] Guerike, *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, i, 685. But see Hahn, iii, 6 for objections to this view.

[47] There was a recrudescence of the Arian heresy during the period of Passagian activity. Near the end of the 12th century, a Troubadour, named Peter Raymond of Toulouse, composed in the Provencal tongue a treatise against the error of the Arians; unfortunately this work has not survived. (*Hist. Litt. de*

Occident of the early Ebionites. He bases his supposition on a notice found in the "Chronique" of Lambert Petit, a monk of Liège, in the 1210, wherein the "Haeresis Abnoitarum" is mentioned.[48] Further details concerning this sect, however, mark it positively as Catharist.[49] Though the doctrines of the Passagii bear unmistakable marks of resemblance to those of the Ebionites, nevertheless it is impossible to trace a direct line of descent between the ancient and medieval groups. If any influence was transmitted from Palestine and the Orient into Italy, it did not emerge from the vestiges of an Ebionitic group in the Holy Land. The Crusades introduced in Western Christendom Oriental ideas; it is plausible to conceive that Jewish beliefs as well as Moslem influenced the Crusaders and their followers in the realm of intellect and religion, as a result of this contact. Italy and Provence stood in the path of the migrations from Continental Europe to the Near East; hence there must have been an interchange, not only of commerce and trade, but of theological ideas as well. It is difficult, however, to perceive what direct bearing the name "passagium," designating an armed expedition against unbelievers, had upon the Judaizing doctrines of the Passagii. It was unnecessary through the Crusades to introduce Jewish principles into Europe, since large Jewish communities in the very heart and center of every Christian land had proclaimed their beliefs from early times. Though Arabic and Oriental mysticism found entrance into Europe as a consequence of the Crusades, little trace of this is to be discerned in the system of the Passagii. Theirs was a rationalistic and legalistic movement in opposition to the mystical tendencies of both Christian and heretical groups of the day. It is true also, that the general religious ferment precipitated by the

la France, xv, 459.) The "Ariani" are mentioned also among the heretical sects, stigmatized by Papal bulls and by the Inquisition . . . . Doketism, a belief that Christ's human character and nature was merely a phantasm, also gained a foothold during the centuries of dissent; the heretics at Orleans in 1022 professed this doctrine.

[48] Jas, *De Waldensium secta ab Albigensibus bene distinguenda*, Leyden, 1834, p. 31. Alphandery, p. 170, gives the form as "Eunoitae," in *Contin. Lamberti Parvi*, Pertz, *Script.*, xvi, 663.

[49] Schmidt, ii, 283: "Since *Abnoitae* is only an error of the copyist, we do not know what the name means." See the remark that Dulcius considers the Catharists as revivers of the errors of the Gnostics, Manicheans and Ebionites. Baggiolini, *Dolcino e i Patareni notizie storiche*, Novara, 1837.

Crusades undeniably contributed to the rise of a Judaizing party; moreover, the infiltration of Oriental Jewish concepts from Palestine and Syria quickened the flow of Western Jewish ideas into Christian life and doctrine; it is necessary, however, to search for local conditions wherefrom the Passagii arose. The name "Passagii," therefore, may have a slight affiliation with the term "passagium" interpreted as "crusade," but the connection is too slight to state categorically that the Judaizers derived their name directly and immediately from it.

5. *From an Italian Town*

A fifth theory, urged by Molinier, suggests that the designation of the sect came from a town or locality of the Italian Peninsula, no longer known today by its medieval name. In his analysis of the origin of heretical group-names, he states that they arose in the following fashion: first, several groups acquired their names from opinions promulgated by them or attributed to them: for example, the Catharists, the Humilati, the Pauvres de Lyon; secondly, others derived their names from the founder of the sect: Arnaldists, Waldensians, Speronists, Ortlibenses, Guillelmites, and other groups mentioned in the laws of Frederic II, among them the "Joseppini," the "Francisci," and the "Warini;" thirdly, certain parties secured their names from a city or country: Albigenses, Albanians, the Catharists of Desenzano (Sezzanenses), Catharists of Concorrezo (Concorrezenses, Garratenses), Catharists of Bagnolo (Bagnolenses, Bajolenses), the Runcarii or Runcaroli, apparently from a town called "Roncaglia."[50] We have a suggestion, therefore, to seek for the origin of the word: "Passagii" by the application of any one of these three methods: first, through the analysis of their opinions, as we have already done; secondly, the discovery of their founder, or thirdly, the establishment of the locality in which they were active, as we have sought to do. The paucity of material other than the data we have offered, makes impossible a determination

[50] The Runcarii may have some association with the Insabbatati: "Sotolarii in tribus discordant a Runcariis . . in alias vero omnibus concordant." The Sotolarii were the Waldensians; the name: "Sotulariati" is equivalent to "Sabatati," and was given to them because of the form of their footgear, mentioned by Evrard de Bethune and Pierre de Vaux de Cernay. Schmidt, ii, 283 ff.; Alphandery, p. 185.

of the correctness of any particular hypothesis. Hence the theory that a city or country-name may underly the word: "Passagii" lacks vindication by virtue of the absence of documentary evidence.

6. *From "Tax Gatherers"*

A sixth suggestion is worthy of consideration. Among the numerous synonyms used to designate the dualist Catharists and Patarenes was the term "Publicans," derived from the name of the Oriental dualists, the Paulicians, in Greek παυλῑχιανοὶ, pronounced "Pavlicani;" for this word, the Occidentals had the form "Popelicans" or "Poblicans;" in the Latin of the day: "Publicani." Ecclesiastical writers may purposely have confused the people of evil repute mentioned in Luke 5:29 ff; 18:10 ff., and other passages, with the despised heretics of the time. It was customary in popular etymology to derive names by more or less precise alliterations, by play upon words, rather than by serious arguments. The original meaning of "Publicans" as collectors of imposts, later given to people of vicious habits, may have been assigned to the Catharists by the same process during the period of medieval heresy which operated in the days of early Christianity. Molinier fits the name to another term having the same sense, namely the "deonarii" or "telonarii," functionaries who like the publicans were charged with the supervision of certain imposts. Among the various types of taxes or imposts they levied was one which was qualified by "passage" or "the right of passage," "passagium" in the Latin of the Middle Ages, "passagio" in Italian. "This special impost was collected by tax-gatherers, known in French as "passagers," and in the charts or legislative documents as "passeagiari" or "passagerii," of which the Italian equivalent even today is "passagiere."[51] These terms do not correspond exactly with the several Latin forms of the name of the Passagii, but other forms in the Latin and vulgar tongues may have been used which research may yet make known. It is valuable to note that Jews in Southern France served as "baillis," or tax-collectors, for the various Seigneurs of the city-principalities. We advance the hypothesis, though we recognize its tentative and tenuous character, that a knowledge of the activities of Jewish "baillis" may have stimu-

[51] Ducange, *Glossarium*; see Passagium, Passagiarii.

lated ecclesiastical authorities to associate the Judaizers with groups of these officials in Languedoc, known perhaps in the vulgar tongue of the time as "passagerii;" this would be in line with the tendency of the Church to force all Christian Judaizers into the Jewish camp. Moreover the Catholic authorities may have given the name to the Passagii by reason of their residence in Lombardy and their contact with the notorious Lombardy money-lenders. These bankers and traders traversed all countries of Europe, penetrated to England and the most distant seats of papal authority; they were even more truly than the Jews "vagabonds" and travelers; Jews often concealed themselves in the guise of Caorsins and passed as Christians.[52] It seems logical to surmise that this fact bore some relation to the derivation of the name of the Passagii from their occupation as travelers, tax-collectors or financiers, a capacity in which their fellow-Lombardians served. Thus Molinier's suggestion of a probable relationship between the word: "Publicans" and the Passagii carries weight. Yet to accept it would mean to classify the Passagii among the Judaizing Catharists, rather than among the Judaizing Christians, who may have had dealings with the Catharists, but borrowed little of their views and practices.

7. *From: "Passover-observers"*

A seventh hypothesis which bears in mind the distinctly Judaic nature of the Passagian movement is based upon a linguistic source suggested here for the first time, namely the Hebrew. It has been thought that the name "passagii" may originate in the Hebrew word: "Pesach," (פסח) meaning Passover, which in the Latin became "Pascha." Originally the name of the sect may have been "Pesachii" or "Passover observers;" in time it may have been corrupted into the form: "Passagii" and its other Latin variations. From an historical as well as philological viewpoint, the derivation of the name from "Pesach" would be in keeping with the strict Mosaic leanings of the sect. Specific mention is made only of their observance of the Sabbath; we find, however, that the term "solennes" which occurs in the form "solennibus" in connection with the Passagian ceremonial

[52] Hyamson, A. M., *History of the Jews of England*, London, 1908, p. 87.

system, applies oftentimes to the festival of Passover.[53] The observance of the Jewish festival in early Church history had given rise to the sect called "Protopaschites" in the fourth century, so designated because like many other groups of the time, they observed the Jewish Passover on the day fixed by the Jews rather than on Easter determined by Christian reckoning.[54] We know that during the heretic centuries various efforts were noted by Christian apologists on the part of Church members to revert to the Jewish method of Paschal observance. Saint Anselm of Canterbury in a letter sent to Walerann of Newburg attacks vigorously the Judaizing tendencies of those who celebrate Easter in a Jewish fashion.[55] He seeks, however, to repel the accusation that either Christ or his followers Judaized in their method of Paschal celebration.[56] The Epistles of Saint Anselm bear no direct reference or relationship to the Italian Passagii; they are of interest, however, in our analysis of the possibility that the name of the Judaizing sect may be traced to their mode of Passover observance. Objections can be easily raised against this theory. If the Passagii had revived the heresy of celebrating Easter at the same time or in person with the Jews, the Church apologists would undoubtedly have mentioned it in their polemics: the practice would quickly have been stigmatized as a distinctive mark of the sect, since Paschal dissent was a recognized and officially condemned tendency in Christian life. Nevertheless, it may be surmised that the Passagii began with a celebration of the Passover, and derived therefrom their name, but that their acceptance of this one custom led them to adopt the entire Mosaic Law, which thereafter became their most prominent and objectionable trait in the eyes of the Church.

[53] In Matthew of Paris (London, 1684), f. 475, we find the phrase in connection with the account of the supposed crucifixion of the Christian lad at Norwich: "volentes eum crucifigere in solennitate Paschali." See Ducange, *Glossarium.*

[54] Pluquet, i, 1147, discusses the Protopaschites.

[55] Migne, 158:541-8: "De Tribus Waleranni Questionibus, ac praesertim De Azymo et Fermentato." Chapter III. "Latinos in azymo conficientes non judaizare;" 543; Chapter IV. "Retorquetur in Graecos argumentatio qua probant Latinos in azymo conficientes judaizare."

[56] Chapter II: . . . "Si autem dicunt quia judaizamus, dicunt similiter Christum judaizasse. Et si audent asserere Christum propter Judaismum, ut praeceptum de azymo datum servaret de azymo corpus suum fecisse, absurdissime errant."

To decide positively which one of these several hypotheses concerning the derivation of the name of the Passagii is correct, lies beyond our present powers. Conclusive evidence is lacking. Hence the various theories may be propounded for the value each contains as a contribution to the determination of the true character of the Judaizing heresy. A decision, however, must be left in abeyance.

e. DID THE PASSAGII KNOW HEBREW?

We turn from the question of the name of the Passagii to ask: Did they know Hebrew? If their name was derived from the word: "Pesach," we may with justice infer that they were acquainted with the Biblical tongue. We know also that in the city of Viterbo, situated in the region where the Passagii were active, Hebrew appears to have been known even by orthodox Churchmen. Thus Godfrey of Viterbo is said to have possessed a knowledge of Oriental languages.[57] Moreover it is probable that inasmuch as the Judaizers were strict Old Testamentarians, they attempted to acquaint themselves with the Scriptural tongue. In later centuries, Judaizing groups rapidly undertook the study of Hebrew; the Sabbatarians of Transylvania contributed abundantly to Hungarian literature on Jewish and Hebraic themes; they associated with Rabbis and Jewish teachers for instruction and guidance. This was done, however, in an age when Hebrew scholarship had won numerous adherents in the Gentile world and the instruments for Oriental study were available to all. The lack of interest in Semitic scholarship except among a few scattered individuals prior to the fourteenth century makes it likely that the Passagii found little encouragement in any attempt they may have made to acquire a knowledge of Hebrew. Whether they sought out Jewish instructors or turned to the documents of Hebrew learning popular among Jews cannot be determined from the evidence at hand.

f. CLASSIFICATION OF THE PASSAGII

1. *In Relation to Waldensians and Catharists*

Our last question concerning the Passagii is this: in what heretical category must we classify them? We have already con-

[57] Sandys, J. E., *History of Classical Studies*, Cambridge, 1903, i, 535 ff.

sidered their relationship to the Bibliophile Waldensians, and have come to the conclusion that they stood in slight though not intimate contact with them: the Passagii carried to extremes the pro-Scriptural views of the Waldensians, either unconsciously, or by deliberate intent dissociating themselves from the mother-movement. In view of their opinions concerning Jesus, however, it is insufficient to classify the Passagii merely as an extremist Waldensian branch. We are led to consider the hypothesis that the Judaizers were a Neo-Manichean heretical group.[58] Lucas of Tuy seems to support this theory in his statement that many Manichean heretics circumcised themselves in order to spread their views; he classifies these Judaizers among the Albigenses who were Neo-Manicheans; his reference may not, however, as we have already remarked, concern the Passagii. The denunciations of the heretics by Gregory IX, Frederic II, and Innocent IV include the Judaizers under the Manichean heading: the heterodox groups are herded promiscuously together in the various decrees and denunciations: Catharists, Patarenes, Albanenses, Poor Men of Lyons, Arnaldists, and numerous other groups; it may be that in the eyes of the Church they arose from one central source. Molinier in speaking of the hypothesis that the Passagii were a Judaizing wing of the Catharists, affirms that the independence of individual heterodox parties must not be pressed too far: for example, investigation has resulted in a union of the Ortlibenses, formerly confounded with the "Brothers of the Free Spirit," with the Waldensian movement proper.[59] Following this analogy, he is ready to include the Passagii within the more comprehensive group of the Catharists.

Several objections against this opinion can be raised. Lucas of Tuy in his statement treats of an Albigensian group in Southern France, not of a party in Lombardy. The heretics to whom the Spanish controversialist refers may be Languedoc adherents of the Italian movement, rather than merely those Christians of Provence who in small cliques or as individuals went over to the Catharist heresy. Many heretics of Southern France associated

[58] This view is championed by Muratori, *Antiq.*, v, f. 89, who speaks of the Passagii, the Josephini, the Pauvres de Lyon, and other sectaries as offshoots of the single tree, the doctrines of Manes. See also Fueslin, i, 37, 46; Huerter, p. 223, note 367.

[59] Mueller, K., *Die Waldenser und ihre einzelnen Gruppen*, Gotha, 1886, pp. 130-2; 166-72.

with Jews and accepted Judaic beliefs and practices, though the environment in which they moved was distinctly Manichean-Albigensian. The testimony of Lucas of Tuy may of course refer to both the Passagii and the Provence Judaizers; it is applicable without doubt to the latter party, and because of the geographical proximity of Lombardy to Languedoc, may have had the Passagii also in mind. The excommunication of the Passagii by Popes and Emperor must not be too readily accepted as proof that the sect was of Manichean descent and affiliation; Church authorities, except for specialists assigned to the task of rebutting their propaganda, were not particularly acquainted with the peculiarities of each group; the names of the several sectaries were, as we have remarked, heaped together indiscriminately in official ecclesiastical and imperial documents. Objections of even greater force appear in the sharp hostility between the Judaizing doctrines of the Passagii and the anti-Jewish policy of the Neo-Manichean Catharists. On several points the Passagii were diametrically opposed to the Catharist system. Their beliefs contained no trace of dualism, characteristic of all genuine Catharist groups. However brief may be the summary of their principles given by Bonacursus and Gregory of Bergame, the omission of any reference to a belief in dualism cannot be forgetfulness on their part. We reiterate the danger of argument "a silentio;" yet on so important a matter, it is likely that, had the Passagii been inclined towards dualism, the two controversialists would have furnished us evidence. Molinier suggests that the Passagii may belong to a sect of relative or mitigated dualists known in Italy under the name of the Catharists of Gorizia.[60] But the Passagii clung strenuously to a form of Jewish monotheism, with which the relative dualists disagreed. Moreover, the Passagii in true Arian fashion regarded the Son and the Holy Spirit as lesser than the Father; they declared themselves against the Homousie of the Three Persons.[61] With

[60] He quotes Reinerius Saccho: "Summa de Catharis et Leonistis," in Martene and Durand, *Thesaurus*, v, c. 1773: "Isti bene sentiunt de uno principio tantum, sed multi ex eis errant in Trinitate et Unitate."

[61] *V. s.* on the Passagii and Arianism. Hahn, i, 58. Du Plessis, i, 64, ad ann. 1160. In "Constitutio contra Haereticos," lib. i, Epis. Petris Vineis, cap. 27. Names of Sects: "Patarenos, Speronistas, Leonistas, Arrianistas, Circumcisos, Passaginos . . . " In the Prolegomena of Gretser on Lucas of Tuy, 13, we find: "Arrianistae, qui ex Waldensibus, de SS. Trinitate perperam sentiebant. quo rum non exiguus numerus, ut Reinerius nos docet."

this attitude towards Jesus and the Trinity, the orthodox Catharists were not in accord.

The fundamental point of disagreement between Catharists and Passagii lay in the acceptance by the later of the literal validity of the Old Testament. The Catharists rejected the Five Books of Moses and other portions of the Jewish Scriptures in categorical fashion. Even the mitigated dualist Catharists, to whom Molinier compares the Passagii, pronounced against the Old Testament with vigour.[62] Molinier in defense of the supposition that the Passagii, despite this wide divergence from the Catharists, none the less deserve inclusion in their ranks, asserts that a mélange of contradictory doctrines is not to be wondered at; the heretics were more interested in combatting the established Church than in securing consistency and unity in their particular ideas. According to his view, the Passagii accepted from the relative dualists their faith in one God; in opposition to the Catholic Church, they venerated the Old Testament which the Catharists repudiated; but they included the Arian heresy on the Trinity which was "common to all Catharist sects."[63] The incoherence in the doctrines of the Judaizers is matched by a similar confusion in Catharism as a whole; hence the discordance in Passagian doctrines must be accepted at its face value, and the Passagii be classified under the category of Neo-Manichean Catharists. In answer to these arguments of Molinier, it may be said that his hypothesis would be more or less satisfactory, were it not possible to champion yet another view concerning the classification of the Passagii.

[62] On the attitude of the mitigated dualists towards the Old Testament *v. s.* pp. 159-170. The non-dualist heretics, the Catharists of Concorrezo, according to Reinerius Saccho, excepted certain passages supposedly relating to the Virgin Mary, and texts introduced into the Gospels by Christ and the Apostles, from their general denunciation of the Jewish Holy Books. (*Thes. nov. anecdot.*, v, c. 1773). They condemned Moses, but apparently hesitated to apply this disapproval to Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and other patriarchs and prophets. Even some of the absolute dualists agreed with the moderate party, and accepted as authoritative several parts of the Old Testament. (*Ibid.*, c. 1769.)

[63] Molinier makes the identity of Catharist and Passagian doctrines on the Trinity a fundamental point in order to establish the certainty of his hypothesis that the Passagii were Judaizing Catharists. For various heretical views concerning Jesus, see *Thes.*, v, c. 1768; Moneta, *Adversus Catharos et Waldenses*, lib. 3, Rome, 1745, lib. iii, cap. iii, sec. 1, 2, 3. For the opinion of John of Lugio or Bergame, see *Thes.*, v, c. 1769; also *ibid*, c. 1773, for opinions of the mitigated dualists of Concorrezo.

2. *A Local Jewish-Christian Sect*

We are of the opinion that the Passagii constitute a Jewish-Christian group which arose indigenously in Occidental Europe by virtue of purely local and contemporaneous circumstances, having associations with both the Waldensian and Albigensian movements, but definitely a part of neither. It has been suggested by Tocco and others,[64] that the Passagii were nothing other than Jews who, led by the spirit of proselytism "so habitual to their race," and struck by the agitation which disturbed the Christian Church, mingled with Christian heretics in order to gain as many as possible for their own faith. This is an ingenious hypothesis, and appears to find substantiation in the vigorous proselytizing activities attributed to Provence Jewry during the heretic centuries. Conversionary zeal among the Jews was at its height during the thirteenth century, however, many years after the Passagii came to the attention of the ecclesiastical authorities. Molinier is correct in his criticism that the Jews who at bottom remained staunch in their loyalty to Judaism, would not have accepted so essentially Christian a dogma, however qualified, as the Trinity. Nor is it likely that they would have appealed in their polemics to the New Testament, a work roundly condemned in Jewish circles as a rival to the Old Testament. Antagonism between the validity of Christian and Jewish Scriptures betrays itself in the manifold controversial works, particularly in Provence, Lombardy and other centers of heresy during this epoch. This hostility was destined finally to break forth into the movement among Christians for the destruction of Jewish books; the burning of the Talmud in 1240 was a symbol of the deep-seated animosity of Christians against Jewish literature, reciprocated in turn by Jewish opposition to Christian theological writings. The influence of Jewish literature and the activity of individual Jewish leaders in the Judaizing heresy can be clearly discerned. It is a mistake, however, to designate the Passagii as bona-fide Jews; rather are they Christians, who like fellow-believers in almost every era of Church history, were attracted to Jewish life and thought.

[64] Tocco, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-4; he bases his argument on the remarks of Lucas of Tuy; see also Neander, v, 2, p. 797.

g. SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS ON THE PASSAGII

We are now ready to summarize our conclusions concerning the Passagii:

1. They were a Judaizing Christian party which originated in Lombardy, with central headquarters in Milan, an outgrowth of a Judaizing trend in Italian Christianity which dated back to the ninth century and had gathered in volume until, in the middle of the twelfth century, it crystallized in the form of a distinct and well-defined pro-Jewish sect.

2. The Passagii appear to have been in contact with the major heresies of the day, the Catharist and the Waldensian, but were not a branch or subordinate group of either movement. They were Judaizing Christians who arose out of the religious fermentation during the heretic centuries, comparable to similar sects previous to their appearance, and during succeeding centuries.

3. The Passagii were a species of Christian Karaites who sought to throw off the yoke of ecclesiastical authority, dogma and practice, and to return to the pure, primitive Jewish sources of Christianity by means of a strict adherence to the prescriptions of the Mosaic Code. They demanded literal, not "spiritual," acceptance of the Jewish ritual system.

4. The Passagii professed the Arian heresy concerning the Trinity; they accepted the New Testament, though they gave preference to the Old, in apparent revolt against the strongly anti-Mosaic opinions of orthodox Catharists. The pro-Christian doctrines of the Passagii prove them to have been not born Jews, but Christians who leaned towards Judaism.

5. The name of the Passagii is open to various interpretations; the authentic derivation, however, cannot be determined by reason of lack of documentary evidence. Those hypotheses which emphasize the Judaizing character of the movement seem most plausible.

6. The Passagii were part of a powerful Judaic current in the heretical movements in Catholicism prior to the Reformation. It is of course impossible to explain the many heretical tendencies in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries as due to the undercurrent of Jewish influence; nevertheless the role of Jews as stimulators and propagators of anti-ecclesiastical views in the Middle Ages must not be underestimated. The Passagii furnish evidence that a Judaizing heresy is usually concomitant with religious upheaval in Christian thought.

3. Frederic II and His Relation to Jews and Heretics

Frederic II (1198-1250) in his relation to Jews and heretics epitomized the spirit of the thirteenth century, one of the most remarkable centuries of Christian history. The clue to his unique personality is found in its contradictions. "Italian by birth, German by descent, Christian by education, free-thinker by conviction, friend of the sciences and heresy-hunter, leader of a Crusade, and making eyes at the adherents of Islam, his life passes half in ecclesiastical ban, half in devotion to the Popes."[1] His relationship to Jews and Jewish learning betrays the same inconsistencies that this, the last great Hohenstaufen, showed in other associations of his long and varied career.

a. Frederic's anti-Jewish enactments

Frederic's reign was characterized by many acts of seeming hostility towards Jews and their religion. On his coronation as Emperor in 1220, he recognized the authority of the Canonical Law, in token of his earlier friendly relationships with the Pope, including the special provisions with regard to the Jews, which had been introduced by the eleventh and twelfth Lateran Councils, of 1179 and 1215 respectively.[2] At Capua in 1220, the Assizes published by the Emperor contained the provision that no Jew or heathen should acquire or possess under any title a Christian slave.[3] In Messana in 1221 at a general Court Day, he ordered that Jews must wear a distinctive dress,[4] and in 1224 he decreed that Jews who had religious association and illegal relationships with Christian women, must be subordinated to the ecclesiastical Inquisition,[5] and decided "that the Jews must

[1] Guedemann, ii, 101-102; Winkelmann, E., *Kaiser Friedrich II*, Leipzig, 1889-1897, i, 151, 152, 181, 311 ff. 184, 497; ii, 27, 71, 134, 136.

[2] Erler, *op. cit.*, 48:22-30 has an admirable study of the Jewish relationships of Frederic; see also Guedemann, ii, 101-108, 85, 92, 150, 286. A thorough study of this subject is yet to be made and would be most welcome.

[3] "Assisiae regum regni Siciliae VI" in Carcani, p. 227; Boehmer-Ficker, 1260.

[4] Huillard-Bréholles, ii, 178; Boehmer-Ficker, n. 1325 a; Ryccardus de S. Germano, in *Mon. Germ. Script.*, xix, 341.

[5] Paramus, "De origine et progressu sanctae inquisitionis," Matr. 1598, p. 197, in Boehmer-Ficker, n. 1511; see discussion under the topic of "Intermarriage," to be published later.

provide for the Inquisitor of Heresy and his service, when he goes from one place to another in the fulfillment of his duties on their account; this they needed, however, to furnish only once a year, and the contribution per head need not exceed a Gros Tournois, that is, 12½ Grani, $^{1}/_{48}$ Unze or a Roman Paolo."[6] Though, as we shall see, Frederic had a Finance Minister in Messina who was a Jew, there is evidence that, officially at least, he kept Jews from public office, inasmuch as in his Constitutions, it is required of a list of officials that they testify concerning their faith and their morals, taking their oath on the Gospel. In 1237, Frederic included in the Charter granted the city of Vienna the provision that Jews should be excluded from public offices, in order that they might not oppress Christians under the pretext of their official duties, since imperial authority from ancient times had placed them in lasting servitude as a punishment for their Jewish offences.[7]

We know that Frederic renewed Roger II's Law against Apostates, and repeatedly assailed the heretics called: "Circumcisi," a name which, as we have seen, referred to Judaizing Christians, relapsed Jews, and the Judaizing Passagii. Frederic's decrees concerning the practice of usury by Jews show numerous contradictions, with special privileges for Jewish money-lenders, no doubt because of the Emperor's unfavorable experiences with Christian usurers.[8] His enactments concerning the commercial activities of the Jews in various parts of his Empire are also of striking interest, but need not occupy us here. It may be said concerning one aspect of Frederic's treatment of the Jews, that he submitted to many of the strongest prejudices of his age: that he did not hesitate on behalf of the Church to introduce the Inquisition against the Jews in countries where, as in Sicily, they had long lived harmoniously with their Christian neighbors, and thus destroyed the peace between the two groups in his realm.[9]

[6] Zunz, *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, p. 503.

[7] Huillard-Bréholles, v, 55; Boehmer-Ficker, 2237.

[8] Erler, 48:26; Winkelmann, *De regni Siculi administratione regn. Frid. II*, Berlin, 1859, p. 31 ff.

[9] La Lumia, *Studi di Storia Siciliana*, Palermo, La, 1870, ii; *Gli Ebrei Siciliani*, 1492, 0. 12.

b. FREDERIC'S OPPOSITION TO HERESY

In the matter also of his treatment of heretics, Frederic made himself for a time subservient to the dictates of the Church. In his capacity as Emperor of the Romans and secular protector of the Catholic Church, Frederic fulfilled his role with thoroughgoing efficiency. He obtained his coronation in St. Peter's at Rome, by issuing November 22nd, 1220, the famous legislation which made persecution of heretics part of the public law of Europe; and in a series of edicts dating from 1220 to 1239, he enacted "a complete and pitiless code of persecution, based upon the Lateran canons."[10] These enactments increased in severity as they were promulgated: first, threatening confiscation and outlawry; in 1224, decreeing death by fire, or loss of the tongue at the discretion of the judge; and in 1231, making punishment by cremation absolute.[11] In the list of nineteen different species of heretics, mentioned in the edict of 1220, at Rome; in the decree of Ravenna, February 22, 1232; and at different towns in Italy, from 1238-9, we find mention made of the Judaizing heretics, the "Circumcisi" or Passagii.[12] Thus, in one mood of his nature, Frederic was not only a persecutor of heretics, but also harsh in his treatment of his Jewish subject; when he strikes at Judaizing heretics, either Christians or Jews by birth, his policy touches a third group of dissenters, who combine in themselves both Jewish and heretical interests.

c. FREDERIC AS A FREE-THINKER

But a description of Frederic as a heretic-hunter and an abettor of ecclesiastical action against religious innovation, by no means explains in entirety the character of the Emperor. He was the most enlightened monarch of his time, and one of the most astute; his laws against heretics were framed in deference to the public opinion of the age. Fundamentally, however, Frederic was a skeptic, and could scarcely deceive his out-

[10] Lea, i, 321 et passim; also Raumer, *Geschichte der Hohenstauffen*, Leipzig, 1840, iii, 656 et passim.

[11] Lang, *Regesta Boica*, Munich, 1822, ii, 208-9.

[12] Pertz, *Mon. Germ.*, Leges, ii, 244, 287, 288, 328, 329; Huillard-Bréholles, part i, pp. 4, 5; iv, part i, p. 298; v, part 1, pp. 279-280. These promulgations served as the basis for the bulls of Innocent IV, Clement IV and Alexander IV and for the reorganization of the system of inquisitorial justice.

standing contemporaries and opponents as to the staunchness of his faith. Thus during his conflict with the Pope, Gregory IX did not praise the systematized persecution of heretics by Frederic; he saw in the latter's pretended zeal a means to punish his personal enemies, and to burn good Catholics rather than heretics. Gregory accused him also of taking the sacrament only to show his contempt for excommunication, and when Gregory in 1239 arraigned Frederic II before the face of Europe, he attributed to the Emperor the utterance commonly associated with the name of Averroes, the Arabic philosopher: "The Christian faith is impossible; that of Judaism is a religion of children, that of Islam, a religion of hogs." Frederic made haste solemnly to deny this accusation, yet he could not escape from the imputation of being a religious free-thinker. However much at times his policy might lead him to proclaim ferocious edicts of persecution and even spasmodically enforce them, he had nevertheless no convictions of his own, to render him persistent in persecution, and his life-long contest with the Papacy gave him, secretly at least, a fellow-feeling with all who resisted the supremacy of the Holy See, whether in temporal or spiritual concerns. (Lea, ii, 245.)

d. FREDERIC AND THE SARACENS

Gregory had said: "This King of pestilence declares that the world has been deceived by three impostors, Jesus, Moses and Mohammed;" he also lent currency to the charge that Frederic was secretly a disciple of Mohammed. It is certainly true that Frederic's philosophical skepticism arose not so much from his contemplation of the failure of the Crusades as from his relations with Saracens and Jews. By reason of contact in the Orient and at his Court with these two groups, he came to ask: though Jews and Mohammedans might not themselves possess the truth, were the Christians the sole possessors of truth in their own life and doctrines? The opponents of Frederic accused him of surrounding himself with Saracen astrologers and diviners, whom he employed as counsellors, and who practiced for him all the forbidden arts of augury by the flight of birds and the entrails of victims. Yet Frederic was too much of a skeptic to have faith in vulgar sorcery, whether practiced by Christians or Mohammedans.

The real truth of the matter lay in the fact that Frederic stood in friendly associations with Saracen soldiers and thinkers. He had an interesting colony of Saracen soldiers at Lucera in Italy,[13] had constant social and commercial relationships with Mohammedans in Sicily and the Orient, and was responsible for the introduction of Averroism in central Europe. At the summons of Frederic, there came from Toledo where Averroism flourished as one of the principal heresies of Spain, the celebrated Michael Scot with translations of Aristotle and Averroes; Frederic welcomed him with open arms, since "his insatiable thirst for knowledge," and "his slender reverence for formulas led him to grasp eagerly at these unexpected sources of philosophy." From the court of Frederic the heresies of Averroes and Avicenna spread with incredible rapidity into all centers where philosophy and faith were subjects of discussion among European scholars.

e. FREDERIC AND HIS JEWISH FRIENDS

In the development of Frederic's liberal religious and philosophical outlook, not only his Saracen, but his Jewish friends played a significant role.[14] In the Spring of 1231, Jordanus, the second General of the Dominican Order, saw fit in a series of accusations to include the charge that the Emperor showed too great favors to Jews and Saracens.[15] Frederic had a Jewish Mint Master, Gaudius by name, in the city of Messina, who showed himself zealous in the performance of his duties;[16] though there is doubt as whether Frederic appointed any other Jews to similar offices,[17] it is likely that Gaudius could not have been Frederic's single Jewish appointee over a period of more than a half century. It is with Frederic's relationships with

[13] Egidi, P., *La colonia Saracena di Lucera e la sua distruzione*, Naples, 1915.

[14] *REJ*, xi, 9, where we find a discussion of the roots of Frederic's skepticism in the influence of Mohammedan and Jewish culture.

[15] "Judaeis et Saracenis nimis favetis," reported by the contemporary Dominican Gerhart von Frachet of Limousin, Prior of the Province of Provence (1271), in his "Vitae fratrum ordinis Praedicatorum," iii, 44; cf. Mone, *Quellensammlung zur bad. Langesch.*, Karlsruhe, 1867, iv, 21.

[16] "Gaudius ebreus, notarius sicle nostre Messane," he is called by Frederic in a letter, 1239, to the Secretus at Messana; and he is sent a letter by the Emperor himself as well. Carcani, p. 297; Huillard-Bréholles, v, 594.

[17] Raumer, iii, 315, remarks that we find no reference to another Jew in public positions in the Two Sicilies during the reign of Frederic.

Jewish intellectuals, however, that we are more concerned. One of these, Judah ben Solomon ha-Kohen ibn Matkah, a scientist of Toledo, Spain, stood in close association with the Emperor;[18] as a youth of eighteen he corresponded with scholars at Frederic's court; his information so pleased Frederic that he prevailed upon the Jewish scholar to leave Spain and settle at his court in Italy, where he had an opportunity, as he remarks, "to observe his mode of dealing, his learned men, Elders, writers, and judges, as well as his meals and the conduct of his court." It is likely that Frederic was interested personally in Samuel because of his theological, philosophical and scientific opinions, particularly in the field of astronomy, to which the Emperor gave much attention, and in which Jews during the Middle Ages were among the foremost figures.[19]

Jacob ben Abbamari ben Simson ben Anatoli (1194-1256), a Provencal, who during the thirteenth century lived in Naples, whither he had come at the call of Frederic, is an important personage in the story of the Emperor's intellectual activities. Anatolio so distinguished himself at Narbonne and Béziers, the former center of the Albigensian heresy, that Frederic invited him to come to Naples, where under the Emperor's auspices he was commissioned to devote himself to his studies, particularly to the rendition of scientific Arabic literature into the more accessible Hebrew.[20] It was this Anatolio who in his *Malmad ha-Talmidhim* referred to the Patarenes as heretics, reflecting no doubt the sentiment of the majority in the circles wherein he moved at Court; he also cautioned against the making of Christian converts by Jews, again preferring the policy of safety to the alternative of an aggressive Jewish religious propaganda. The contributions of Anatolio lay not so much in a direct en-

[18] Zunz, in Geiger's *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*, iv, 189.

[19] For Jewish contributions to astronomy, see Jacobs, *Jewish Contributions to Civilization*, Philadelphia, 1919, pp. 149 ff. ; Cassel, P. "Juden" in Ersch and Gruber, *Encyclopaedie*, pp. 16 *et passim;* Loew, L., "Die Astrologie in der Biblischen, Talmudischen und Nachtalmudischen Zeit," in *Ben Chananja*, 1863, pp. 401, 431 ff.; Steinschneider, M., *Die Hebraeischen Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1893, pp. 186, 501-649 *et passim.*

[20] A. del. Vecchio, *La legislazione di Frederico II*, Turin, 1874, p. 247 remarks: "Le persone di sentimenti liberali convenivano a Corte, dove avevano trovato aiuti e lorga protezione molti Ebrei, incaricati dal imperatore di tradurre le opere di scienza araba."

couragement of current movements of dissent, as in co-operation with contemporary Christian scholars for making available to the thinking world the works of great non-Jewish authors. The friendship between the noted Michael Scot and Anatolio is one of the most significant in the history of medieval thought. Anatolio in his *Malmad*, in addition to several allegorical references to Frederic himself, speaks with reverence of Scot, whom he names as his second master by the side of Samuel ibn Tibbon. There is even an hypothesis that Anatolio is the Jew Andreas, who according to Roger Bacon in his *Compendium Studii* assisted Michael Scot in his philosophical translations from the Arabic; this theory, despite its inconclusiveness of evidence, seems highly probable. For it is certain that Anatolio and Scot together, under the influence of Frederic, opened to the western world the treasure-house of Arabic learning.[21] Anatolio was the first to translate the commentaries of Averroes into Hebrew, thus opening the door for the entrance of Averroism, later regarded as a challenging heresy, into Christian religious life. (Lea, iii, 560.) Anatolio's principal translation embraced the first five books of Averroes, "intermediate" commentary on Aristotle's Logic; his other translations were not only in the field of philosophy, but of astronomy and logic; there is an hypothesis as yet unproved, though advanced with considerable force, that Anatolio in conjunction with Michael Scot translated into Latin Maimonides' *Moreh Nebhukhim*.[22] Anatolio found many imitators in his friendly associations with Christian scholars under the aegis of liberal-minded secular rulers: thus Moses ben Solomon of Salerno was one of his zealous followers; as a result of this association, at a time when the Inquisition was entrenching itself in power in Europe, a veritable renaissance of learning and culture was being promoted, wherein Jews, as in the reign of Charlemagne previously, and during the Reformation later, played a significant role. The friendship of Kalony-

[21] Steinschneider, *Die Hebraeischen Uebersetzungen*, gives on p. 990 a complete bibliography on the subject, and many items of importance throughout the work itself; see also Berliner, *Persoenliche Beziehungen zwischen Juden und Christen im Mittelalter*, Halberstadt, 1882, p. 8 ff.; Guedemann, ii, 105, 150, 156, 161 ff., 180, 209, 210, 226.; and H. G. Enelow, in *JE*, i, 562-4; Reuter, H., *Geschichte der religioesen Aufklaerung im Mittelalter*, Berlin, 1875-7, ii, 270 ff.

[22] *Hist. Litt. de la France*, xxvii, 580-589, and Steinschneider, *Uebersetzungen*, i, 433; Hebr. Bibl. vi, 31.

mos ben Kalonymos with Robert of Anjou, during the fourteenth century, was a continuation of the tradition established by Frederic; it forms a striking chapter in the relationships between Christian patrons and Jewish intellectual intermediaries. By the side of Kalonymos must be mentioned Judah (Leo) Romano and Shmaryah of Negroponte, Crete, who also benefited by the cordial reception accorded their scholarly productions.[23] It was fortunate for European learning that Frederic's example found an echo among liberal monarchs of his own and later day.

It was during Frederic's reign that scholarship within the Jewish community flourished, even as it had blossomed in Languedoc under the beneficence of the pro-heretical princes of Provence. Thus, in Salerno at the Medical School Jews were active, and held for their own co-religionists special lectures in the Hebrew tongue.[24] It is not surprising then, that despite his seeming severity towards his Jewish subjects, and the introduction of the Inquisition with jurisdiction over them in communities where they had previously been immune, Frederic remained in the eyes of Italian Jewry an heroic personality: in the *Sepher Ma'aloth ha-Middoth* of Rabbi Jechiel ben Jekuthiel of Rome, we find references to him in terms of the greatest respect and appreciation.[25] We have an apocryphal account also of conversations between the Emperor and a Jewish scholar, either Samuel ibn Tibbon, or Al-Charizi, concerning the custom of the red heifer, mentioned in Numbers 19; the Emperor is quoted as referring to the *Moreh* of Maimonides,[26] and to a ritual practice in India, with which he himself was acquainted.[27] On another occasion Frederick is reported to have discussed the comment of Maimonides upon Exodus 24:10; and on a third occasion, he questions why according to Biblical prescription, only tame and

[23] Steinschneider, M., "Robert von Anjou und sein Verhaeltniss zu einigen gelehrten Juden," *Monatsschrift*, xii (1904), 713-717; Berliner, *Persoenliche Beziehungen*, p. 12 ff.

[24] Ant. Mazza, "Urbis Salernitanae Historia," in Graevius, *Ant. ital.*, ix, 63; Raumer, iii, 417. For Jewish participation in the early universities of Europe see in the *Jewish Guardian*, London, 1922.

[25] Edition at Cremona, 1556, p. 31 b; Guedemann, ii, 103-4.

[26] Frederic himself may have ordered the Latin translation of Maimonides, *Moreh;* Steinschneider, *Hebr. Bibl.*, vi, 31.

[27] Steinschneider, *Hebr. Bibl.*, vii, 62 ff., 136; xx, 24.

not wild animals are sacrificed.[28] Thus it can be seen that Frederic looms large in the history of medieval Jewry in Italy, and because of this, in the history of medieval culture in general. The real story of his influence upon the spread of liberal ideas during the Middle Ages, and in laying the foundations during the thirteenth century for the eventual rise of liberal thought during and after the Reformation, remains yet to be told. When the true estimate of his importance is given, the role of Jewish literature and the contributions of individual Jewish scholars and scientists in his career must be accorded their due place.

[28] Perles, *R. Salomo b. Abraham b. Adereth*, Breslau, 1863, note 56; reported in Anatolio's *Malmad*, 92 b.

IV. APPENDIX

The main works on the Passagii are the following: Molinier, "Les Passagiens" in *Mem. de l'Acad. de Toulouse*, 8th series, 188, x, 428 ff.; Hahn, *Geschichte der Ketzer*, Stuttgart, 1850, iii, 1-68; Alphandery, *Les Idées Morales chez les hétérodoxes Latins*, Paris, 1903, pp. 168-173; Schmidt, *Histoire et Doctrine de la Secte des Cathares ou Albigeois*, Paris, 1849, i, passim, ii, 294-5. The sect has received notice in several works on Christian Church history, in works on the religious history of heterodox groups during the Middle Ages, and in Encyclopedia articles. Cf. *Real-Encyclopedie*, Leipzig, 1904, pp. 705-6, article by Zoeckler; Flos, Art: "Passagier" in *K. K. L.*, ix, 1556; Voight, *Die Religion in der Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Tuebingen, 1913, iv, cc. 1240-1. A few Jewish authors have recognized the career of the Passagii: Graetz has mentioned them indirectly, though not by name, in his remark concerning Jewish influence on the Albigensian heresy. Samter N., *Judentum und Proselytismus*, Breslau, 1897, p. 32, mentions them by name, on the basis of the material in Hahn, *op. cit.*, and Doellinger, *Beitraege zur Sektengeschichte im Mittelalter*, Munich, 1890, ii, 327, 385; Guedemann, *Erziehungswesen* treats of them more fully than any other Jewish investigator: i, 224, ii, 49 *et passim*. None has appreciated, however, the rightful place and true significance of the Passagii in a discussion of the inter-relation of Judaism and Christianity.

The source material on the Passagii has for the most part been collated and arranged by Hahn and Molinier. The latter, however, has been much more careful in his selection and arrangement; he does not appear to have made use of Hahn's work, since he does not once refer to it throughout his entire article. According to Molinier, whose arrangement has been summarized by Alphandery, *op. cit.*, pp. 168, note 1, the texts are to be divided into three categories: 1. *legislative* texts of ecclesiastical and secular origin; 2. *diplomatic* texts of purely pontifical origin; 3. *controversial* texts.

1. The *legislative* texts which we first consider, include: a. ecclesiastical legislative texts: (1) the condemnation launched

by Pope Lucius III at the Council of Verona in 1184 against the heretics of his time, Catharists, Patarenes, Poor Men of Lyons and several sects of lesser importance, among them the Passagii.

In primo ergo Catharos, et eos qui se Humiliatos, vel Pauperes de Lugduno, falso nomino mentiuntur, Passaginos, Iosepinos, Arnaldistas, perpetuo decernimus anathemati subjicere." Labbe, *Concil.*, ed. of 1671, x, c. 1737. See the text *in extenso* of the same condemnation followed by articles organizing almost a primitive inquisition in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 201:1297-1300. On the Council of Verona, see Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, vii, 517-519. The same condemnation figures in *Corpus juris Canonici;* also in the decretals of Gregory IX with the title of "De haereticis," with a constitution of this latter pontiff, having an identical object and, mentioning likewise the Passagii among the number of anathematized heretics. *Decret. Greg.* lib. v, tit. vii, cap. ix, et xv. The constitution inserted in chapter xv, under the name of Gregory IX, is evidently borrowed from one of the two bulls of the same Pope, dated 1229 and 1235.

b. Secular legislative texts include the promulgations of Emperor Frederic II against heresy. Of the three principal promulgations with successive amplication, the first took place at Rome, Nov. 22, 1220; the second at Ravenna, Feb. 22, 1232; the third in different towns of Italy, 1238-9. Cf. Pertz, *Mon. Germ.*, Leges, ii, 244, 287, 288, 328, 329; Huillard-Bréholles, *Friderici secundi historia diplomatica*, ii, part i, pp. 4, 5; iv, part i, p. 298; v, part i, pp. 279, 280. These promulgations served as the basis for the bulls of Innocent IV, Clement IV, Alexander IV, and others, and for the organization of the system of Inquisitorial Justice. Potthast, *Reg.*, nos. 15,448 (Anagni, July 7, 1254); 17,405 (Anagni, Nov. 17, 1258); 19,423 (Perouse, Oct. 31, 1265). See also at the end of Eymerich, *Directorium inquisitorum*, "Litterae Apostolicae," pp. 16-19, 34-38, 56-60, edition of 1585. See also *passim* in Bernard Gui, *Practica*, edited by Douais.

2. *Diplomatic* texts of pontifical origin include four main Bulls; two belong to Gregory IX (Pérouse, August 20, 1229; Viterbo, Nov. 8, 1235); the third is by Innocent IV (Anagni, June 15, 1254); the fourth by Nicholas IV (Viterbo, March 3, 1291). Potthast, *Reg.*, nos. 8445, 100,043, 15,425, 23,589; see also at the end of the *Directorium*, "Litt. Apostol.," pp. 3, 4; 21, 22; 66, 67. Moliner thinks that three other bulls refer not to the Passagii, but to bona-fide Jews whose proselytism disturbed the Popes,

namely: one by Clement IV (Viterbo, July 26, 27, 1267); another by Gregory X (Lyons, March 1, 1274); the third by Nicholas IV (Rieti, September 5, 1288): Potthast, *Reg.*, nos. 20,095, 20,798, 22,795. We will see, however, that though these bulls may not refer to the Passagii, they have a direct bearing upon Judaizing in heretical territories, and hence deserve inclusion in this study. Note also the Bull by Pope Julius II, dated March 1, 1511, which mentions the Passagii, the Hussites, Wycliffites and other heretical groups: *Magnum Bullarium Romanum*, i, 507-8.

3. *Controversial* texts include: (a) Bonacursus, who lived during the last part of the twelfth century: "Vita haereticorum" in the *Spicilegium*, edited by Baluz, i, 212-214. This has been reproduced in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 204: 784-791: "Adversus Haereticos qui Pasagii nuncupantur." (b) A fragment of an unedited tractate by an author known as Gregory of Bergame, about 1230, contained in Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicae medii aevi*, v, 150-152. Molinier rejects the important text of Lucas of Tuy, *Libri III de Altera Vita Fideique controversiis Adversus Albigensium Errores*, Ingolstadt, 1612, pp. 189-190; also in *Bibl. Patr. Max.*, xxv, 241. The material therein contained may not refer directly to the Passagii, but it has an important bearing on the general question of Jewish influence upon Albigensian thought.

Though these texts embrace the larger discussions concerning the Passagii, there are several items of lesser importance such as the reference to a note in Landulphus Junior, "Historia Mediolanensis" in Muratori, *Scriptores rerum Italicarum*, v, 513, concerning the excommunication of the followers of Anacletus II, called "Circumcisi." Alphandery (p. 169) remarks: "If this refers to the Jews, the remark would seem very banal; moreover the word 'Circumcisi' seems to designate a special religious class." An interesting reference occurs in Ducange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, iii, 911; under the definition of "Judaizare," he gives: "Fidem fallere. Ottoloboni Scribae Annales Genuens. lib. 2 ad ann. 1195; apud Murator., vi, 371: "Promisso itaque foedere et pacis juramento per quosdam piratas cives eorum, qui multos Januenses antea ceperant et expoliaverunt, Judaizantes fecerunt podium Bonifacii reaedificari et oppidum in eo construi."

V. JUDAIZERS UNDER THE INQUISITION

By the side of the Judaizing Passagii, we find other individuals and groups during the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries who exerted a "Judaic" influence upon the religious thought and life of the times. This second group of Judaizers were not Christians, but Jews by birth, who for very special reasons came under the legal jurisdiction of the Christian Church. With them the tribunal constituted for the protection of the faith from non-Christian attacks and from heresy, namely the Inquisition, was chiefly concerned. How these groups came within the power of the Church, to what extent they exerted Jewish influence on Christian life and thought, and what steps the Inquisition took to suppress them shall occupy us now.

1. The Legal Relationship of Judaism and Heresy

Judaism as such was not a heresy in Christian law, nor was a believing Jew a heretic. Thomas Aquinas remarks that Judaism escaped punishment by ecclesiastical authorities, notably the Inquisition, because of the clemency shown to it by the Church; Eymerich, the Aragonian Inquisitor, adopts this view, and it has also been accepted by some modern Christian historians.[1] Yet the reason why believing Jews were technically immune from the jurisdiction of the Holy Office was "not because they rendered homage to the truth," but because the Inquisition was charged with the special task of defending the faith against heresies. Judaism was not a heresy, but another faith, and in the eyes of the Church, a "perfidy."[2]

Another reason why Jews were technically free from the Inquisition was that the civil power regarded the Jews as an important source of revenue to the coffers of the King and the State, and therefore was not willing readily to renounce them. The conflict between the Church and temporal rulers over the

[1] Tanon, L., *Histoire des tribunaux de l'Inquisition en France*, Paris, 1893.

[2] See the comment of Israel Levi, in his brief review of Tanon's work in the *REJ.*

spoliation of baptized Jews illustrates the rivalry between the two parties on the subject of their Jewish policy: thus, a law of 1179 stated: "Secular princes ought be excommunicated who spoil baptized Jews of their goods."[3] The repeated references to Judaism as a "perfidy" by both ecclesiastical and secular rulers support the view that it was regarded as such in the eyes of the Church and State. Nevertheless, the Inquisition was by no means scrupulous in preserving the integrity of this distinction; inasmuch as Jews were unable to defend themselves, and had no protection against the Inquisition other than the occasional aid of secular princes who officially sanctioned the Tribunal, it was almost impossible to restrain Church officials in their endeavor to bring individual Jews and whole Jewish communities directly under their own control. In numerous instances, they punished not merely the individual Jew who had transgressed the law of the Church, but sought to fix upon the entire Jewish group the guilt of conspiracy against the Christian faith.

a. THE OATH OF A HERETIC AND A JEW

The effort to make Judaism equivalent to heresy is apparent in the identity of treatment allotted to heretics and Jews. Thus, in early Roman Christian enactments, Jews, pagans and heretics were excluded as witnesses against Christians: "Neither heretics, Jews, or pagans can accuse Christians."[4] In controversies between believers and heretics (including Jews), the testimony of heretics (including also pagans and Jews) on behalf of the believer and not against him, was to be accepted.[5] These laws played a part in the development of Christian usage in the matter of the oath "more Judaico," and while in the Middle Ages several instances occur of special favor shown towards Jewish testimony, for the most part the early laws were followed in civil and criminal processes where Jews were involved. The legislation applicable to the testimony of heretics was not changed. Bernard Gui in his *Practica officii Inquisitionis*, collated in the early part of the fourteenth century, informs us of the oath taken on the Law of Moses by Jews accused of being guilty of offenses against

[3] *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Decretal V. vi, ed. Friedeberg, ii, Canon v.
[4] *Cod. Justin.* 1, 5, 21; Nov. 45, 1.
[5] *Decret. Grat.*, 2, 7, 24-26; 4, 1, 1. Cf. Philipps, *Kirchenrecht*, Ratisbon, ii, 392 ff.; Stobbe, *Die Juden in Deutschland*, pp. 148 ff.

Christianity, and of the oath sworn on the Gospels by Jews converted to Christianity, but accused of relapsing into Judaism.[6]

Another example of the endeavor to identify Jews with heretics is found in the early laws of the Church, where it is decreed: "It is allowable to celebrate mass where faithful and pious ones have been buried. If infidels or heretics or faithless Jews be buried there, it is not allowed to celebrate mass. But if the Church seem suitable for consecration, after the bodies had been removed and the walls scraped or washed, it may be consecrated, if it has not been so previously."[7]

2. The Definition of Church Jurisdiction over Jews and Judaism through the Inquisition

Though Judaism and Jews *per se* did not fall within the realm of heresy, the Church persisted in its efforts to define a system of law which would extend its jurisdiction over Jews. The general principle was established that once a Jew was baptized, he remained henceforth under the control of the Church; the details of this policy, as we shall see, were worked out in great detail. The development of Church law with reference to Judaism and Jews grew out of the activities of the Inquisition, the ecclesiastical tribunal which sought to eradicate every possible trace of Jewish influence in the religious life of Christendom.

The Church was not satisfied with unsystematic efforts to supress heresy during the twelfth and thirteenth century, but looked forward to the foundation of a court and a body of law whereby it might enforce its will. The rise and spread of the heretical groups gave the Church its opportunity, and the tribunal to supress dissent was formed. Moreover the increase of anti-Jewish feeling, resulting from the emotions aroused by the Crusades, enabled it to undertake restrictive plans against the Jews. Before this time the controversies between Jews and Christians were largely literary in character; moreover, the Church was occupied with the organization of the first Crusades, and the great struggle over the Investiture, the schism of Frederic Barbarossa, and the rising heresies; it had little time to devote especial attention to Jews and Judaism. But with the

[6] Edited by Limborch in his *Historia Inquisitionis*, Amsterdam, 1692, in olio. See edition by C. Douais, Paris, 1886, pp. 299-300.

[7] Theodosius, *Lib. Poem.*, xlvii, 1.

ascent to power on the pontifical throne of the energetic Innocent III, the status of European Jewry was radically altered, and the policy of the Church became imbued with an increasingly aggressive and polemical spirit. The war against the heretics of Languedoc included the Jewries of the cities involved, and it was not long before "the crusade against the Albigensians led to the crusade against the Jews."

a. THE DOMINICANS AND THE FRANCISCANS

It was during the pontificate of Innocent III that the Orders of Dominican and Franciscan Friars came into prominence as the auxiliaries of the Church. The authority entrusted these groups by Innocent III, Gregory IX, Innocent IV, and their successors made them a significant force in the affairs not only of Southern France, but of the entire Continent and of England. The measures adopted in 1215 by the Lateran Council fixed the standards of anti-Jewish legislation and set in operation the forces destined to inflict hardships on all "heretics" and "infidels." The Dominicans constituted themselves the sword of the Church and sought to persecute not only Christian dissent, but Jewish unbelief as well. In all persecutions for nearly four hundred years, the Dominicans stood in the foreground, assailing not only Jewish literature, but individual Jews and, indeed, whole Jewish communities. The Franciscans, though not so aggressive as the Preaching Friars, were also strongly opposed to Jewish activity, and placed all their resources at the command of the Church for the suppression of heresy and unbelief.

We shall see that baptized Jews during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries entered both Orders, and proved valuable allies to the Dominicans in their assault upon Jewish books: these apostates, among them Nicholas Donin, Paul Christian, and numerous others, pointed out to the investigators portions of Talmudic and Rabbinic literature of seeming offense to the Christian faith. In our discussion of polemical and controversial literature, we shall have occasion to furnish details on this theme. In Jewish polemical works, notably those of Joseph Kimchi, of David Kimchi, Joseph ha-Mekanne, and Nachmanides, we find abundant references to the *Darshanim*, the Preaching Friars, and the *Tze 'irim*, or Minorite Franciscans.[8]

[8] *REJ*, iii, 13; Zunz, *Zur Geschichte*, p. 181, etc. A special study on the relationship of the Medieval Friars to Jews would be a valuable historical contribution.

3. Establishment of the Inquisition

The Dominican Order was in large measure responsible for the establishment of the Holy Office of the Inquisition. A Court for the punishment of heretics and infidels had been introduced as early as the reigns of Emperors Theodosius and Justinian, but not under the name of Inquisition. The Carlovingian legislation was exceedingly moderate as to heretics, merely classing them with pagans, Jews and infamous persons, and subjecting them to certain disabilities; it is interesting to observe also that during this period, only mild disabilities were inflicted upon Jews.[9] This liberalism on the part of rulers in the early Empire furnishes another instance of the combination usually found during the Middle Ages: tolerance and enlightenment, a literary renaissance and a Jewish revival, and pro-Jewish attitude and a receptivity towards heterodox opinions. With the appearance of concerted heretical movements during the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, however, the steps taken to combat dissent became more definite, and organized methods of suppression were gradually evolved.

The central point in these endeavors was whether or not the death penalty should be inflicted for heresy. In 1163 the Catharists detected at Cologne were sentenced, by judges appointed for the purpose, to be burned; the execution, as we shall see, took place near the Jewish quarter. As the struggle against dissenters became more bitter, the triumphant Church did not hesitate to make use of the death penalty whenever it could prevail upon the temporal power to enforce it.[10] With the introduction of the Laws of Frederic II, beginning in 1220, the publication of his Constitution in 1224 and his edict at Ravenna in 1232, the death penalty became the approved mode of punishment for heretics. In 1255 Alphonso of Castile decreed that all Christians who apostatized to Islam or Judaism should be burned. In France, Raymond of Toulouse, erstwhile protector of Jews, remained discreetly silent on the point whether the death penalty should be introduced into the legislation necessary to fulfill the provisions of the 1229 settlement. In England, the death penalty was first applied to a clerk or deacon in 1222

[9] Poole, R. L., *Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought*, London, 1884, p. 47. Lea, i, 218.

[10] Havet, Jules, *L'hérésie et le bras séculier au moyen âge jusqu'au treizième siècle*, Paris, 1881.

who had embraced Judaism, but it was not until 1401 that the writ: "de haeretico comburendo" became a statute, the penalty having no place in common law.[11]

a. The Death Penalty in Relation to the Old and New Testaments

The importance of the Old Testament in medieval Christianity made it inevitable that it should be employed to justify even the death penalty for heretics. At the Fifth General Council at Constantinople in 553, Eutychius, a man well grounded in Scripture, argued that King Josiah had not only slain the priests of idolatry, but had also exhumed the remains of those deceased; this was accepted as precedent for pronouncing the anathema against two individuals who had been dead a hundred years. The Christian Church, remembering the words of Jesus: "I am come not to destroy the Law, but to fulfill it" (Matthew 5:17), turned to Old Testament passages useful in its treatment of opponents. It recalled that Jehovah delighted in exterminating His enemies: Saul had been punished for sparing Agag of Amalek, whom the prophet Samuel hewed into pieces; the Israelites had been commanded to slaughter the unbelieving Canaanites; Elijah had been praised for slaying four hundred and fifty priests of Baal. Hence the Church could not conceive how mercy should be shown those who rejected the true faith; cruelty was obedience to God's will. Jehovah, moreover, was a God who was to be placated only by the continual sacrifice of victims. (Lea, i, 238.) Raymond of Pennaforte, compiler of the Decretals of Gregory IX, said that the schismatic, heretic and doubtful alike were to be forced into the Catholic fold: the fate of Korah, Dathan and Abiram was invoked for the destruction of the obstinate. To prove that persecution was a work of charity for the benefit of the victims, Peter Lombard cited a passage from Jerome's commentary on Isaiah 46:24, though the verse had no such meaning. Even as late as 1782, an enthusiastic Dominican quoted Deut. 13:6-10 to demonstrate that its command to slay without clemency all who entice the faithful from the true religion is almost literally the law of the Holy Inquisition; fire, he states, is the peculiar delight of God and the proper means of purifying the wheat from the tares.[12] Bishop Lucas

[11] Bracton, *De Legis Angliae*, Lib. iii, Tract. ii, cap. 9, paragraph 2.

[12] *Lob und Ehrenrede auf die heilige Inquisition*, Vienna, 1782, pp. 19-21.

of Tuy in his attack upon heresy affirms that it is more deplorable than the infidelity of the Jews, more vile than the doctrines of Mohammed, and more impure than Sodom and Gomorrah.

The New Testament, however, did not escape citation as a means of justifying the death penalty for heresy. The very doctrine of Atonement assumed that mankind could be rendered eligible for salvation only by the most terrible sacrifice conceivable: namely, the sufferings of one of the members of the Trinity. "The Christian worshipped a God who had subjected himself to the most painful and humiliating of sacrifices, and the salvation of souls was dependent on the daily repetition of this sacrifice in the Mass, throughout Christendom. To minds moulded in such a belief, it might well seem that the extremity of punishment inflicted on the enemies of the Church of God was nothing in itself, and that it was an acceptable offering to Him who had commanded that neither age nor sex should be spared in the land of Canaan." The passage in John 15:6: "If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch and is withered; and men gather them and cast them into the fire and they are burned," is quoted as an authoritative commentary upon the decree of Pope Lucius III in 1184, the first Pope to take cognizance of the Judaizing Passagii, ordering heretics to be delivered to the secular arm for due punishment; the commentator thereupon concludes that death by fire is the punishment for heretics, not only by divine but also by human law and universal custom. These views quickly took form in a definite code of law, and after the Church's triumph over the Albigensians led by Viscount Raymond, the principle of persecution was completely accepted and never questioned subsequently during the centuries of the Inquisition's power. Even in the days of the Reformation, the question of Biblical sanction for penalties inflicted on heretics repeatedly arose, the execution of Michael Servetus by Calvin at Geneva being the special incident which aroused widespread debate in Protestant circles. While it is true that the Old Testament furnished more abundant passages than the New, these texts would have found no echo unless Christian theology had inclined its adherents to an interpretation whereby they were forced into support of practices the Church wished to condone. Thus once more, though the Church professed to have subordinated Jewish Scripture to the Gospels, it testified to the importance of the former by its constant reference thereto.

5. The Jewish Problems of the Inquisition: the Four Special Problems

The Inquisition was established in Southern France primarily to suppress the Albigensian heresy,[13] a task which it fulfilled with zest and rigor. But when the judges of "heretical perversity" had finished with the Albigensians, they thought of the Jews; in fact, in the very midst of their Crusade against heretics, they struck at the latter's Jewish supporters: the oath of Raymond VII of Toulouse in Paris, April 12, 1229, provided that not only heretical suspects, but also Jews were to be excluded from the offices of bailiff and collector of reveune; at the first intimation that appointees belonged to these proscribed classes, they were to be removed.[14] The success of the Inquisition in its anti-Jewish policies in Southern France was duplicated elsewhere, and we find at the close of the thirteenth century and henceforth that a special and important part of the duties of officers of the Holy Tribunal involved the careful supervision of Jewish literary and personal activities. Not only at Marseilles,[15] but in Sicily,[16] Rome,[17] and other European cities[18] were Jews subject to the decrees of the Holy Office. It was in Aragon that the Inquisition first gained a foothold in Spain;[19] there its power rapidly increased, until all Spain and Portugal came under its sway.[20] The tragic story of the Jewish apostates or Marranos or Judaizers, as they were called,[21] from whom even members of the Inquisi-

[13] Cauzons, Th., *Les Albigeois et l'Inquisition, Paris*, 1908, 2nd ed. Molinier, Ch., *L'Inquisition dans le midi de la France au XIII et au XIV siècles*, Paris, 1903.

[14] Hefele, v, 870; Harduin, vii, 167.

[15] *REJ*, xlvi, 28 ff.

[16] Erler, 48:37.

[17] Perugini, "L'Inquisition Romaine et les Israélites," *REJ*, iii, 94 ff. Cf. *Lucerna Inquisitorum Haereticae Pravitatis*, R. P. F. Bernardi Comensis, Rome 1510, pp. 70-2, on the Jews.

[18] *Monatsschrift*, 1881, pp. 300, 444.

[19] Regné, J., "Rapports entre l'Inquisition et les Juifs d'après le Mémorial de l'Inquisition d'Aragon (fin du xiv siècle), in *REJ*, iii, 244; see also *REJ*, xi, 85 and elsewhere.

[20] Among the many references to the Spanish Inquisition, see Graetz, H., "La Police de l'Inquisition d'Espagne à ses Débuts," *REJ*, xx, 237-243; Lea, H. C., *A History of the Inquisition in Spain*, New York and London, 1906-7; reviewed by Reinach, in *Revue Critique*, Oct. 21, pp. 301-7 (1907); and by Adler, E. N., in *JQR*, xx (1907-8), pp. 509-71.

[21] Kayslering, M., "Notes sur l'histoire de l'Inquisition et des Judaisants d'Espagne" in *REJ*, xxxvii, 266 ff.

torial Tribunal itself were descended,[22] and the many "autos da fé" wherein these unhappy people suffered the extreme penalty, in support of which texts of their own Bible were quoted,[23] constitute one of the most dramatic chapters in medieval history.

The four problems which confronted the Inquisition in its treatment of Jews and Judaism were as follows: first: to prevent Jews from aiding and associating with Christian heretics; second, to eliminate from Christian life every trace of Jewish literary influence emanating from those writings, particularly in the domain of the Talmud and Rabbinical literature, alleged to be injurious to Christian faith; third, to curtail any personal proselytizing by Jews or Jewish communities, either by means of direct appeals to Christian believers on behalf of the Jewish faith, or through the medium of social relationships and intermarriage; the manifold Bulls of the Popes, and the enactments of secular rulers were practical evidence of this policy; fourth: to prevent Jews who had accepted Christianity by baptism from reverting to Judaism, accompanied by their own families and by Christians upon whom they had prevailed likewise to desert the Catholic Church. In Southern France and in Spain, the problem of these "Relapsi" or "Rejudaizers" proved a perpetual irritant to the Inquisitorial officers, and no punishment was too severe for them. Allied to these four major problems was the suppression of minor forms of offense by Jews: the practice of usury, and the infringement of canonical laws against social and religious intercourse with Christians. At times the Inquisition did not hesitate to urge the expulsion of entire Jewish communities, solely on the ground that their presence and "anti-Christian" activities were a menace to the faith. Thus the story of Continental Jewry, from the thirteenth century to

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 268.

[23] Adler, E. N., "Autos da fé and Jews, "*JQR*, xiii, xiv, xv, *passim*, 1901-3; published in London, 1908; *Auto da fé and Jew*, reviewed in *REJ*, lix, 133. See also Kayserling, M., "Autos da Fé and Jews," *JQR*, xiv, October, 1901; *REJ*, xxvii, 292, *REJ*, lix, 239; Gottheil, R. J. H., "The Jews and the Spanish Inquisition (1622-1721), *JQR*, xv, 182-150; and the articles with bibliography by Gottheil, *JE*, ii, 338-342; and Kayserling, vi, 587-703, where he says: "There is as yet no history of the Inquisition having especial reference to Judaizers; such a work, which would be highly desirable, could be prepared only by a thorough examination of the records of the Inquisition. These are to be found at Madrid, Simancas, Seville and Cordova, at Lisbon, Coimbar and Evora."

the dawn of the Reformation and even later, is closely interwoven with the career of the Inquisition.

a. JEWISH AID TO HERETICS

1. *Jews Furnish Refuge to Heretics*

The first problem in relation to the Jews to which the Inquisition addressed itself was: how to prevent Jews from furnishing refuge and asylum to fleeing Christian heretics. Despite the many perils involved, and the knowledge that they would suffer grievously at the hands of the Inquisition, Jews nevertheless received into their homes and hid from the investigation and pursuit of the Holy Office, not only Judaizing Christian Jews, namely the converts from Judaism to Christianity who had relapsed, but also Christian dissenters, whether Albigensian, Waldensian or members of any other contemporary party under the ban of the Church. The numerous references in the *Practica* of Bernard Gui calling upon Jews to inform the Inquisitors if they knew or heard of any heretics, indicate the need the Tribunal felt of impressing ceaselessly upon the minds of Jews their duties in the suppression of heresy. The pronouncement of Philip, the Fair, June 6th, 1299, speaks of the fact that, among their other offenses, "they receive fugitive heretics and conceal them."[24] It was only natural that one group, exiled from society because of religious difference, should seek the friendship and protection of another group likewise banned. Peyrat, whose evidence must be accepted with caution, remarks that in the North, below Mas-Amet (the hamlet of the Consolateur), at the foot of the Cascade of Ninouvre, there can still be seen the grotto of Saurimoda, separated by a tiny projection of granite from that of its companion; and on the other side of the torrent are to be found the caverns of the "Josiouis." These are the retreats of the Albigensians, whither they fled to escape the outstretched hand of the Inquisition; there also, later, the proscribed Israelites fled, and obliterated the traces of the Albigensians.[25]

Jews and heretics fared alike in the matter of the right of asylum. Thus Pope Martin IV, Oct. 21, 1281, directed a letter

[24] Doat, xxvii, f. 246.

[25] Peyrat, *Histoire des Albigeois*, i, 309. Cf. *REJ*, iii, 223.

to the Bishops of France and to the Inquisitors, wherein he remarked that very many heretics and converted Jews, who openly or secretly departed from the faith, took refuge under the right of asylum in churches, in order to escape the Inquisition; these, however, were not to be withdrawn from the tribunal of the Inquisition, to which the Bishops were instructed to lend entire assistance.[26] In this way, the Pope sought to prevent the perversion of the right of asylum, and to vindicate the faith by giving the Inquisition authority to ignore ordinary usages. The Holy Office had complained that its work was being impeded by the universal right of asylum which gave protection to criminals who succeeded in entering a church; no officer of the law dared follow and make an arrest within the sacred walls, for a violation of this privilege entailed excommunication, removable only after exemplary punishment. Heretics, whether of Christian or Jewish birth, quickly availed themselves of the immunity thus afforded by the Church, and in the jealousy between the clergy and the Inquisitors little effort was made to restrict the abuse. The grouping of heretic Christians with Jewish apostates, who formed a notably large section of those subjected to Inquisitorial zeal, demonstrates the tendency of the Church to classify Christian dissenters with proscribed Jews, and to mete out to them the same treatment. It is interesting to place the promulgation of Martin IV by the side of a message, issued March 7, 1289, by Pope Nicholas IV, wherein he confirmed an agreement between his representatives and those of King Dionysius (Diniz) of Portugal, to the effect that, in addition to the correction of other abuses against the Church, the King agreed to give scrupulous regard to the right of asylum; the Bishops had complained that he permitted Christian fugitives to be taken from churches by Saracens and Jews, who had even been employed to slay them.[27] It was quite obvious that the Popes knew how to make use of a situation for their own purposes: though in France the right of asylum might be abrogated on behalf of the Inquisition's pursuit of heretics, in Spain this very privilege was to be carefully observed, particularly because infidels were concerned in its infringement.

[26] Potthast, 22806; Raynaldus ad an. 1281, 18.
[27] Potthast, 22899; Raynaldus ad an. 1289, 22-29.

2. *Heretics and Jews Expelled Together*

Further evidence that Jews were suspected of association with heretics and aid to them in their activities is found in the fact that the punishments meted out to both groups were oftentimes identical. For the most part, secular and ecclesiastical leaders sought to punish only those Jews immediately within their jurisdiction, particularly "Rejudaizers" or heretics, who once having accepted baptism, returned to Judaism. In some instances, however, Jews as such were persecuted and punished in common with heretics. Thus at Milan in the campaign against local dissenters during the thirteenth century, the Podesta promised to expel not only the numerous heretical groups in the neighborhood, but to exile the Jews as well, and to permit them no longer to enter the city or its environs without consent from the Archbishop.[28] *Per contra*, we have seen that in cities of Southern France, among them Toulouse, Béziers and Narbonne, Jewish communities were permitted to flourish, and heretics also found safe territory for the dissemination of their views. In Metz, Jews who were unacceptable elsewhere were allowed to remain in peace; hence, remarks Comba, it is not surprising that Waldensian heretics were found there.[29] Just as Jews were expelled from cities and countries because of proselytism on behalf of their faith, so too the heretics were banished because of their propaganda.

3. *The Execution of Arnold of Bonn near the Jewish Cemetery in Cologne*

Heretic Jews were subjected to autos da fé of their own, as at Troyes; we find incidents also of the burning of renegade Jews in company with condemned heretics, as on May 31, 1310, at Paris. A unique episode in the history of the suppression of heresy is the burning of Arnold of Bonn, a Catharist, on "Jews' Hill" next to the "Jews' Cemetery" in August, 1163.[30] Arnold and his confrères had been excommunicated by Archbishop Reginald and made to suffer the extreme penalty. It can have been no accident that Arnold's execution occurred near the Jewish cemetery. No suspicion of heretical communications

[28] Cassel, "Juden" in Ersch and Gruber, p. 149.

[29] See the testimony of Siegebert de Gemblours.

[30] Aronius, *Regesten*, p. 125, Schmidt, i, 96.

with Jews can have been involved in his case; the desire must have been merely to make the execution as infamous as possible by erecting the stake near the Jewish quarter; moreover, it may have been staged there with an eye to its effect upon the Jews. Whatever may have been the reason, it appears certain that there is a series of events which deserve notice here. Arnold's execution may be regarded as a precursor of the burning of John Huss, who on the stake was accused of having "consulted with the Jews."

b. SUPPRESSION BY THE INQUISITION OF JEWISH LITERARY INFLUENCE

1. *Censorship of Jewish Books*

The second major problem which occupied the attention of the Inquisition in its treatment of Jews and Judaism was the suppression of Jewish literary influence upon Christian belief. Jewish writings as such were not subject to the jurisdiction of the Holy Office; only those which were alleged to contain injury to Christian doctrine and practice came under its control. In an endeavor to restrict Jewish literary activity to the domain of purely Jewish themes and to prevent any criticism of the Church or of Christianity, the Inquisition developed a policy of censorship and a system of penalties which became the foundation of one of the fundamental institutions of Catholicism, namely, the Index.[31]

The censorship of pestilent and heretical writings was introduced into Christian life as early as the days of Constantine, who demanded the surrender of all Arian works under the penalty of death.[32] During the Middle Ages, confiscation and burning were applied not only to Nestorian, Manichean and

[31] Putnam, G. H., *The Censorship of the Church of Rome, and Its Influence upon the Production and Distribution of Literature*, New York and London, 1907; this work contains a bibliography, pp. xvii-xxv, of vol. i. See also Reusch, F. H., *Der Index der Verbotenen Buecher*, Bonn, 1883-5; and *idem*, *Indices Librorum Prohibitorum*, Tuebingen, 1886. For censorship of Jewish books, see Berliner, A., *Censur und Confiscation Hebr. Buecher*, Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1891; Popper, W., *The Censorship of Hebrew Books*, *New York*, 1899, and Porges N., in *JE*, iii, 642-650, which contains additional bibliographical items.

[32] The associations of Arians with Jews forms an interesting aspect of this important heresy.

other theological writings, but even to philosophical works which displeased the dominant political or religious group.

a. The Bible Versions and Censorship. Inasmuch as the Bible was part of the Christian Canon, it ought to have been immune from attack. When Pope Clement IV issued a Bull, July 15, 1267, against Jewish books, he ordered that those books which contained only the text of the Bible or were free from errors were to be returned to their owners;[33] thus in this instance at least, the Hebrew version of the Bible appears to have had immunity equal to that of the authorized Vulgate. But even the Vulgate version came under the control of the ecclesiastical authorities, for in 1229 the Council of Toulouse prohibited all laymen from possessing any of the Scriptures even in Latin. This was done in an endeavor to prevent the dissemination of interpretations contrary to those sanctioned by the official clergy. It was natural therefore that versions of the Bible in the vernacular tongues were vigorously suppressed. Thus in 1234 King James I of Aragon ordered that all who possessed any books of the Old or New Testament "in Romancio" be summoned to deliver them within eight days to their bishops under pain of being held suspect of heresy. Later, in an attempt to check the spread of the dissent of the Brethren of the Free Spirit, the laity of Germany were forbidden the use of translations of the Scriptures into the vernacular, and with the rise of printing the translation of any part of the Scripture into the language of the land was also prohibited.

b. Censorship of the Talmud. If Bible versions were thus controlled by the Church, it is easy to appreciate the care with which post-Biblical Jewish writings were censored. Almost at the moment that the redaction of the Babylonian Talmud was being completed, the Emperor Justinian decreed against the abolition of the Greek translation of the Bible in the service of the Synagogue, and also forbade the use of the so-called *secunda editio*. This latter work is recognized by glossators as a collection of traditional expositions of the Scriptures, or *Haggadoth*, which were also included in the Talmud.[34] Justinian's promulgation was a forerunner of the systematic persecution of the

[33] Potthast, 20082.

[34] See edict also of Emperor Basilius. Erler, 44:390, 414, 416, and 48:410.

Talmud which found expression in the literary crusades of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The Talmud became the object of Christian attack because of its alleged blasphemous allusions to Jesus, the Virgin Mary and other personages sacred to the Church.[35]

1. *Peter the Venerable of Cluny.* One of the first of the several Christian scholars who, with the personal help of Jewish apostates or through the medium of previous Latin works containing citations from Jewish literature, undertook the study of the Talmud,[36] was Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny. Peter also studied the Koran with a view to refuting Mohammedan opinions.[37] He devoted himself to the Talmud in order to hold up to ridicule those passages which seemed especially distasteful.[38] The argumentative method he employed did not satisfy the mood of the thirteenth century, for those entrusted with the guardianship of the true faith had dedicated themselves to sterner dealings with misbelievers, "and the persecution of Jewish literature followed swiftly on that of the Albigenses and Waldenses." (Lea, i, 554.) The attack was concentrated in France, where Talmudic study flourished.

2. *Burning of the Maimonist Books.* In a certain measure Jews were responsible for the inauguration of the crusade against their writings. In the heat of the domestic controversy between the followers and opponents of Moses Maimonides, Solomon ben Abraham of Montpellier and his colleagues, imitating the example of Pope Gregory IX, issued a ban against the Maimonist writings at the beginning of 1232. The orthodox group followed this act by requesting the Dominican Friars to proceed against Jewish heretics in the same fashion as against Christian dissenters. The Dominicans and Franciscans were easily persuaded, and after a search instituted at the command of the Papal Legate in Montepellier, all Maimonist books found were confiscated, and December, 1233, the first public official burning of Hebrew books occurred.[39] This example was followed else-

[35] Herford, R. T., *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*, London, 1903.

[36] Soury, J., *Des Études hébraiques et exégétiques au moyen âge chez les chrétiens d'Occident*, Paris, 1867, p. 35.

[37] *Hist. Litt. de la Fr.*, xxiv, 387-8.

[38] Migne, 189:602 ff.

[39] Popper, *Censorship of Hebrew Books*, p. 7; Graetz, vii, 46; Geiger, *Judenthum und seine Geschichte*, p. 45

where, and served as a pretext to the Inquisition whereby it might include all classes of Jewish literature. A little more than a month after the auto da fé at Montpellier, nearly 12,000 volumes of Talmudic and other works were publicly destroyed, according to Hillel ben Samuel, at Paris, and the precedent was established whereby the Christian clergy and laity dared to confiscate and burn Jewish writings as they saw fit.[40] In addition, the Christian world received Jewish sanction to apply to the works of Moses Maimonides the stigma of heresy; it is not surprising therefore to find in the denunciations of Inquisitors, among them Bernard Gui of Toulouse, a special condemnation of the *Mishneh Torah* and other works from the great philosopher's pen.

3. *The Talmud Controversy of 1240.* It was, however, through the activity of a certain Nicholas de Rupella or Nicholas Donin, an apostate Jew who had become a member of the Dominican Order, that the campaign against Jewish books gained its greatest momentum. In 1236, Nicholas went before Pope Gregory IX and called his attention in an accusation of thirty-five points to the blasphemies with which the Hebrew books, the Talmud in particular, were filled.[41] Motivated by a desire to make converts to Christianity, Gregory addressed to the Kings and Prelates of France, England, Castile, Aragon, Navarre, Leon and Portugal, to William of Paris, head of the Dominicans, and to the Minister of the Franciscans, several epistles (June, 1239), demanding that on a Sabbath in the following Lent when the Jews would be in their synagogues, all their books should be seized and delivered to the Friars for investigation.[42] This act eventually resulted in a great controversy over the burning of the Jewish books, and gave rise to the first public disputation between Jews and Christians of widespread consequence.[43] The defense furnished by

[40] See Neubauer, *Medieval Jewish Chronicles*, ii, 251, for the experience of Meir ben Isaac during an outbreak at Narbonne.

[41] Gorten, *Anklaeger der Talmud*, p. 6.

[42] Potthast, 10759-60; 10767-8; Graetz, vii, 103, 443.

[43] Loeb, I., "La controverse de 1240 sur le Talmud," *REJ*, i, 247, ii, 248, iii, 39; Ziegler, *Religioese Disputationen im Mittelalter*, Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1894; Spiers, F. S., "Disputations between Jews and Christians in the Middle Ages," *Jewish Review*, iii, 512; Levin, in *Monatsschrift*, 1869, pp. 97 ff. For a review of passages in the Talmud which treat of Jesus, in addition to Herford's work already cited, see Laible, H., *Jesus Christus im Thalmud*, Berlin, 1891.

the Jews did not avail them, and in June, 1244, a great auto-da-fé of thousands of Hebrew books occurred at Paris; at Rome, also, a similar destruction took place. In 1247 the Jews made another effort to protect their remaining works, and a commission of investigation was appointed of which Albertus Magnus was a member. Once more, however, the Talmud was condemned, and the Papal Legate Odo issued a decree against the return or the possession of Talmud copies, (May, 1248); this precedent was quoted on numerous occasions in later years, and served Bernard Gui, the Inquisitor of Toulouse, to especial advantage. The story of the controversy of 1240 with its numerous Christian and Jewish participants, the decrees by Pope Innocent IV and Odo,[44] the arguments advanced by both sides, the eventual outcome of a second auto da fé at Paris in 1248, furnish a dramatic account of the methods which the Church, aided by the State, found useful in its crusade against Jewish literary influence in Christian life.[45]

Within six years it became necessary to undertake a new campaign against the Talmud, and King Louis IX was instructed by Pope Innocent IV to suppress study of the Talmud among Jews; the King, in turn, addressed the decree to his seneschals in the Narbonnais, and the Synod of Béziers supported the movement against the Hebrew books by a canon making punishment for violation of the papal and royal order banishment from the realm.[46]

4. *The Controversy of 1263.* It remained, however, for another Jewish apostate, a Dominican monk named Paul Christian, to set in motion a new attack upon the Talmud. He induced the General of the Dominicans, Raymond de Pennaforte, to organize a disputation at Barcelona in 1263 between Paul and Rabbi Moses ben Nachman or Nachmanides, one of the foremost Rabbis of the age (1194-1270). The Talmud as usual was the major theme of debate, Nachmanides, in reply to Paul, affirming that

[44] Potthast, 11376; *Bull. Rom. Magn.*, iii, 508; Harduin, vii, 374; *Act. SS.* August 5, 25, Aug, n. 386, 387.

[45] For a discussion of the Hebrew account of the controversy of 1240, see the *Wikkuach Rabbenu Yechiel mi-Paris*, Thorn, 1873, and the *Tela Ignea Satanae* of Wagenseil. The Latin version: *Extractiones de Talmut* is carefully conside r ed by Loeb, *op. cit.*

[46] Reusch, i, 46.

the Haggadic portions of the Rabbinical literature were merely "sermones," and therefore without binding force; any proofs, even if literally correct, deduced from them in support of Christian dogma were invalid. The echoes of this controversy lasted many years.[47] Paul induced Clement IV to order, August 19, 1263, through King James of Aragon all local Jews to submit their books to Paul for investigation. James issued the decree but apparently permitted the Jews to expurgate for themselves objectionable passages; it is not clear, however, whether the censorship was done by others. The books were returned to their owners.[48] A year or two later, James ordered that the works of Nachmanides be burned,[49] and instituted a commission to which he again ordered the Talmud and other Hebrew works to be submitted for expurgation.

For a time it seemed as if an attitude favorable to the Talmud would prevail, for Raymond Martin, a noted controversialist, asserted that since it contained passages delivered from Moses, offering valuable evidence as to the truth of Christian doctrines, it ought not be destroyed, but carefully preserved. King James moreover is reported to have ordered its translation, and even decreed that Jews need no longer submit their books to the Dominicans. But the papal authorities speedily nullified this favor, by ordering King James in 1266 to put away his Jewish protégées and to punish Nachmanides, who had published a false account of his controversy with Paul.[50] This referred to the little tractate or *Wikkuach* which Nachmanides had issued in Hebrew, and for which he was compelled to spend the rest of his days in exile. Another work inspired by Paul's anti-Jewish activities was the *Machazik ha-'Emunah* by Mordecai ben Joseph of Avignon, combatting the apostate's alleged Jewish

[47] The literature on the disputation is abundant. "Wikkuach ha-Ramban" was published in the *Milchemeth Chobhah*, Constantinople, 1710; revised Hebrew version by M. Steinschneider, Stettin, 1860. Wagenseil, *Disputatio R. Mosis Nachmanidis cum Fratre Paulo*, Altdorf, 1674; a Latin translation by Wagenseil, Nuremberg, 1681. See Loeb, I., "La controverse de 1263 a Barcelone," *REJ*, xv, 1; *idem*, *La controverse religieuse*, p. 33 ff.; Posnanski, *Shiloh*, *passim*. The Latin protocol entitled: "Instrumentum disputationis de fide cum quodam Rabbi Moyse," ed. H. Denifle, in *Historisches Jahrbuch der Goeres-Gesellschaft*, Munich, 1887, viii, 231 ff.

[48] Popper, p. 13.

[49] Jacobs, J., in *JQR*, vi, 604.

[50] Potthast, 19911; Rayn. ad an. 1266, 29.

evidence in support of the Christian Messianic doctrine.[51] In 1267, Paul prevailed upon Clement IV to issue two bulls to the Archbishop of Tarragona commanding him to compel King James and his nobles to have the Jews deliver their Talmuds and other writings to the Dominicans and Franciscans for examination;[52] if they contained nothing blasphemous, they were to be returned; otherwise they were to be sealed up and securely kept for future papal instruction. Similar measures appear to have been taken in Madrid. In 1286, Pope Honorius IV issued a bull to the Episcopate of England (previously sent to France) wherein he attacked the Talmud as the source of Jewish perfidy and a weapon of proselytism among Christians.[53] In 1299, Philip the Fair of France found it necessary to denounce the persistent multiplication of copies of the Talmud and to order his judges to aid the Inquisition in its extermination.

5. *Attacks on Jewish Literature During the Fourteenth Century.* The fourteenth century brought no cessation of the attacks upon Jewish books. In 1306, King Philip the Fair of France, who had complained of the great number of copies of the Talmud in the possession of the Jews, suddenly issued a decree of expulsion. In 1307, January 16th, there acceded to the position of Inquisitor at Toulouse the noted Bernard Gui, who was destined to play an important role in the suppression of Jewish influence. During the period of his activity, from 1307 to 1323, he acquitted himself with such zeal that several hundred sentences were pronounced, and several hundred heretical books were burned. Bernard was the first to conceive the idea of composing a practical treatise for the use of the Inquisition, a kind of manual of its rules and procedure. This he composed under the title of the *Practica officii Inquisitionis*,[54] a veritable

[51] This work still exists in manuscript (Vatican MSS. 271), and would furnish an admirable subject for a special thesis. See *Hebr. Bibl.* ii, 86, xv, 89-90 and xvi, 42; Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, 4, 585; *idem*, in *Monatsschrift*, xviii, 1876, p. 156; Neubauer, *Fifty-Third Chapter*, i, 325; Loeb, *La controverse religieuse*, p. 33; *Hist. Litt. de la Fr.*, xxvii, 562-571.

[52] Potthast, 20081, 20082.

[53] Potthast, 22541; Raynald. ad an. 1286, 25-27. See John XXII's bull in 1320.

[54] Edited by C. Douais, Paris, 1886, with the title: *Practica Inquisitionis heretice pravitatis*. See also the edition of Limborch, in his *Historia Inquisitionis*, Amsterdam, 1692, in folio, and the extracts in Levi, Israel, *Les Juifs et l'Inquisition dans la France Méridionale; Extraits de la "Practica" de Bernard Gui*, Paris, 1891.

treasure-house of information concerning the methods, history and achievements of the Inquisition prior to the middle of the fourteenth century, and filled with original documents relating to the history of the heresies, both Christian and Judaizing, in Southern France.[55] The estimates concerning the number of sentences imposed vary,[56] and also concerning the number of heretical books burned;[57] the fact remains that Bernard's occupancy of the Inquisitorial leadership was marked by special activity against Jewish literature and Judaizing heresies.

This is seen in the endeavors of Bernard in 1309 to suppress the Talmud and other Jewish writings. The *Practica* under date of January 4-5, 1309, contains several important documents:[58] the first is "The Form of a Requisition of the Books of the Talmud of the Jews under pain of excommunication" (pp. 67-8), addressed to John Crespis, superintendent of the matter relating to the Jews in the Seneschals of Toulouse and Rodez; the authority of King Philip and of Cardinal Odo, the Papal Legate to France in 1248, is cited. The second document (pp. 69-70) is: "A Requisition to the Seneschal of Agennais" against the books of the Jews, including the Talmud, its glosses and expositions, so that they may be examined by the Dominican Friars. The third, (pp. 70-71), is concerning: "A Commission Issued to the Prior of the Dominicans of Agennais to inquire into the books of the Jews." Under date of January 13, 1309, we have (p. 69) a "Sentence of excommunication against those who withhold or conceal the books of the Jews," and another "Sentence of excommunication" (p. 71) in the Seneschal of Agennais. The net outcome of this and similar agitation was that in 1309, in Paris, three large wagon-loads of Jewish books were publicly burned.

In view of this auto da fé, it is somewhat surprising that, in 1311, we find that Pope Clement V established chairs in Hebrew,

[55] Cf. for further information on the Inquisition in Languedoc, Douais, C., *Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'Inquisition dans le Languedoc*, 2 vols., Paris, 1900; see also Paetow, L., *Guide to the Study of Medieval History*, Berkeley, 1917, pp. 401-4, for additional bibliography.

[56] Levi, *op. cit.*, p. 5 mentions 930; Maitland, p. 218 speaks of 639; Peyrat, iii, 351 cites 637.

[57] Molinier, Ch., *L'Inquisition dans le Midi de la France*, Paris, 1881, p. 207; cf. C. Douais, *Les Frères prêcheurs en Gascogne au xiii et au xiv siècles*, Paris, 1885, p. 386.

[58] See Delisle, Leopold: *Notice sur les manuscrits de Bernard Gui*, *Notices et Extraits*, xxvii, 382 and 384.

Arabic and "Chaldaic" in the Universities of Paris, Salamanca, Bologna and Oxford, and at the Papal See, two teachers to be supported at each place as instructors.[59] The Pope is quoted as saying that he wished "before condemning the Talmud he might know what it is."[60] It was later necessary for one of the Popes to explain this leniency by affirming that any favorable opinions expressed concerning Jewish literature applied only to the grammatical works.[61]

In 1315, Louis, the successor of Philip the Fair, permitted Jews to return to France, restoring to them their property, but denying them the Talmud. This prohibition was ineffective until Bernard Gui undertook to enforce it. Under the compulsion of the Inquisition, the royal officials made diligent search for forbidden Jewish books, and after an examination by experts in the Hebrew tongue, he published a decision, November 28, 1319, at an auto da fé wherein he forced several Waldensians to pay the penalty for their heresy. Two cart-loads of Talmuds were carried through the streets of Toulouse, while royal officials proclaimed in loud voices that their fate was due to their insults to the Christian faith; after this they were burned.[62] Gui realized that constant vigilance was necessary to prevent Jews from securing once more copies of their cherished works; hence, with threats of excommunication for disobedience, he ordered all priests of Toulouse to publish for three Sundays an injunction commanding the Jews to bring to the Inquisition all their Hebrew books, including the Talmud. Bernard's vexation against Jewish literature is seen in one of the forms of his *Practica:* "Concerning the Intolerable Blasphemy of the Jews against Christ and His faith and the Christian people."[63] In this tract he condemns, in addition to the Talmud, the works of David Kimchi, Rashi, Maimonides, and other selections from Jewish literature seemingly directed against the Christian religion.

In his attacks upon the Talmud, Bernard was aided by the Pope, John XXII, in Rome. In the *Practica* (pp. 170-1), we have a "Form or Mode of Pronouncement upon the books of

[59] Hefele, vi, 482; Clement 5, 1, 1.

[60] Schwab, M., *Talmud de Jerusalem*, p. 51 ff. Popper, p. 15.

[61] Berliner, *Censur und Confiscation*, p. 23.

[62] Limborch, *op. cit.*, fol. 136 A.

[63] pp. 290-292; Levi, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-20; Doat, xxx, f. 281; ms. de Toulouse, 5th part, f. 85, B. C. D.

the Jews which are commonly called the Talmud, and upon others in which are contained blasphemies, falsities, errors and ignominies against the Lord Jesus Christ and His most sacred Mother, to the opprobrium of the Christian Faith." This form mentioned the decree of Odo, the Papal Legate, in 1248, the declaration of Louis IX, and also the special mandate of John XXII directing an inquisition against the Talmud. This apparently refers to John's Bull, Sept. 4, 1320, addressed to the Archbishops of Bourges, Toulouse, their Suffragans, and to all Bishops in France, wherein he renews the order of Clement IV and Honorius IV against the Talmud and Jewish proselytism. Copies of prohibited Jewish books were to be confiscated with such foresight that Jews might not successfully conceal them, and, after examination by the Franciscans, Dominicans and other experts, were to be turned over to the secular arm for burning.[64] From France, the center of agitation against Hebrew literature, John turned his attention to Italy, and in 1321 ordered a confiscation and destruction in Rome; despite the plea of Jewish communal leaders, the order was executed during the Feast of Weeks, 1322.[65] This event marked the close of a period in the persecution of Jewish literature; sporadic efforts through the medium of disputations and the investigations of the Holy Office availed little, except to prepare for the great outbreaks of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. We may mention one instance of the customary association of endeavors to eradicate Jewish influence and Christian heresy: thus, "in 1409 Alexander V turned his attention to France, the southern part of which was full of heretics; and in directing the Inquisitor Frère Pons Feugeyron to proceed against them, he ordered also the destruction of the Talmud."[66] The Reuchlin-Pfefferkorn controversy, which prepared the way for the Reformation and agitated all Christendom for decades, is the classic example of the role which the issue of burning Jewish books played in the life and thought of the Middle Ages and of modern times.[67]

[64] Raynaldus ad an. 1320, p. 24 ff.; *REJ*, xxx, 257; Reusch, i, 46. The Bull cites the precedent of Clement IV of 1267, Honorius IV in 1285, and Odo of 1248.

[65] Vogelstein und Rieger, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom.* i, 308.

[66] Wadding, ann. 1409, No. 12. Popper, p. 18 ff., gives an account of the anit-Talmud campaign of the later centuries.

[67] Geiger, L., *Johann Reuchlin*, Leipzig, 1871, *passim.*

c. Non-Talmudic Works Banned by the Inquisition. 1. *Rashi's Commentaries.* In addition to the Talmud, non-Talmudic writings came under the ban of the Inquisition. Thus the commentaries of Rashi were the subject of severe censure. In the controversy of 1240, the glosses of Rashi are mentioned in the examination,[68] and on numerous other occasions met with Christian disapproval. In the *Practica* of Bernard Gui, Rashi's commentaries are condemned as being pernicious in the same fashion as the Talmud.[69] These condemnations spring from the nature of Rashi's exegetical interpretations. The commentator did not assail Christianity; he merely contented himself with demonstrating that a verse, adopted by the Church for its own ends, had a different meaning if interpreted, not so much in a Jewish as in an objective vein. He sought to refute Christian explanations of the Psalms, and for this reason was willing to renounce the interpretation of special passages as predictions of the Messiah, and to view them only as allusions to historic fact; because of this, his Commentary on the Psalms (translated into Latin, 1713, by John Frederick Breithaupt) is one of the most effective from a scientific standpoint. On one occasion he remarks: "Our Masters apply this passage to the Messiah, but in order to refute the Minim, it is better to apply it to David." The "Minim" here mentioned may have been Christian opponents; in all likelihood, however, they were apostate Jews, for we find in Rashi's *Responsa* a discussion of the relationship between Jews and baptized Jews, perhaps an echo of the Crusades.[70] In some instances, Rashi is not so mild,[71] yet

[68] *REJ*, ii, 253, 256, 257, 260, 268, iii, 41.

[69] Douais' edition, p. 291: "Likewise there is a certain book the author of which is called Solomon which is entitled among them: *Glosses on the Text of the Law;* this book all Jews particularly cherish and believe and address themselves to; it contains words and sentences and false opinions, errors and abuses drawn from the abominable Talmud; these glosses the Jews hold, retain and teach. But they are to be condemned equally with the Talmud, since they are expressly against Christ, whom they pronounce in no wise to be God or the Messiah promised in the Law."

[70] Liber, *Rashi*, Philadelphia, 1906, pp. 118-119.

[71] Breithaupt takes note of the fact that in his explanation of Exodus 22:30: "Therefore ye shall not eat any flesh that is torn of beasts in the field; ye shall cast it to the dogs", Rashi is supposed to interpret the word: "dogs" to apply to non-Jews. This interpretation was regarded by Jews as dangerous, and was therefore excised from the commentary. *Hist. Litt. de la Fr.*, xvi, 353; Breithaupt, i, 605.

sufficiently without polemical bias to win the attention of Christain scholars. Rashi's commentaries exercised a profound influence on the science of Biblical criticism during the Middle Ages. The works of Rashi and his pupils served as the authoritative source for the *Postillae Perpetuae* of Nicholas of Lyra, the French monk (d. 1340), whose writings so powerfully affected Christian life in succeeding centuries. The indebtedness of Luther to Lyra is well known,[72] and the role of Rashi through the medium of Lyra in the works of Servetus, Calvin, Zwingli and other Christian Reformers is typical of the widespread influence his Commentaries exerted. In the sixteenth century, Rashi's works were studied by Christian Hebraists, and the Latin versions of Breithaupt of Gotha (1710-1714) unfolded the entire realm of his exegetical writings to the Christian world. Thus from the position of an aid to Jewish controversialists,[73] Rashi was raised to that of a pioneer of modern Biblical exegesis.

2. *David Kimchi (1160-1235.)* The same development is noted in the case of David Kimchi.[74] Kimchi was a grammarian whose works were the fountain-source of Christian information. Scholars during the thirteenth century did not profit by his *Sepher Mikhlol*, but in the sixteenth century it influenced Reuchlin and his contemporaries profoundly.[75] Redak, as he was called, wrote Biblical commentaries which became known to Christian scholars and were employed for the Bible translations in Germany, France and England; Luther, Calvin and the translators of the King James Version in 1611 making especial use of them.

Kimchi's earliest reputation among Christians, however, was based upon their condemnation of his Commentary on the Psalms. Thus we find Bernard Gui in his paragraphs on "the

[72] Siegfried, "Raschi's Einfluss auf Nicholas von Lyra und Luther" in *Archiv fuer Erforschung des Alten Testaments*, i, 428, ii, 36; Maschkowski, "Raschi's Einfluss auf Nicolas von Lyra in der Auslegung des Exodus" in Stade's *Zeitschrift*, 1891; Liber, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-1; 216-7; *REJ*, iv, 86.

[73] Joseph, the Official, cites Rashi, *REJ*, iii, 10, in the *Teshubhoth ha-Minim*.

[74] See Frankl, "Die Familie Kimchi in ihrer Ausbreitung nach Laendern und Zeiten" in *Monatsschrift*, xii, 1886; Turner, *Some Jewish Rabbis*, pp. 52-58; Lewis, H. S., "Kimchi" in *London Jewish Chronicle*, Feb. 8, 15 and 22, 1889; *Otzar Nechmad*, ii, 157 ff.; Graetz, vi, 220; *REJ*, lxvi, 246 ff; Buber, *Scha'are Tzion*, Jaroslav, 1885, p. 43.

[75] Hirsch, S. A., "Johann Reuchlin" in *A Book of Essays*, London, 1905, p. 137 ff.; *Hist. Litt. de la Fr.*, xvi, 141.

Intolerable blasphemies of the Jews against Christ, His faith and the Christian people" denouncing "that other book which the Jews call the Glosses of David the Spaniard who commented on the Psalms. It contains much against Christ and Christians and those cherishing the faith of Christ."[76] In 1581 the Mantuan Commission expunged the anti-Christian material, in these words:

> Commentaries of R. Solomon and Chimi and Rabbi Hierosolymitano to the Old Testament, both the Hebrew and Latin translation of Conrad Pellican and Paul Fagius, heretics; in these works are contained things contrary to our faith, especially in regard to the Prophets.[77]

Kimchi's work on the Psalms came first to the attention of the Christians because of their own use of the Psalms, not merely for liturgy and devotion, but for argument; the Latin sermons and treatises of the Church are filled with illustrations and evidence concerning the Trinity, the Divine Birth, the Messiah, drawn from the Psalms. Jews recognized that these portions of the Bible were the battleground for Christian and Jewish controversialists, and were therefore not slow to follow in the footsteps of their opponents: thus Jacob ben Reuben, Shem Tobh Shaprut, Moses of Tordesillas, and numerous others devoted themselves to an exposition of the Psalms in terms refuting Christianity.[78]

Kimchi's Commentary on the Psalms was written in the thirteenth century, and quickly became known in Christian and Jewish circles. Manuscript copies of the special polemical material must have been current for a long time before; in 1542, it was collected and published in a separate work at Isny at the end of Kimchi's Commentary on the Psalms.[79] This material, known as the *Teshubhoth la-Notzerim*, collated by an anonymous

[76] *Practica*, pp. 291-2; Doat, xxx, 281; Levi, p. 20.

[77] Popper, *Censorship*, p. 65; 69, 90, 91, 97; Reusch, *Index*, i, 52 ff. "R. Solomon" is Rashi: "Chimi," David Kimchi; "Hierosolymitano," according to Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, i, 699, "an anonymous grammarian of the tenth century."

[78] Loeb, *La controverse religieuse*, pp. 26-7. For details, see my forthcoming work on "Joseph and David Kimchi as Religious Controversialists," the Introduction to which will contain a history of Jewish polemical and apologetical writings.

[79] Schwab, M., "Le commentaire de R. David Quamchi sur les Psaumes," in *REJ*, xiii, 295.

author, thereafter had an independent existence as a distinct polemical treatise. It was published at the end of Lippmann of Muehlhausen's *Sepher Nitzachon* at Altdorf, 1644, and later at Amsterdam in 1709.[80] The little tractate was answered by several Christians, among them Genebrardus, Paris, 1566;[81] Jacob Rhenferd in his explanations of Psalm 1 and Genesis 1, in 1688; B. Schudt in a letter to Johann Buxtorf, though Wolf professes to have sought in vain for it;[82] Joseph Hilpert, Professor of Hebrew at Helmstadt, attempted to reply to Kimchi's interpretation of Psalm 2.[83] The *Teshubhoth* has been frequently printed since its first appearance, and has been a favorite source of Jewish responses to Christian arguments.[84] Another controversial work written in whole or in part by David Kimchi is the *Wikkuach* or Disputation contained in the little volume entitled *Milchemeth Chobhah* (The War of Duty), Constantinople, 1710.[85] This treatise is interesting not merely because of its exegetical interpretations, but because it demonstrates the author's knowledge of the Gospels, of the Latin Vulgate, of Christian prayers and institutions.[86] Kimchi was a skilled disputant, far more expert than his noted father, Joseph Kimchi, author of the first important Hebrew polemic of the Middle Ages, namely the *Sepher ha-Berith* (Book of the Covenant). It was with true foresight that the Christian Church sought to prevent the works of David Kimchi from attaining wide distribution, for later they were quoted by Christian Reformers, notably Michael Servetus, who sought to break down doctrines,

[80] Steinschneider, *Juedische Literatur*, p. 410; Fuerst, p. 185.

[81] Wolf, iv, 807; De Rossi, *Bibliotheca Judaica Anti-Christiana*, Parma, 1800, p. 50.

[82] Wolf, *loc. cit.;* Camerini, in *REJ*, lxvii, 193.

[83] *Disput. Hebraeo-Philosoph. adversus Judaeos*, Helmstadt, 1653.

[84] For the discussion by Marmorstein, Porges and Camerini of an alleged lost manuscript of a fragment from Kimchi's commentary on the Psalms, see *REJ*, lxvi, 246 ff; lxvii, 129, and 292. See also selection with reference to Christian proselytes to Judaism, *infra.*

[85] Fol. 13a to 18b. Wolf, iv, 722; De Rossi, pp. 50-1. I have made a translation of this tractate, have edited the text and prepared notes and comments on it.

[86] Joseph the Official, Samuel ben Meir, Joseph Bekor Shor, Jacob Anatolio, Jechiel of Paris and other Jewish controversialists of this period were also acquainted with the New Testament. See *REJ*, xlvi, 247, lxvii, 130; iii, 6; i, 247 *et passim;* and Loeb, *La controverse religieuse*, p. 23.

traditional dogmas and institutions, both of Catholicism and Protestantism.[87]

3. *Moses Maimonides.* In addition to the works of Rashi and Redak, the Inquisition included the commentaries of Moses Maimonides under its prohibition. These works, as we have seen, came to the notice of the Dominicans and Franciscans when they were called in to arbitrate in the dispute between the Maimonist and anti-Maimonist parties in Southern France about 1232. The Inquisitors were only too pleased to take the Jewish opponents of Maimonides at their word when they accused the latter's works of being heretical, and it was not long before a ban was placed upon them, not merely for Jewish but for Christian use as well. Thus Bernard Gui mentions as pernicious "a certain book which the Jews call the Glosses of Moses of Egypt and the author of that book entitled: *The Declaration and Reformation of the Law* which contain the abuses and falsities of the Talmud."[88] This reference alludes to the *Mishneh Torah* of Maimonides, which later Inquisitors as well, during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, recognized as containing passages directed against Christian teaching.[89] In the "Yesode ha-Torah," chapters 7, 9 and 10, in the "Hilkhoth Teshubhah," chapter 3, and in "Melakhim," chapter II, on the King-Messiah, Christian allusions appear. The Messianic passage in "Melakhim" in an old Italian copy of the *Mishneh*, according to Loeb, was entirely erased by the censor. The chapters in the *Moreh Nebhukhim* and the *Yad ha-Chazakah* on the interpretation of prophecy discussed Christian views, and therefore did not escape the watchful eye of the censors, who covered many pages with erasures. The influence of Maimonides' *Moreh* upon Christian philosophy lay in a measure beyond the province of the Inquisition, yet in every possible way the Church sought to curtail any acceptance by Christian scholars and laymen of the Jewish views of the great philosopher and commentator. That they were correct in their anticipation of the harm Maimonides' influence might work upon Christian traditionalism, is seen from the reliance which

[87] *De Trinitatis Erroribus*, Hagenau, 1531, ii, 56 b.

[88] *Practica*, p. 291, Levi, p. 20.

[89] Loeb, p. 16; Popper, p. 56; Steinschneider, *Polemische und Apologetische Literatur in Arabischer Sprache*, Leipzig, 1877, p. 354; Bruell, *Jahrbuecher*, Frankfort, 1876, pp. 195-6.

many of the Reformers, including Huss, Servetus and the Hebraists, placed in his works.

4. *The Toledhoth Yeshu.* In addition to the works of Rashi, Redak, and Maimonides, the Inquisition, in its early career, deemed it advisable to take steps against other contemporary Jewish writings, among them the so-called *Toledhoth Yeshu.* This work was a legendary account of the life of Jesus which originated in the Middle Ages, and apparently had a wide circulation, though condemned even by the Jews themselves. It was quoted in the disputation on the burning of the Talmud at Paris in 1240; it was severely censured by the Carthusian Raymond Martin in his *Pugio Fidei;* it figured in the Reuchlin-Pfefferkorn controversy, and was published with a confutation by Wagenseil in 1681.[90] The *Toledhoth* represents a compilation of those myths and fragments of folk-lore which grew up in Jewish life as a reaction to persecution to which Jews over long centuries were subjected. The work was repudiated by medieval Jews, and cannot be regarded in any way as representative of Jewish opinion.

2. *Protection against Jewish Polemics*

Not only against these specific Jewish works cited in the controversies of the Middle Ages and in the documents of the Inquisition was it necessary for the guardians of the faith to take steps for the protection of believers, but against all Jewish apologetical and polemical literature of the period. There were several means by which this aim was accomplished: first, by prohibiting laymen and unskilled ecclesiastics from engaging in disputations with learned Jews; second, by permitting expert and scholarly authors to compose literary treatises which sought to expose the error of Jewish and the truth of Christian teachings; third, by permitting these experts to undertake private and public conversations with Jews for the refutation of the latter's opinions; fourth, by compelling Jews to keep under cover and out of sight those polemical tracts written either in defense of Judaism or assailing Christianity, so that Christian believers might not be offended or led astray.

[90] *Tela Ignea Satanae,* Altdorf, 1681; the Confutatio is separately paged. See Krauss, S., *Das Leben Jesu nach Juedischen Quellen,* Berlin, 1902, and *JE,* vii, 170-173, "Jesus in Jewish Legend", where a bibliography is given.

a. Prohibition against Disputations. The Christian Church did not look with favor upon religious disputations between the laity and Jews. Thus in March, 1233, Pope Gregory IX wrote to the Archbishops and Bishops of Germany a letter commanding them not to permit believers to engage in religious controversies with Jews,[91] lest under the pretext of dispute the faithful and the simple be led astray into error. King Louis IX is reported by Joinville to have remarked: "No one, unless he is a very good clergyman, ought to dispute with them." Lucas of Tuy vehemently condemns the tactics of Jews who disguise themselves and dispute with believers in order to make converts.

It is interesting, however, to observe that Jews themselves shared this repugnance against religious discussion with Christians. Solomon ben Moses ben Yekuthiel of Rome (died 1284) in the thirteenth century laid down certain rules in his polemical treatise[92] for the guidance of Jewish controversialists.[93] He deplores the need for disputations, suggests that Jews avoid them; if inescapable, Jews should not become involved with ignorant persons, with malicious adversaries, or with sophists. Conversations should be held quietly in the presence of scholars, away from crowds. Moreover only the most skilled Jews should assume the burden of defense: those who can repeat decisive Biblical texts by heart, those who understand Latin and the vernacular, and those accustomed to association with learned men. The disputant should avoid touching upon fundamental Christian doctrines lest he offend Christian sensibilities. Other Jewish advocates counselled in similar vein against too frequent discussions, but without great success. Jews were enthusiastic debaters, and despite advice and prohibition, we find them both writing and publicly arguing in defense of their views. Peter of Blois recognized the skill of the Jews in disputation and in his treatise: "Against the Perfidy of the Jews" he seeks in the preface to show that controversy with Jews and heretics is difficult and dangerous; he informs John, the Bishop of Worcester in England: "As for what you say that

[91] Potthast 9112; *Bull. Rom. Magnum*, iii, 479; Raynaldus ad an. 1233, n. 49.

[92] *'Eduth ha-Shem Ne'emanah;* given three other names as well; see Bruell in Weiss, *Beth ha-Midrash* (1865), pp. 143 ff., Steinschneider, Halberstam, Berliner, and others.

[93] Guedemann, *Erziehungswesen*, ii, 230-2.

you desire to dispute with Jews so as to convert them and turn them to the faith, I commend you the less for that, for you beat the air, exhausting yourself with foolish and vain zeal." "You have made long and anxious complaint in your letters that surrounded by Jews and heretics you are attacked by them and have not ready the authorities in the sacred Scripture by which you can refute their calumnies and answer their cunning sleights." Therefore, says Peter, he will not hold back what he knows, but place his information at the command of his friend.[94] In this respect he was following the precedent of other Christian scholars, among them the anonymous author of the *Tractatus adversus Judaeos*, where advice as to methods of employing the Old Testament in controversy is presented.[95] The difficulties in which Christian disputants became involved therefore explain the need for ecclesiastical discouragement of too frequent disputations between inexpert Christian laymen and priests and Jewish opponents.

b. Christian Controversial Tracts. Despite numerous injunctions to the uninformed, the Church urged its reliable spokesmen to lose no opportunity to refute the errors of Judaism. Hence there arose a voluminous polemical literature, both in Latin and the vernacular languages, written by many of the most famous spokesmen of medieval Christendom. For this literature the writings of the Church Fathers against the Jews had laid the foundation.[96] During the Middle Ages Christian writers built upon this groundwork, with the result that no century passed without the appearance of several important anti-Jewish tracts.[97]

[94] *Opera*, edited by Giles, iii, 62 ff. Migne, 207:826 ff.

[95] "Adversus Judaeos quomodo disputandum," in Martene and Durand, *Thes. nov. Anec.*, v, 1507 ff.

[96] See literature on the dialogue between Justin and the Jew Tryphon; also on the polemics of Jerome, Clement, Origen, Aphraates, Ephraem, Tertullian, Chrysostom, Epiphanius and others. Migne, *Patrologia, passim*, contains the texts, and the articles concerning them are numerous.

[97] The sources of the Latin polemics are found in Migne, which has an Index "de Judaeis," 220:989-1006; "Historia Judaeorum," 989-993; "De Sectis Judaeorum," 995-6; "De scelere, caecitate et poena Judaeorum," 996-1001; "Leges et decreta de Judaeis," 1001-1003; "Polemica adversus Judaeos," 1003-1006. Oberthuer, *SS. Patrum. Opera Polemica de veritate religionis Christ. c. Gent. et Jud.*, 21 vols. Wuerzburg, 1779-94; Hahn, *Geschichte der Ketzer*, iii, 54-68. Jewish writers who have discussed the material include: Loeb, I., *La controverse religieuse entre les chrétiens et les juifs au moyen âge en France et en Es-*

1. *Polemics in Italy.* It is to the polemics in medieval Italy that we first direct our attention. The records tell of a disputation held in the presence of the Emperor Constantine and of the Pope Silvester I (314-335) between Christian and Jewish spokesmen; this, however, seems to be apocryphal.[98] The first authentic controversy in Italy is described by Alcuin, the famous friend of Charlemagne, who was in part responsible for the presence of Jewish scholars at court to aid in the contemporary revival of letters. Alcuin, in a letter (c. 750-760) addressed to Charlemagne, described how he had witnessed at Pavia a disputation between a Jew named Julius and Master Peter of Pisa, who had served at the Emperor's court as instructor in grammar.[99] An apocryphal account is given of a controversy at Rome during the papacy of Boniface IV (c. 609) between a blind sage and several local Jews.[100] In the tenth century, the celebrated Saint Nilus is reported to have held theological discussions with a Jewish physician named Sabbatai Donnolo.[101] In the person of Peter Damianus (d. 1072), we find a vigorous controversialist against Judaism; he wrote two tractates, one in the form of an argument,[102] and the other a dialogue between Jew and Christian.[103] Both are addressed to a friend, Honestus, to whom he presents material in order to "close the mouths of those Jews who frequently debate" with him on Christian doctrines. Among the themes discussed are: circumcision, the Sabbath, the Food-Laws, Sacrifices, the Unleavened Bread, the Paschal Lamb, and other subjects of debate between Jew and Christian.

2. *Polemics in France.* In France we find available the most

pagne, Paris, 1888; *idem*, "Polémistes chrétiens en France et en Espagne," *REJ*, xviii (1889), 43 and 219; Levi, I., "Controverse entre un Juif et un Chrétien," *REJ*, v, 238 ff., "Controverses de l'évêque" in *Hebr. Bibliographie*, xx, 75; Broydé, I., "Polemics," in *JE*, x, 102-109; Krauss, S., "Polemics" in article on "Church Fathers" in *JE*, iv, 83-5.

98 Migne, 8:501 and 814; Loeb, p. 13, and *Hist. Litt. de la Fr.*, vi, 591.

99 Alcuin: *Epistolae*, No. 100: Guedemann, ii, 12-13.

100 *Mon. Germ.* v, 414; Guedemann, ii, 37-8.

101 *Acta Sanct.* 7 Sept. 313, 51; Graetz, v, 316; *REJ*, x, 237; Loeb, p. 13.

102 "Antilogus contra Judaeos, ad Honestum virum clarissimum," Migne, 145, 41-58.

103 "Dialogus inter Judaeum Requirentem et Christianum e Contrario Respondentem. Ad eumdem Honestum," Migne, 145: 57-68. Damianus gives the reasons for which disputes with Jews may be undertaken, 145:41.

abundant material on the polemical writings of Jews and Christians. Agobard, Bishop of Lyons (825-840), took the lead in the attack upon the Jews of France. His epistles on the "Superstitions of the Jews"[104] and the "Insolence of the Jews"[105] gave him a place as one of their most violent adversaries.[106] It was in the city of Lyons that the heresy of the Waldensians first appeared three centuries later. Amolo, successor of Agobard (846-853), equalled his teacher in the vigor of his attacks,[107] and Rabanus Maurus (d. 856), one of the great Biblical scholars of the age and the pupil of an unknown Jewish exegete, composed a similar polemical tractate "Against the Jews."[108] With the approach and advent of the Crusades, the anti-Jewish writings multiplied. Odo, Bishop of Cambrai (1105-1113), author of an attack upon the Neo-Manichean party,[109] engaged in a religious discussion at Senlis, with a Jew who has been identified as Gerson ha-Zaken; this he described in his "Disputation against the Jew, Leo by name, concerning the Advent of Christ the Son of God."[110] William of Champeaux (1070-1121), founder of the School of St. Victor, and later Bishop of Chalons, engaged with a Jewish merchant in a debate, which, according to his letter to Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, the auditors asked him to write down: this he did under the title: "Dialogue between a Jew and a Christian concerning the Catholic Faith."[111] Fulbert of Chartres (d. 1028), according to report the son of Jewish parents who had become Christians, composed a "Tractate against the Jews"[112] wherein he gave special attention to the famous verse in Genesis 49:10 concerning the Messiah. Rupert, Abbot of Deutz (1080-1135) contributed to the list of polemical works: "A Dialogue between a Christian and Jew";[113] Guibert of Nogent (1053-1124), the

[104] Migne, 104:78 ff.

[105] *Agobardi Opera*, Paris, 1666; Samosz, *Des Heiligen Agobard Abhandlungen wider die Juden*, Leipsic, 1852.

[106] Reinach, T., "Agobard et les Juifs," *REJ*, 50: lxxxi.

[107] "Epistola seu liber contra Judaeos ad Carolum regem," Migne, 116:142 ff.

[108] Martene and Durand, v, f. 470 ff.

[109] *Max. Bibl.*, xxi, 227; Schmidt, i, 45.

[110] Migne, 160:1103.

[111] Migne, 163:1045-1072.

[112] Migne, 141:305 ff.; *Hist. Litt. de la Fr.*, vi, 45 and vii, 273; Posnanski, *Shiloh*, pp. 318-9; Guedemann, i, 18.

[113] Migne, 170:559 ff.

enemy of the Catharists and critic of Count John of Soissons, wrote "On the Incarnation Against the Jews,"[114] the exact title of a work by Hildebert, the Venerable (1057-1135), in the form of a sermon and hence of little value.[115] Hugo of St. Victor, the noted Hebraist (1097-1141), and his pupil Richard of St. Victor, (d. 1173) wrote against the Jews,[116] but with a full appreciation of the values of Hebrew scholarship.[117] Peter Abelard (1079-1142), the noted Scholastic, wrote a "Dialogue between a Philosopher, Jew and Christian"[118] in imitation of the Platonic Dialogues. Abelard appears to have had some knowledge of Hebrew,[119] and considerable information concerning the Old Testament, which, on another occasion, he defended against the Dualist heretics.[120] In the person of Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny (died 1156), author of an important tractate against the heretical Petrobrussians, wherein numerous references to Jews and Judaizers occur,[121] we find one of the first Christian

[114] Migne, 156:489 ff.

[115] Migne, 171; 811-814.

[116] "De Verbo Incarnato Collationes seu disputationes tres," Migne, 177:315-323, is included among polemics against Jews. Richard's work: "De Emmanuele Libri Duo in quibus Refelluntur Objectiones Judaeorum Quas Nobis Apponere Soleri de Nostro Emmanuele," Migne, 196:601 ff., is one of the most famous works of its kind during the Middle Ages.

[117] He quotes from Syriac, Hebrew, and Septuagint Greek (c. 608); and mentions on several occasions not only "Jews but our Judaizers" (c. 607, 609, 611), meaning thereby Christians who incline to Jewish exegesis. In speaking of Hugo he deplores with him the tendency of some Christians to "judaize" in their attitude towards the Virgin Mary. For a discussion of the Hebrew knowledge among Christian scholars during this period, see *passim* in this book, and also the special material above.

[118] Migne, 178:1609-1684. See "Uber den Inhalt und Zweck des Dialogus Abelardi" in Deutsch, S. M., *Peter Abelard*, Leipzig, 1883, pp. 433-452, and Reuter, *Repertorium*, i, 198 ff.

[119] "De studio litterarum," Migne 178:325-336: "Hebraeam linquam quam ego ab adolescentia multo labore ac sudore ec parte didici et infatigabili, meditatione non desero, ne ipse ab ea deserar, discere voluit, et consecuta est" (c. 331). "Nos qui Hebraeae linguae saltem parvam habemus scientiam" (c. 335). "Magisterium habetis in matre (Heloise) quae non tantum Latinae verum etiam Hebraicae quam Graecae non expers litteraturae, sola hoc tempore illam trium linguarum adepta peritiam videtur" (c. 333).

[120] "Liber Adversus Haereses", Migne, 178:1823-1846, is an apology for the Old Testament and Moses, like Ermengaud's (circa 1192) "Opusculum contra Haereticos," Migne 204:12355-1272.

[121] Migne, 189:719-850. See cc. 735, 755, 757, 758, 766, 777, etc., for references to the conversion of Jews, circumcision, and Jewish rites.

ecclesiastics who made any pretense to a knowledge of the Talmud. In his "Tractate against the Jews, their Inveterate Stubbornness," written about 1144,[122] he assailed Jewish doctrines and practices, and sought to hold up to Christian ridicule the teachings of the Talmud, mentioning even some of its authors by name.[123] The Monk Rudolph, one of the most ardent missionaries of the Second Crusade and a violent adversary of the Jews, composed a treatise: "Concerning the Advent of Christ, Against the Jews."[124] In 1166, the epoch corresponding with the rise of the great heretical movements and with the celebrity of the Jewish academies in France, there was written: "An Anonymous Tractate against the Jews," addressed to William of Nevers,[125] which gives advice as to the manner in which disputes with Jews should be undertaken, how arguments should be selected from the Old Testament, and even from the Apocrypha (Baruch), to defend Christian views on the Trinity and the Virgin Birth, and to attack Jewish ideas on the Sabbath and other superstitions. The great Alanus of Isle (1114-1202), in his four-part polemic "Against Heretics, Waldensians, Jews and Pagans," devotes considerable attention to the Jews.[126] Evrard of Bethune, another opponent of the heresies, adds to his "Liber Anti-Haeresis" a "Disputation Against the Jews."[127] A compatriot of Alanus, Walter of Castellio at Tournay in Belgium (fl. 1160-1200) wrote a "Tractate or Dialogue Against the Jews,"[128] which demonstrates that he knew sufficient Hebrew to mention the Biblical books by their Hebrew names and to cite also important words in the original.[129] William of Bourges

[122] Migne, 189:509-650.

[123] Cc. 602, 603, 604, 606, 607 (rabbi Nehemias), 612, 613, 614 (quotation from Talmud), 625, 631, 633 (long quotation), 639, etc.

[124] Migne, 155:1701 ff. See 175:2040: "Adversos quosdam qui ex operibus legis et habere justitiam et salutem opinabantur."

[125] Martene and Durand, v, 1507; Migne, 213:747-807; *Hist. Litt. de la Fr.*, xii, 436-7; xiii, 367.

[126] Migne, 210:399 ff. Posnanski, *Schiloh*, p. 356, quotes Wetzer and Welte, *Kirchenlexicon*, in defense of the statement that the "Tractate Concerning the Catholic Faith Against the Heretics" is falsely attributed to Alanus of Isle, and really belongs to Alanus of Podio (fl. 1179-1195).

[127] *Max. Bibl.*, xxiv, 1525 ff.

[128] Migne, 209:423-458, written jointly with Baldwin Valentinian.

[129] Cc. 410, 441, 452, 457. See Hebrew names quoted in an anonymous epistle to a certain Hugo "concerning the method and order of reading Sacred Scripture;" Migne, 213:713-8.

(fl. 1160-1210), a convert from Judaism to Christianity, wrote in Latin: "A War of the Lord Against the Jews and Against the Heretics of the Jews (Sadducees)," adopting the customary Hebrew title for a polemical work.[130] The thirteenth century was the era in France of the great disputations over the burning of the Jewish books, and the polemical literature came largely from the pen of the Friars entrusted with the duty of suppressing Jewish activity. From the thirteenth century onward, we meet with works written in the vernacular French, among them: "De la Disputoison de la Sinagogue et de Sainte Eglise" and "Debat entre un Juif et un Chretien" or "La Disputoison du Juyf et du Crestien."[131] In the person of Nicholas of Lyra (1270-1340) we find a skilled commentator on the Bible according to the instruction he had received from Jewish sources, and a vigorous opponent of Jewish theology and of Jews. He is reported to have written the "Disputation of Master Nicholas of Lyra against the Perfidy of the Jews" (1305), which was answered in 1456 by the Jewish apologist Chayyim ibn Musa.[132] In 1309, Lyra wrote his second polemical work: "Concerning the Messiah and His Advent."[133] Other controversial works have been falsely attributed to Lyra.[134] The spread of the Inquisition did not lessen

[130] Guedemann, i, 18 and 38. The work begins: "Omnibus in Christo credentibus, Guillelmus Christi diaconus, olim Judaeus, salutem in Domino." See Hommey, Supplement to *Max. Bibl.*; also *Hist. Litt. de la Fr.*, xvii, 72.

[131] Jubinal, *Mystères du xv siècle*, ii, 404-8, on the first; *Hist. Litt. de la Fr.*, xxiii, 217 on the second. Compare "Disputatio Ecclesiae et Synagogae" in Martene and Durand, v, 1497.

[132] Loeb, *La controverse religieuse*, p. 37. This work was published at Paris in 1651.

[133] "De Messie ejusque adventu una cum responsione ad Judaeorum quatuordecim contra veritatem Evangeliorum," or "De Messia Ejusque Adventu Praeterito." Edited *sine loco*, 1508.

[134] See Labrosse, H., *École de Chartres . . . Recherches sur la vie et l'oeuvre de Nicholas de Lyre*, Toulouse, 1907, pp. 129-136; reviewed by Paul Hildenfinger, *REJ*, liii (1907), p. 137. See also Labrosse, H., "Biographie de Nicholas de Lyre" in *Études Franciscaines*, May and June, 1907, pp. 489-505 and 593-608. Labrosse insists that Lyra was a Christian and not a Jew; he fixes the date of the work: *Probatio adventus Christi contra Judaeos*, edited for the first time about 1309, and re-edited about 1333; the *Responsio ad quendam Judaeum*, about June 23, 1334. Labrosse considers as falsely attributed to Lyra: *Pharetra fidei contra Judaeos* and *Dialogus fidei contra infideles Judaeos*. Labrosse's conclusions must be examined with caution. For information concerning Lyra's indebtedness to Jewish exegesis, *v. s.*

the number of polemics against Jews, one of the most notable being a tractate by the Inquisitor Vincent Ferrer.[135] In *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, which in more than fifty quarto pages gives the titles of the works by Christians against Jews and Judaism, will be found the names and authors of the anti-Jewish works during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[136]

3. *Polemics in England.* Disputations between Jews and Christians in England seem to have been almost as numerous as on the continent. According to William of Malmesbury, William Rufus incited the bishops of London against the Jews, saying "that if they conquered the Christians and confuted them with open argument, he would join their sect." "Accordingly the thing was done to the great fear of the bishops and clergy, fearing with pious solicitude for the Christian faith. And from this contest, the Jews received nothing but confusion, though they often boasted that they had been conquered not by speech, but by deeds."[137]

In the manuscripts of Saint Anselm, we find two controversial works wrongly attributed to him, one of which, the "Dialogue of a Christian and a Jew" by Rupert of Deutz, we have already discussed, the other a "Disputation of a Jew with a Christian concerning the Christian Faith," by Gilbert Crespin (1084-1107), Abbot of Westminster, sent to Anselm for examination.[138] Anselm himself, while not a participant in anti-Jewish controversies, dealt with problems related to Judaism, for he wrote to Walerann of Newburg in response to three questions addressed him, particularly concerning "unfermented and fermented things" in relation to so-called "Paschal Judaizing."[139] Because of Anselm's great repute in England, he was the recipient of many requests from his fellow ecclesiastics, of which the letter of Gilbert Crespin is typical:

[135] *Oeuvres de Saint Vincent Ferrier*, Paris, 1909. "Traité contre les Juifs," i, 1-90.

[136] Wolf, iv, 459.

[137] Jacobs, J., *Jews of Angevin England*, London, 1893, p. 6.

[138] Migne, 159:1003-1056. In the works of Anselm, *Opera*, 1744, ii, 255. Jacobs, *op. cit.*, p. 7 ff. *REJ*, v, 238.

[139] Migne, 158:541-8. Chapter II. "Si autem dicunt quia judaizamus . . . " Chapter III. "Latinos in azymo conficientis non judaizare" (c. 543); Chapter IV. "Retorquetur in Graecos argumentatio qua probant Latinos in azymo conficientes judaizare."

I send you a little work to be submitted to your fatherly prudence. I wrote it recently, putting to paper what a Jew said when formerly disputing with me against our faith in defence of his own law, and what I replied in favour of the faith against his objections. I know not where he was born, but he was educated at Mayence; he was well versed even in our law and literature, and had a mind practised in the Scriptures and in disputes against us. He often used to come to me as a friend both for business and to see me, since in certain things I was very necessary to him, and as often as we came together we would soon get talking in a friendly spirit about the Scriptures and our faith. Now on a certain day God granted both him and me greater leisure than usual, and soon we began questioning as usual. And his objections were consequent and logical, and as he explained with equal consequence his former objections, while our reply met his objections foot to foot, and by his own confession seemed equally supported by the testimony of the Scriptures, some of the bystanders requested me to preserve our disputes as likely to be of use to others in future . . . . . Yet (poor as my work is) one of the Jews who were then in London, the mercy of God helping, was converted to the Christian faith at Westminister; professing before all the faith of Christ, he asked for baptism and received it, and being baptized vowed him to the service of God, and becoming a monk, has remained with us. [140]

As a counterpart to this work by Crespin, we have mention of an "Altercation of a Jew with a Christian"[141] addressed to the Bishop of Lincoln. William of Champeaux sent his "Dialogue between a Christian and a Jew Concerning the Catholic Faith" to Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, telling of the occasion of the controversy in terms similar to the account of Gilbert Crespin. Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury (circa 1188), devoted in his "Book on the Commendation of the Faith" a section to "the blindness of the Jews,"[142] presenting his views in the form of a sermon. The most important English polemic against the Jews was the "Book Against the Perfidy of the Jews" by Peter of Blois (1160-1200).[143] We have already referred to Peter's warning that disputation with Jews and heretics is difficult and dangerous;[144] "because you complain bitterly," he writes to

[140] Jacobs, p. 7-8. See p. 12 where the text of an epistle of Anselm on how to treat a convert from Judaism is given.

[141] Loeb, p. 17; *Max. Bibl.*, xx.

[142] Migne, 204:636-640.

[143] Migne, 207:826-870; *Max. Bibl.*, xxiv, 1189 ff. Peter Blessensis, *Opera*, ed. Giles, iii, 62 ff.

[144] Jacobs, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-182, gives a summary of the contents of this work.

John, Bishop of Worcester, "that you are beset by Jews and heretics and have naught at hand by which you can evade their machinations, I will not keep back from you what I know." In this way, Peter testified to the changed spirit of polemics in England during the twelfth century: the Church had lost hope of conversion, and sought, insofar as possible, to protect the faith against non-Christian opinions; the thirteenth century, however, with the rise of the Friars and the influence of the Crusades, witnessed another change, this time in favor of the Church, which finally succeeded in achieving the expulsion of the Jews from England. Peter of Blois seeks to interpret words from the original Hebrew,[145] calls upon the testimony of Josephus in favor of Jesus, and seeks to find evidence for the truth of Christianity in the Apocryphal and Sybilline writings of Jewish literature. His work deserves rank as one of the most representative Christian polemics of the Middle Ages.

4. *Polemics in Spain.* In Spain Christian anti-Jewish writings do not become voluminous until the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Isidore of Seville (560-636) wrote: "Concerning the Catholic Faith, Against the Jews";[146] Archbishop Julian of Toledo (680-690), a Churchman of Jewish origin, composed a work: "On Proofs of the Sixth Century Against the Jews,"[147] seeking to refute the arguments of Jews against Christian doctrines, composed, as were many tractates by Jewish inhabitants of the Visigothic kingdom, in Latin; none of these writings, however, have survived. Another Jewish convert, the famous Samuel of Morocco (circa 1085), a resident of Fez who was baptized at Toledo, wrote a treatise: "Concerning the Advent of the Messiah, Whom the Jews Vainly Await,"[148] in the form of an epistle to Rabbi Isaac of Segelmesa. In 1339, a certain Alphonsus Bonihominis of the Dominican Order translated the work at Paris from Arabic into Latin and sent it to the General of the Preaching Friars with a letter wherein he made several interesting comments on the relationship of Arabic, Hebrew and Latin scholarship. Various theories concerning the true authorship of Samuel's work have been ad-

[145] Migne, 207:852; 833, 848, 862.

[146] Migne, 53:449 ff.

[147] Migne, 96:538; Graetz, v, 144; Posnanski, p. 303 ff

[148] Migne, 149:333-372.

vanced. Samuel has been identified as Samuel abu Nasr ibn Abbas, who wrote an Arabic polemic against his former co-religionists after his conversion from Judaism to Islam in 1163.[149] Upon the basis of this work: "Ifham al-Yahud," there was compiled the celebrated: "Epistle of Samuel of Morocco" by "Alphonsus" who in reality was a baptized Spanish Jew, according to the surmise of Steinschneider and others, by name Paul of Burgos or Paul of Valladolid.[150] Including the first edition of this polemic in Latin, 1475, it has gone through at least nine editions in Latin, five in German and one in Italian; there is a Spanish version, a Russian version of 1855, and an English version which appeared at York in 1649 under the title: "The Blessed Jew of Morocco; or the Black Moor Made White."[151]

A controversial work, the authorship of which is undisputed, is the polemic of Peter Alphonso, physician in ordinary to King Alfonso VI of Castile, who embraced Christianity at Huesca, 1106. He composed "Twelve Dialogues with the Jew Moses" or "Moses Sephardi," his Jewish name before conversion, the disputants being himself before and after baptism.[152] The work is highly praised by Raymond Martin, author of the "Pugio Fidei," and other Christian controversialists. Peter is said to have written other polemical tractates, the manuscripts of them requiring further examination before their authenticity can be affirmed.[153] It was against Peter that the Jewish apologist, Jacob ben Reuben of Huesca, wrote his *Sepher Milchamoth Adonay li-Teshubhath ha-Minim* (Book of the Battles of the Lord in Reply to the Unbelievers).

Raymond Martin of Barcelona (died after 1284) is the outstanding anti-Jewish writer of the thirteenth century. He is

[149] Neubauer, *REJ*, v, 52.

[150] Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.*, Nos, 2436, 4407, 7055. He is said to have translated also from the Arabic into Latin a "Disputatio Abutalib Saraceni et Samuelis Judei" which is still in manuscript. See also Steinschneider, *Polem. und apol. Lit.*, pp. 26-27, 37 and 408; *Hebr. Bibl.*, xxi, 119; and *Monatsschrift* (1880), p. 521 (Response of Isaac Nathan to Samuel Marrocanus). *JE*, i, 72 on "Abner of Burgos" and i, 38 on "Samuel abu Nasr ibn Abbas," and i, 378 on "Alfonsus Bonihominis." *REJ*, xviii, 312 and Loeb, pp. 24-5.

[151] A brochure on the origin and history of this work would be extremely valuable.

[152] Migne, 157:535 ff.; *Max. Bibl.*, xxi, 72 ff.

[153] Steinschneider, *Hebr. Uebers.*, pp. 934-5; *Hebr. Bibl.*, xxi, 38 and *Pol. und apol. Lit*, 1877, p. 224.

reputed to be the author of the "Capistrum Judaeorum,"[154] and of the celebrated "Pugio Fidei" or "Defense of the Faith Against Moors and Jews." The latter work, the main source of Dominican polemics, was lost for a long time, but was finally published at Paris in 1651.[155] The "Pugio" contains extracts from the Talmud, the Midrash and other Jewish sources, including the works of Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Maimonides and Kimchi.[156]

In the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the agitation against the Jews and Marranos of Spain resulted in the writing of important polemical tracts, many of them by apostate Jews. Geronimo de Santa Fé (c. 1412), Paul de Santa Maria of Burgos (1352-1435), and Alphonso de Spina (c. 1460), are a few names among the many authors who sought to assail Jews and Judaism for the aggrandizement of the Christian faith. It was through these polemics, however, that many Christian scholars became acquainted with the beliefs, practices and language of the Jews, and no less a person than Michael Servetus acknowledged his indebtedness to the information furnished him by the writings of Jewish apostates against Judaism.

c. Christian Scholars as Disputants. The polemical treatises of Christian scholars tell of many disputations between Jews and Christians, some of which actually occurred, others of which were in the nature of a literary fiction. When we describe the great controversies of which we have substantial record, we discover that the Church, far from discouraging its advocates to undertake its defense, urged its most skilled representatives to assume the task. An important group of Christian disputants included the so-called "Minim" or apostate Jews who after conversion entered the Dominican or Franciscan Orders and made themselves useful in the warfare against Judaism. Thus Nicholas Donin in 1240, Paul Christian in 1263 and Geronimo da Santa Fé in 1414 bore the brunt of the Christian argument in the controversies of Paris, Barcelona and Tortosa respectively. David Kimchi and his father, Joseph, Rashi, Joseph Kara, Joseph the Official, and numerous other Jewish controversialists mention the presence of Jewish apostates in their neighborhood who sought to assail Judaism. These converts proved a special

[154] Attributed also to Lauterius de Batineis or Laurentius.

[155] The edition by J. B. Carpzov, Leipzig, 1667, is best known.

[156] Touron, A., *Histoire des Hommes Illustres de l'Ordre de St. Dominique*, Paris, 1743, i, 489-504; Wolf, *Bibl. Hebr.*, i, 1016-18.

source of irritation to Jewish apologists because of their appeal to Jewish evidence, and because they served as instructors to Christian ecclesiastics in Hebrew and in Jewish literature.

The Dominican or Preaching Friars, aided in lesser degree by the Franciscans, were the arch-adversaries of Judaism during the centuries of heresy and the Inquisition. At the celebrated disputations, Christian dignitaries were present and participated in large numbers. Thus Joseph the Official (fl. 1240-1280), in his book: *Teshubhoth ha-Minim*,[157] mentions the names of Pope Gregory X, the Archbishop of Sens, the bishops of Mans, Meaux, Vannes, Anjou, Poitiers, Angouleme, Saint-Malo, the Bishop of the King, Louis IX, the Confessor of the Queen, William of Auvergne,[158] the Chancellor of the University of Paris, Odo of Chateauroux, and the Abbot of Cluny. Members of the Cordelite or Franciscan, and of the Preaching or Dominican Order, participated; several of the lesser clergy, a Hospitaller of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, and several Jewish converts, also took part in controversies against Nathan and Joseph the Official. The variety of themes discussed affords an insight into the importance of these disputes in shaping Christian and Jewish thought during this period. The controversy of 1240-8 involved many noted ecclesiastical and secular officers. The apostate Nicholas Donin was aided by two Christians "very erudite in Hebrew." Into the conflict were drawn Odo of Chateauroux, Walter, Archbishop of Sens, William of Auvergne, Geoffrey of Bellvello, Dominican and Royal Chaplain and other dignitaries. In 1248 Odo appointed a commission of forty examiners to investigate the Talmud; of these Albertus Magnus was one. The Barcelona controversy in 1263 was held before King James of Aragon, together with prominent ecclesiastics and knights. In addition to the apostate Paul Christian, a commission of examination was called upon, including the Bishop of Barcelona, Raymond of Pennaforte, three Dominicans named Arnold de Singara, Petrus de Janua and Raymond Martin, author of the "Pugio Fidei." About 1375, at Pampeluna in Spain, Shem-Tobh ben Isaac Shaprut disputed with Cardinal Don Pedro de Luna, afterwards Pope Benedict XIII. The debates at Avila in 1375

[157] Kahn, Z., "Le Livre de Joseph le Zélateur," *REJ*, i, 222 ff., and iii, lff.

[158] He played an important part in the Talmud controversy of 1240-8, and was interested in Jewish philosophy: Guttmann, *Scholastik und Judenthum*, pp. 13-31.

and at Tortosa in 1414, at Granada about 1430, numbered as participants not only Jewish apostates but many of the most important Christian leaders of the day.

d. Suppression of Jewish Apologetics. Thus despite the fear that frequent disputations by untutored laymen and clerics might injure the faith, the Christian Church did not hesitate to encourage its skilled representatives to write literary treatises refuting Judaism, and to engage in private conversations and public debates for the purpose of exposing Jewish errors. At the same time, the Church found it advisable, particularly with the aid of the Inquisition, to compel Jews to keep under cover any apologetical and polemical literature written during the period of the heresies. We have already described the Inquisition's endeavors to suppress the Talmud, the anonymous *Toledhoth Yeshu*, and the works of Rashi, Maimonides and David Kimchi. We may now turn to a history of those Jewish polemical works which, though widely distributed among the co-religionists of their authors, were assiduously kept from the attention of Christian adversaries lest they be confiscated and destroyed.

Jews had written and disseminated propaganda literature even before the rise of Christianity,[159] and had combatted the new religion with considerable energy.[160] During the Talmudic period, the foundations of Jewish apologetics were being laid, so that scholars of later periods might find arguments to defend themselves against alien attack.[161] Works of a general character upon the relationship of Judaism and Christianity arrayed in

[159] Levi, "La dispute entre les Égyptiens et les Juifs devant Alexandre, écho des polémiques juives à Alexandrie," *REJ*, lxiii, 211 ff.

[160] Steinschneider, M., "Apokalypsen mit polemischer Tendenz," *ZDMG.*, xxviii, 635 ff.; Klein, G., *Der aelteste Christliche Katechismus und die juedische Propaganda-Literatur*, Berlin, 1909. Marmorstein, A., "L'Épître de Barnabe et la polémique juive," *REJ*, lx, 213. Bergmann, J., *Juedische Apologetik im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*, Berlin, 1908. Marmorstein, "Quelques problèmes de l'ancienne apologétique juive," *REJ*, lxviii, 161. Graetz, H., "Streifzuege," *Monatsschrift*, 1885, p. 288: "Der Osterstreit in der Kirche d. ersten Jahrhunderts und Seine Beziehung zum Judenthum." On Chrysostom see *REJ*, xlv, 42-3; on Hegessipus, *REJ*, ii, 316.

[161] Friedlaender, M., *Geschichte der Juedischen Apologetik*, Zurich, 1903; Guedemann, M., *Juedische Apologetik*, Glogau, 1906; Marmorstein, A., "The Apologetics of the Rabbis," *Jewish Review* (1914) pp. 62-74, and *REJ*, lxviii, 165.

controversy against each other are abundant;[162] they do not suffice, however, to furnish the details of the historic debate between the two religions. In the story of medieval apologetics these details appear in full.[163] As early as the time of the Visigoths, Jews wrote books against Christianity in excellent Latin,[164] in contrast to the peasant laity who, living among the Arabs, quickly forgot their language and faith. About 514, a Christian Bishop who became a Jew in one of the regions of Syria, wrote a curious letter against his former religion, the text of which has come down to us in an Arabic version.[165] During the Gaonic period, notable criticisms of Christian doctrines and prac-

[162] Goodman, P., *The Synagogue and the Church, being a Contribution to the Apologetics of Judaism*, London, 1908; Siegfried, C., *Geschichte der Polemik zwischen Christenthum und Judenthum*, Jena, 1895, 37 pp. (Festrede). Wiener, J., *Judenthum und Christenthum*, Zurich, 1877. Marx, G., *Juedisches Fremdenrecht; antisemitische Polemik und jued. Apologetik*, Leipzig, 1886. Loeb, B., *Ma'amar Netzach Yisrael*, Warsaw, 1886.

[163] De Rossi, J. B., *Bibliotheca Judaica Anti-Christiana*, Parma, 1800; Wolf, J. H., *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, not only devotes over 50 pages to enumerate the titles of Christian anti-Jewish works, but gives us the names also, and considerable of the contents of Jewish anti-Christian writings; ii, 993 *et passim*. Broydé, I., "Polemics and Polemical Literature," *JE*, x, 102-9, is important. Currick, M. C., "Some Aspects of Jewish Apologetics," *Central Conference of American Rabbis Year Book*, xxi (1910-11), pp. 271 ff. Posnanski, A., *Shiloh*, Leipzig, 1904; reviewed in *REJ*, xlix, 307-315, gives excerpts on Genesis 49:10 relating to the Messiah from Jewish as well as Christian works, with texts. Geiger, "Proben juedischer Vertheidigung gegen christliche Angriffe im Mittelalter, " in *Jahrbuch* of Breslau, 1850-2, and *Deutsch-Israelitischer Volkskalender*, 1854, is the best study of its kind in German. See Kayserling, M., *Biblioteca espanola-portugueza judaica*, Strassburg, 1890, pp. 144 ff.; Steinschneider, *Juedische Literatur*, p. 314; Winter und Wuensche, *Juedische Literatur*, iii, 655-70. Loeb, I., *La controverse religieuse entre les chrétiens et les juifs du moyen âge*, Paris, 1888. Levi, I., *REJ*, v, 239 ff.; Ziegler, *Religioese Disputationen im Mittelalter*, Frankfort a. M., 1894; Hamburger, *Realencyclopaedie fuer Bibel und Talmud, Supplement*, 1900, s. v. Disputation. *Bibliography*, List of Works in the New York Public Library, New York, 1913, pp. 191-195. *Hist. Litt. de la Fr.*, xxvii, 556, xxi, 506 ff., on "Controversistes"; Geiger, A., *Kobhetz Wikkuchim*, Breslau, 1844; Pressburg, G. I., *Religioese Gespraeche*, Prague, 1825; Berliner, *Peletath Sopherim*, Hebrew pages, 29-35 inclusive; *Zur Geschichte der Religionsgespraeche*, v, 31-33. Steinschneider, M., *Polemische und Apologetische Literatur in Arabischer Sprache*, Leipzig, 1877. For special articles, *v. i.*

[164] *Lex. Visig.* liber xii, tit. 2, par. 4; tit. 3, par. 9 and 11. Schleiden, M. J., *The importance of the Jews for the preservation and revival of learning during the Middle Ages* (Engl. translation), London, 1911, p. 29.

[165] Loeb, *La controverse religieuse*, p. 16; *REJ*, v, 202-3; xvi, 300.

tice were written by Jewish scholars, mainly in Arabic, the great Saadia and later Judah Halevi being numbered among them.

1. *France the Center of Jewish Polemics.* It was in France, however, and in adjacent Spain, that Jewish polemical works appeared in greatest abundance during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the era of Christian heresies and the Inquisition. This circumstance is not surprising in view of the efflorescence of Jewish culture, especially in Provence, and the growth of the spirit of liberalism which found expression among Christians in the rise of the dissenting sects. Historians speak of the freedom of belief in Southern France, under the influence of which "those who really possessed religious convictions were but little deterred by prejudice or the fear of persecution from criticising the shortcomings of the Church."[166] In territories where the Catharist, Waldensian and allied heresies flourished, Jewish tractates appeared, were disseminated among Jews, and apparently left their mark upon contemporary non-Jewish thought. Thus the religious unrest of the heretical centuries found its corollary in the assertiveness of Jewish spokesmen on behalf of Judaism, a situation which was not remedied, from the Christian viewpoint, until the Inquisition had effectively fulfilled its tasks.

In Northern France, Jewish apologetical material first appeared not in separate treatises but in the commentaries of distinguished exegetes. We have no trace of Jewish replies to the attacks of Agobard, Amolo, Rabanus Maurus and other assailants; it is not until important exegetical works were written that the defense of Judaism and criticism of Christianity were combined. It was natural that material of this nature should be included in exegetical writings. For the exegete in his interpretation of debatable Scriptural passages could not remain neutral in the warfare of Jew and Christian. The latter sought to demonstrate Jesus and the Trinity wherever possible in the Old Testament; the Jew strove, on the other hand, not merely to explain Scripture on its own merits, but to employ it in denial of Christian and vindication of Jewish claims. Thus to explain even the first chapter of the Pentateuch, it was necessary to take a pro- or anti-Jewish position;[167] the story of Abraham and the angels became themes for debate on the doctrine of the Trinity;[168]

[166] Lea, i, 67.

[167] Loeb, pp. 21-22.

[168] Joseph Kimchi's *Sepher ha-Berith*, etc.

Genesis 49:10, the Rod of Judah,[169] Isaiah 53, the Suffering Servant,[170] the reputed Messianic passages in the Prophets, the Weeks of Daniel,[171] the Psalms and multitudinous other selections from the Bible served also as themes of disagreement between Jewish and Christian interpreters. Several volumes would be needed to assemble the abundant literature by Christians and Jews on debatable Scriptural passages; several monographs have already been written; Migne's *Patrologia* is a mine of untouched material, and the Jewish commentaries and polemical treatises furnish data for comparison and contrast. The adversaries on both sides twist the text out of shape for controversial purposes; Jewish refutation at times is based on logic equally as fantastic as Christian affirmation. The Jewish advocate was strongest in his use of the so-called "simple" or literal exegesis in opposition to the allegorical method, so popular with Christian scholars; when the Jew adopted a similar argument by allegory, he fell into the same errors as his opponent.

Rashi, as we have already pointed out, laid the foundations for exegetical polemics; his comments brought his works under the ban of the Inquisition. Samuel ben Meir (Rashbam) of Ramerupt (1085-1174), the grandson of Rashi,[172] also sought to defend Judaism against Christianity and to indicate defects in the latter faith. During his lifetime religious leaders had become increasingly active in their attacks upon Jews: religious disputations had begun to multiply; conversionary efforts grew more prevalent and oftentimes inroads were made into Jewish communities. This in turn stimulated Jewish apologists to vigorous attack and defense. Rashbam joined his contemporaries in this labor, and made one of the rules of his exegesis the endeavor to combat the "Minim," namely either Jewish apostates or hostile Christians. In his "Commentary on the Torah" he sought to demonstrate that Pentateuchal passages reputed to foretell the advent of Jesus did not refer even to the coming of the Messiah;

169 Posnanski, *Shiloh.*

170 Neubauer, A., *The 53rd Chapter of Isaiah according to Jewish Interpreters,* Oxford, 1877.

171 Fraidl, *Die Exegese de siebzig Wochen Daniels in der aeltern und mittleren Zeit.* Graz, 1883.

172 Rosin, D., "Samuel ben Meir" in the *Jahresbericht* of the Breslau Rabbinical Seminary, 1880; Geiger, *Proben,* i, 38-9; *idem, Parschandatha,* Leipzig, 1855, p. 20; Berliner, *Peletath Sopherim,* Breslau, 1872, *passim;* Zunz, *Zur Geschichte,* pp. 33, 57, 70, 124; *Hist. Litt. de la Fr.,* xxvii, *passim;* Loeb, p. 23.

like Rashi, Rashbam had the courage to reject a popular Jewish explanation in order to prove the inaccuracy of a similar Christian view. He combatted the Christian opinion that the Old Testament represented a lower stage of religious development and a lesser revelation; he refuted Christian attacks on the Patriarchs, saying: "This is a simple foundation, and is an answer to the Minim."[173] There is evidence that Rashbam held disputations of a peaceful and mild character with learned Christians over debatable Scriptural passages, doubtful expressions, and the significance of the laws of Judaism.[174] The controversial material embodied in Rashbam's commentaries is cited by a noted disputant, Joseph, the Official, in several of the public disputes during the thirteenth century.[175] Rashbam knew Latin and could even read the Vulgate.[176]

Jacob ben Meir Tam, (1100-1171), known also as Rabbenu Tam, the grandson of Rashi, and the most prominent French Tossafist, participated also in religious disputations. In 1147 he was subjected to insult and injury at the hands of a group of French crusaders, and was saved only by a prince who promised that he would either persuade him to be baptized or place him in their power again on the following day.[177] He took part in the French Rabbinical Assembly of 1160 which decided that disputes between Jews must be settled not in Christian, but in Jewish courts.[178] Rabbi Tam is said to have been very wealthy and to have had official relations with the King of France, who was his patron. He was, moreover, particularly lenient in regard to rules governing the collection of taxes from Jews and Jewish proselytes.[179] He is mentioned in the polemic of Joseph the Official,[180] and there is a record in the works of Rabbi Nathanael,

[173] Rosin, pp. 84-6. In defense of the Mosaic Law, Rashbam quotes Lev. 2:3, 34;19:19. The command against the Canaanites in Deut. 20:16, he softens by generalizing the example of the Gibeonites. He explains Gen. 25:31, and 5:34, 27:36, and Exodus 3:22 in defense of the Patriarchs.

[174] Graetz, vi, 169 ff; and discussions on Exodus 20:13 and Lev. 19:19.

[175] Kahn in *REJ*, iii, 10; Kaufman iv, 220, on Psalm 22.

[176] Rosin, p. 61; Kisch, *Monatsschrift*, 1874, p. 124. In his discussion of Exodus 20:13 he uses Latin in reference to the translation of "Non occides," "Thou shalt not kill", and "Ego occidam", Deut. 32:39.

[177] Neubauer and Stern, *Hebr. Berichte ueber die Judenverfolgungen waehrend der Kreuzzuege*, p. 64.

[178] Neubauer, *REJ*, xvii, 66 ff.; Jacobs, *Jews of Angevin England*, p. 47.

[179] *Sepher ha-Yashar*, Par. 73 b.

[180] No. 23; *REJ*, i, 236-8; iii, 6.

a pupil of Rabbi Jechiel ben Joseph of Paris, of a disputation between Rabbi Tam and an apostate concerning the celebrated passage on *Shiloh*.[181]

Joseph ben Isaac Bekor Shor of Orleans (c. 1140-1210), a French Tossafist, exegete and poet who flourished in the second half of the twelfth century,[182] followed in the footsteps of his fellow-exegetes as controversialist. Even more than Rashi, Shor followed the method of *peshat;*[183] like Samuel ben Meir, he defended the Old Testament Patriarchs from Christian attack;[184] like Rashi, he combatted interpretations employed by his own coreligionists as contrary to tradition and good religious practice, in order that he might reinforce the Jewish position against Christianity.[185] Shor sought to ward off the attacks of apostate Jews active in the neighborhood of his home;[186] they brought down upon themselves the sharp replies of Jewish scholars. Shor, like his contemporaries, "had a cruel bite."[187] Joseph Kimchi cites him in his *Sepher ha-Berith* (f. 33 b.), and Joseph, the Official, mentions him as a commentator on the Psalms.[188] So successful was Shor in his disputations that he is reported to have won back an apostate to Judaism.[189] Shor was well acquainted with the Vulgate and with Christian exegesis, citing Jerome's version of Psalm 2 and criticizing the rendition of *Bar.*

Joseph Kara of Troyes (1070-1140), the friend of Rashi and Samuel ben Meir, has given us some of the most interesting

[181] Schechter, S., in *Semitic Studies*, Berlin, 1897, p. 485; Berliner, *Peletath Sopherim*, Breslau, 1872, p. 35; Poznanski, pp. 137-8.

[182] Walter, G., *Joseph Bechor Schor, der letzte nordfranzoesische Bibelexeget*, Breslau, 1890; Porges, N., *Joseph Bechor Schor, ein nordfranzoesischer Bibelerklaerer des XIII Jahrhunderts*, 1908, p. 13 ff.; *Hist. Litt. de la Fr.*, xxvii, 434,558.

[183] For illustrations of Shor's method, see his explanations of Gen. 1:26; 3:22; 18:2; 19:1; 24:2; Deut. 6:4; 32:11-12; Walter, *op. cit.*, p. 13, note 1, gives the Hebrew text.

[184] Gen. 27:19; 30:9 (Ed. Jellinek, Leipzig, 1855, p. 45); 30:33; 31:19; 35:4 (cf. Geiger, *ZDMG*, xv, 157); 35:22; 38:13.

[185] Walter, p. 13, note 3; cf. Newmann, Jacob, *Joseph Bekor Schor's Pentateuch-Commentar zum Buche Numeri.* Part I, Breslau, 1899.

[186] *REJ*, iii, 5 ff.; Berliner, *Peletath Sopherim*, p. 29 ff.

[187] Loeb, p. 23; *REJ*, iii, 5; *Milchemeth Chobhah*, 33 b.

[188] Nos. 17, 84, 107, 113, 118, 123, in *REJ*, iii, 5-6.

[189] Graetz, vi, note 7 at end of volume; Walter, p. 11; Joseph the Official, mentions Shor's comment on Isaiah 53. For his interpretation of Gen. 49:10, see *Shiloh*, pp. 131-2; Jellinek's edition, Leipzig, 1856, p. 79.

specimens of humorous polemics during the Middle Ages. His glosses on the Pentateuch, his Commentaries on various parts of the Prophets and the Holy Writings, particularly Job and Lamentations, contain refutations of Christians and apostates.[190] Joseph Kimchi cites a satirical passage from Kara in the *Sepher ha-Berith* (f. 33 b.), and in Joseph the Official's *Teshubhoth ha-Minim*, we find a striking explanation by Joseph Kara to a Christian monk of the question: why Jews have no bells for prayer.[191] In the *Hadar Zekenim*, we find attributed to Joseph Kara an interpretation concerning *Shiloh* which found its way into the *Chizzuk 'Emunah*. All of Kara's responses have a direct and pointed message.[192]

2. *Hebrew Polemics in Southern France and Spain.* It is in Southern France, however, in the regions of Languedoc and Provence, adjacent to Spain, that Jewish polemical interest had its most active growth. Scholars who had helped make Provence a hearth of Jewish learning were numbered among those who added new documents to the literature of apologetics. Controversial material appears in exegetical works and commentaries; disputations in private and public were held between Rabbis and Churchmen; special tractates were written in defense of Judaism and to glorify it as against Christianity. In the very cities where Christian heresy flourished, Jewish polemics made their appearance and were disseminated.

We have already referred to the polemical material in the works of Maimonides to which the Inquisition later took vigorous exception. The commentaries of Abraham ibn Ezra (1092-1167), though unfamiliar to the Church until the period of the Reformation Hebraists, likewise treated debatable passages in Scripture

[190] *Hist. Litt. de la Fr.*, xxvii, 558; Loeb, p. 28; Rosin, p. 72; Zunz, *Zur Geschichte*, p. 68; Geiger, *Parschandatha*, pp. 18; Neubauer, p. vi ff; Posnanski, 152, 234; *REJ*, i, 239-240.

[191] *REJ*, i, 240. See my poem: "The Abbé and the Rabbi" in the *Menorah Journal*, October, 1923.

[192] In addition to the polemical material in the works of Rashi, Samuel ben Meir, Joseph Bekor Shor, Joseph Kara and other Northern French exegetes, we find citations on Gen. 49:10 in the works of Rabbi Isaac ben Abraham of Dampierre (died before 1210), Rabbi Samson ben Samson of Coucy (c. 1205), Aaron ben Joseph ben Aaron and others. See Posnanski, pp. 132 ff., and *passim*.

with expert skill.[193] Moses ha-Darshan of Narbonne, living about the middle of the eleventh century, composed the *Midrash Bereshith Rabbah*,[194] which Raymond Martin included in his noted Latin polemic, the *Pugio Fidei*;[195] Isaac Abarbanel and other Jewish authors quote it.[196] One view of the origin of this *Midrash* is that it was in the form of a friendly conversation with a curious and learned Christian divine; another that the first compiler of the Midrash took what he wished from the *Yesod*, a commentary written by Moses ha-Darshan.[197]

We are concerned here, however, not with the minor polemical writings of the period, but with the important treatises which became the standard for the apologetical literature of the later centuries. For the honor of being the first important Hebrew polemical tractate, two works contend, namely the *Sepher Milchamoth Adonay* of the Rabbanite, Jacob ben Reuben (fl. 1170-1190), and the *Sepher ha-Berith* of Joseph Kimchi. The former was written either in Gascogne[198] or in Huesca,[199] the home city in Aragon of Peter Alphonso (Moses Sephardi), to answer whom Jacob composed his work; like the treatise of the apostate, Jacob's book was in the form of dialogues, its twelve chapters containing not only refutations of Christian arguments, but a complete criticism of the Gospels of the Acts and the Apostles, in which Jacob pointed out many contradictions. The work formed the basis for later Jewish polemics in Spain, and figures in the *Ezer ha-'Emunah* of Moses of Tordesillas (1374),[200] the *Ebhen Bochan* of Shem Tobh Shaprut (1380),[201]

[193] Loeb, p. 17; Posnanski, pp. 108. During his travels, Abraham in 1145 visited the town of Béziers in France, one year before the mission of Bernard of Clairvaux.

[194] Epstein, A., "Bereshith Rabbah" in Berliner's *Magazin*, xv, 70 and others doubt this.

[195] Loeb, pp. 35-6; Neubauer, "Jewish Controversy" in *The Expositor*, vii (1888), 92-5; *REJ*, xii, 133; Neubauer, *Fifty-Third Chapter*, p. vi.

[196] Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, p. 411; Posnanski, pp. 115-121.

[197] Epstein, *Moses ha-Darshan aus Narbonne*, Vienna, 1891; there is an abundant literature on this Midrasch.

[198] Graetz, vii, 488.

[199] De Rossi, *Bibliotheca Judaica Anti-Christiana*, p. 36; Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, p. 144; Loeb, p. 27, and *REJ*, xviii, 46; Geiger, *Proben*, i, 61; Wolf, iv, 871; Steinschneider, *'Otzeroth Chayyim*, p. 370; Neubauer, "Controversy ", p. 92, gives a description of the work from a manuscript at Oxford; another copy is at the Rabbinical Seminary in Breslau, Ms. 47. (Ms. Bodl. 2146.)

[200] Loeb, p. 145.

[201] Loeb, p. 146.

and in the response of Alphonso of Valladolid, the apostate, namely: *Batallas de Dios* (1336).[202] The famous *Shiloh* passage was discussed by Jacob, his comment being quoted oftentimes by later writers, among them Isaac Karo of Toledo, Moses of Tordesillas, Shem Tobh, the anonymous author of the *Chizzuk 'Emunah*, and numerous others.[203]

Joseph Kimchi (1105-1170), the founder of the famous Kimchi family, who with the Tibbons and a group of lesser scholars assisted in transplanting into Provence the Arabic-Jewish civilization of Spain, takes rank among the foremost apologists of the Middle Ages.[204] Several polemical works have been incorrectly attributed to Joseph Kimchi by bibliographers.[205] It is certain, however, that he wrote the *Sepher ha-Berith*, about the year 1179.[206] It was believed for some time that Kimchi's *Sepher ha-Galuy* and the *Sepher Zikkaron* were of polemical content, but this opinion has been abandoned by scholars. The *Sepher ha-Berith*, following Kimchi's usual practice, was so named from a Biblical phrase, taken from Exodus 24:7. It mentions among others, Rabbis Isaac ha-Levi, Joseph Kara, and Eliezer ben Samuel. The work itself is cited in the *Wikkuach* of David Kimchi, Joseph's son, in several selections included in David's *Sepher Shorashim*, in the latter's comment on Isaiah 7:14, and in his interpretations of debatable passages quoted in the name of his father. In the text published in the *Milchemeth Chobhah* at Constantinople, 1710, there are several additions to the main body of the work, one of them being quoted from the controversy of Nachmanides with Paul Christian. The contents of the *Sepher ha-Berith* clearly indicate the nature of Christian-Jewish arguments: a "Min" or apostate is combatted by the Jewish author; disputed texts including Gen. 1:2, Isaiah 9:6, Gen. 49:10, Daniel 9, Psalms 87:4, are dis-

[202] Loeb, p. 141.

[203] Posnanski, pp. 141, 159, 171, *et passim.*

[204] I have in preparation a study on "Joseph and David Kimchi as Religious Controversialists" which will be published in the near future.

[205] Hetzel, *Geschichte der Hebraeischen Sprache und Literatur*, Halle, 1776,p. 109; Buxtorf, *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, 1640, pp. 438, 440, 441, 455, 459; Wolf, i, 562, iv, 859; Blueth, "Joseph Kimchi und seine Grammatik" in Berliner's *Magazin*, xviii, 204 ff.

[206] Geiger, *Otzar Nechmad*, i, 115 ff.; *Proben*, i, 63; De Rossi, p..52. See comment of Shem Tobh Shaprut in the *Ebhen Bochan*, which attributes a *Sepher Milchamoth Adonay* to Kimchi.

cussed, and Jewish comments upon Christian doctrines: on the Virgin Birth, the Trinity, the Messiah, Atonement, are presented. Frequent citations from the Vulgate appear, and there are quotations in Arabic and the vernacular French. Kimchi describes the ethical life of Jewish communities in order to vindicate the Jewish name against Christian attack. and seeks to demonstrate that the duration of Jewish exile is in no way a justification of Christian truth. Thus Joseph Kimchi, together with his still more famous son, David, whose *Wikkuach, Teshubhoth la-Notzerim* and other polemical writings were a constant source of irritation to the Inquisition, gave further impetus to the rapidly developing apologetical tradition in Jewish literature. We shall deal in detail with their contributions to this department of Jewish activity at another time.

Meir ben Simeon of Narbonne (c. 1245), a Talmudist and controversialist of the thirteenth century and a contemporary of Nachmanides, with whom he maintained a scientific correspondence, was the author of a controversial work entitled: *Milchemeth Mitzwah* (*The War of Duty.*)[207] This treatise is divided into five parts, the first three of which have a controversial interest: namely, an account of a religious disputation in 1245 before the Bishop En Guillem de la Broa and in the presence of the Jewish notables of Narbonne and Capestang; secondly, controversies with Christian ecclesiastics; and thirdly, conversation of an apologetic nature, and explanations of Biblical passages concerning the Messiah, and of Talmudical Haggadoth interpreted by Christians in favor of their beliefs. The controversy at Narbonne occurred five years after the great disputation at Paris over the burning of the Talmud; Meir's work indicates the close personal relationships between Jewish and Christian scholars through the medium of religious debates. The Inquisition had been instituted at Narbonne about 1231, and the condition of local Jews had become extremely precarious; despite this fact, however, the prestige of the Jewish community was so strong that polemics were not avoided through fear of persecution.[208] Meir makes use of the Midrash, and apparently

[207] De Rossi, No. 155; Parma MSS. No. 2749.

[208] Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, pp. 423-5; *Hist. Litt. de la Fr.*, xxvii, 552-8; Neubauer, *Archives des Missions*, 3rd series, i, 556, and *Israelitische Letterbode*, iii, 20; Gross, in *Monatsschrift*, 1874, p. 571, and 1881, pp. 295, 444 and 554; Steinschneider, *Hebr. Bibl.*, xvi, 44, 67; Neubauer, *Fifty-Third Chapter*, i, 323; Loeb, p. 32.

reproduces several medieval apologetical treatises which had been written previously under diverse circumstances; he seeks also to explain the arduous lot and the humiliation of the Jews which, by reason of the strict ordinances of the King of France, had become increasingly grievous. In 1245 a religious discussion took place at Cluny, in the presence of Pope Innocent IV, who at the time sojourned there, and King Louis; the participants were a Jewish scholar and a Christian Chevalier.[209]

Moses of Coucy (fl. 1235-1250) distinguished himself during the thirteenth century both as exegete and polemist. In 1235 he travelled in France and in 1236 in Spain, lecturing publicly in the synagogues on the prescriptions of the Mosaic Law, and admonishing his audiences to observe them, at the same time urging brotherly consideration for members of other faiths and races. In Spain, Moses found that a number of Jews had married Christians and Mohammedans; taking his authority from the book of Ezra, he succeeded in bringing about divorces in these cases.[210] In 1240, Moses was one of the four Rabbis who defended the Talmud against the attack of the apostate Donin; he was chosen no doubt because of his comprehensive learning, for he knew French, Arabic and Spanish and was called: "ha-Darshan" because of his eloquence.[211]

A little before the year 1240, at Montpellier, an anonymous author compiled a Pentateuchal commentary: *Leket Katzer*, a compilation of old works which contain numerous apologetical passages in reply to Christian attacks, and interprets the Bible from the mystical point of view, using Kabbalistic "gematria" and "notarikon."[212] One of the most important works of the thirteenth century was the *Machazik ha-'Emunah*, written by Mordecai ben Joseph, Rabbi of Carpentras and Avignon, in reply to the attacks of Paul Christian, the apostate.[213] Mordecai

[209] *REJ*, iii, 13; Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, p. 594.

[210] *Sepher Mitzwoth Gadhol*, Prohibition No. 122; Commandment, No. 3. If marriages of this kind took place in Spain, it is not improbable that they occurred also in adjacent Provence; see elsewhere the Canonical prohibitions of intermarriage.

[211] Guedemann, i, 80 ff; 170; *REJ*, i, 258, gives information on his attitude towards Christians. The *Sepher Mitzwoth Gadhol* has been compared to Abelard's *Sic et Non* because of its method of affirmative and negative precepts; *Hist. Litt. de la Fr.*, xx, 513.

[212] Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, p. 327; Berliner, *Peletath Sopherim*, p. 33.

[213] *v. s.*, pp. 174ff.

composed his treatise while in prison (1269); by reason of the persecution of the Inquisition he had been placed under arrest because of his opposition to the decree that Provencal Jews should wear the humiliating badge. Rabbi Levi ben Abraham (1250-1315) in his *Liwyath Chen* dedicated one of the paragraphs on prophecy to a discussion of the religions of non-Jewish peoples.[214] Rabbi Nissim ben Moses in his Commentary attacked certain Christian views contrary to Jewish interpretation.[215]

Solomon ben Adret (1235-1310) occupies an important place in the history of Jewish apologetics because of his reply to the anti-Jewish *Pugio Fidei* of Raymond Martin, the Dominican of Barcelona. In view of the misuse of the Haggadah by Jewish converts to Christianity, Solomon wrote a commentary on collected passages from the Talmud and Midrash; only a fragment of this work is now extant.[216] Solomon's discussion of the corrections of the Bible called *Tikkun Sopherim* were directed not only against Raymond Martin, but against Paul Christian and other apostates who had employed the Midrash for the vindication of Christian doctrines.[217] Solomon's work is only one of the many apologetical writings which appeared in Spain during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. With the establishment of the Dominican schools for the study of Oriental languages, taught largely by baptized Jews and Moslems,[218] and with the steady increase of the Inquisition's influence, Jews were compelled to take up their pens on numerous occasions in defense of their position. Jewish apostates were especially malignant in their attacks, Paul de Santa Maria, Geronimo de Santa Fé, and others, leading the assault; Christian authors, among them Alfonso de Zamora, Antonio Carraffa, and numerous others, followed the example of their Jewish instructors.[219] Thus the religious warfare which culminated in the expulsion of the Jews

[214] *Hist. Litt. de la Fr.*, xxvii, 641.

[215] *Hist. Litt. de la Fr.*, xxvii, 549.

[216] Perles, *R. Salomo ben Adereth, sein Leben und seine schriften*, Breslau, 1863, pp. 55-67, notes 108 and 118; and the Hebrew text in the Appendix; Loeb, p. 37.

[217] Solomon also wrote a vigorous tractate in defense of Judaism against Mohammedan attack.

[218] *Pugio Fidei*, Leipzig, 1687, preface of Carpzov, pp. 97-8; Neubauer, "Controversy," p. 188.

[219] Loeb, pp. 38 ff; Erler 50:25.

from Spain and the persecution of the Marranos who remained had a literary phase which contributed largely to the enrichment both in number and content of Jewish apologetical writings.

3. *Jewish Polemics in Italy.* In Italy, religious arguments were many, but they did not assume the violent character of the disputes in Spain and France. The first Jewish polemical writer of importance seems to have been Moses ben Solomon of Salerno, who between 1225 and 1240 composed two polemical treatises: the *Ma'amar ha-'Emunah* and the *Ta'anoth*, only the latter of which is now extant.[220] Moses was a philosopher as well as commentator, and in the Latin language read the *Moreh Nebhukhim* of Maimonides for Nicalao da Giovenazzo or Nicolo Paglia (1197-1265), a pupil of Dominicus. In the *Ta'anoth*, Moses mentions "Philip, the heretic from Tuscany," and again "the Christian Philip, who is their teacher."[221] This "Philip" may be, as some surmise, a baptized Jew or a Christian heretic, perhaps one of the Catharists, similar to the *Kopherim* or Patarenes, mentioned by Jacob Anatolio. Moses remarks that he had several conversations with Bishop Mazeo, no doubt Fra Matteo of the Dominicans, who in 1276 was made by the Pope Inquisitor of Sicily and Calabria; he engaged in arguments also with a "Christian scholar, Pietro di Bernia or Berbia." The Nicolo Paglia with whom Moses read the *Moreh* was a famous Christian ecclesiastic, founder of the Perugia Cloisters and a noted Italian preacher.[222] Moses had scholarly relationships with other Christian disputants, the names of whom he has not given. In this way he came into close association with Christian life, and his skill in the Latin and Italian languages made him an important intermediary between Jewish and non-Jewish thought.[223]

Another Italian polemical writer of note during the thirteenth century was Solomon ben Moses ben Yekuthiel of Rome (died

[220] MSS. Breslau, No. 29. Vogelstein und Rieger, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, Berlin, 1896, i, 269; *Hebr. Bibl.*, xv, 86 and xvii, 68; Perles, in *Monatsschrift*, 1875, p. 21; Loeb, p. 13; Posnanski, pp. 143-4 and *passim;* Neubauer, *Fifty-Third Chapter*, i, 323, ii, 381; *Hist. Litt. de la Fr.*, xxvii, 570; Steinschneider, *Hebr. Uebers.*, p. 433; Guedemann, *Erziehungswesen*, ii, 228.

[221] f. 248 a., and 253 a.

[222] Stadler, *Heiligenlexikon*, Augsburg, 1875, iv, 550.

[223] On knowledge of Latin sources, particularly the Vulgate, by Jewish controversialists, see *REJ*, iii, 6, lxvi, 247, and lxvii, 130.

1284), the first member of the famous Rossi family. His apologetical work is known under four different titles.[224] Solomon seeks to advise Jews how to conduct themselves in arguments with Christians, though he deplores the need for controversies, since neither victory nor defeat profits the Jewish participant. If Jews are compelled to engage in such debates, they should, if possible, select not the markets or streets, but a quiet place as the scene of the discussion. Moreover, only Jews skilled in a knowledge of the Jewish evidence, of general culture, and of the native vernacular should attempt to dispute, and every effort should be made to avoid touching upon themes which might offend the Christian.[225]

Jacob ben Abbamari Anatoli or Anatolio (1194-1256), a Rabbi from Provence who lived in Naples during the third decade of the thirteenth century, a protégé of the Emperor Frederic II, translator of Arabic philosophical works, notably Averroes, the friend of Michael Scot, composed also a famous polemical work, known as the *Malmad ha-Talmidhim*.[226] In this work, he manifested wide acquaintance not only with the Jewish exegetes, Maimonides, Rashi and Ibn Ezra, but also with Plato, Aristotle, Averroes, the Vulgate, and the literature on Christian institutions. He criticizes the practice of celibacy and monastic castigation among the Christian clergy, and also the custom of fasting (f. 15a and 98a.) He breaks a lance with Christian heretics, namely the Patarenes (f. 115a), thereby taking a side opposite to that championed by the Jews of Lombardy and Southern France, who protected and stood in intimate relations with the many heretical groups. Anatolio seems to have been well informed on the doctrines of the Patarenes, and repudiated their dualistic belief concerning the creation of the world by an Evil Being. "If Innocent III had lived sixteen years longer, he would have been able to greet in Jacob Anatolio a comrade in the battle against heretical doctrine." It is interesting to observe that

[224] *Sepher Wikkuach*, *'Eduth ha-Shem Ne'emanah*, *She'eloth u-Teshubhoth*, and *Milchamoth ha-Shem*. See Steinschneider, *Hebr. Bibl.*, 1863, p. 93; Bruell, in Weiss, *Beth ha-Midrasch*, 1865, p. 143; Halberstam, in Berliner's *Magazin*, i, 33 ff; xi, 142 ff.; Zunz, *Literaturgeschichte*, p. 366; Vogelstein and Rieger, pp. 269, 278, 395, 438, 444, 452; Guedemann, ii, 230; Loeb, p. 13.

[225] Guedemann, ii, 230-2.

[226] Printed at Lyck, 1866, by the *Mekitze Nirdamim*. On Anatolio, see *Hist. Litt. de la Fr.*, xxvii, 580-589; Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, pp. 374-5; Guedemann, ii, 161 ff; 226 ff; *JE*, i, 562-4.

just as Christians took the Jewish position in defense of the Unity of God and the Mosaic Law, so in this instance Jews stand side by side with Christians in their polemic against the dualist system of belief. Anatolio urged his readers to cultivate the classic languages, he repeated the saying of Rabbi Meir that a non-Jew who busies himself with the Torah is equal to the High Priest (f. 25b), and in general showed a spirit of broad humanitarianism and tolerance. He combatted the tendency of Jews to call upon demons and angels and criticized Christians for their veneration of saints (f. 184a.)

Jewish polemics in Italy did not end with the close of the thirteenth century. We find among later controversialists the names of Elijah Chayyim ben Benjamin of Genezzano, who disputed with Fra Francesco of Acquapendente; Rabbi Jacob ben Elijah of Venice, who answered his pupil Saul, who after conversion to Christianity, had attacked Judaism; Rabbi Isaiah ben Elijah, the Younger, who warned his fellow-Jews against the advisability of disputations with Christians, and Jechiel ben Yekuthiel, author of *Ma 'aloth ha-Middoth*.[227] These works were widely distributed among the Jews of the locality, and served to furnish them with arguments for the defense of their faith against Christian views, and to reinforce them in a knowledge of their own religious opinions.

e. Summary. With a description of the polemical literature during the Middle Ages in Italy we have concluded our study of the problem which faced the Inquisition in its endeavor to suppress Jewish literary influence upon Christian life. We have seen that the Church discouraged disputations between laymen and Jews; that it permitted, and even urged its scholarly experts to write treatises and engage in controversies with Jews for the vindication of Christian theology and institutions. We have seen, too, that the Inquisition deemed it necessary to suppress the Talmud, the commentaries of Rashi, Kimchi and Maimonides, together with other contemporary Jewish works, lest they lead Christian believers astray. Finally, we have described the polemical and apologetical writings of Jews in France, Spain and Italy, where Jewish culture during the centuries of heresy had reached a high estate, not only because these

[227] Guedemann, ii, 233 ff. Bergmann, J., "Deux Polémistes juifs italiens," *REJ*, 40:188.

works demonstrate the nature of the conflict between Christian and Jewish defenders, but because they indicate the character of the influence which would have emanated from them had not the Inquisition compelled Jews to keep them strictly out of sight and away from Christian examination. Jewish polemics were written in manuscript form for circulation among Jews; later, when they were printed in book form, the volumes were purposely made small in size so that they could be quickly concealed from hostile eyes. By forcing Jews to keep under cover any polemical tractate they dared write, the Inquisition was able to fulfil its policy of minimizing Jewish literary influence.

C. JEWISH RELAPSI AND THE INQUISITION

The third major problem with which the Inquisition was faced in its treatment of Jews and Judaism during the Middle Ages was involved in the prevention of Jews who had become converted to Christianity from relapsing into Judaism. When once Jews were baptized, they came under the jurisdiction of the Church and any defection was regarded as heresy. Throughout the entire course of Christian history this problem recurs, and during the Middle Ages it proves a vigorous source of irritation to the Church.

1. *Christian Missionary Efforts Among Jews*

The persistence of the problem of the Jewish "relapsi" was due to the zeal with which the Church conducted its missionary endeavors among Jews.[228] The triumph of the Christian faith in the Roman world marked the commencement of this missionary activity. Though the intention of Jesus appears to have been opposed to the renunciation of their own faith by his fellow Jews (Matthew 10:6), the conversion of Israel became a dominant aim of the Church. Conversion came to possess not the meaning of a return to God in repentance (*Teshubhah*), but the rejection of an old faith and the adoption of a new; the motive no longer lay in an inward compulsion, but oftentimes in more objective interests: the menace of an external power, or the desire for special personal profit by the convert. During the Middle Ages, one of the articles of Christian belief was to the effect that Jews would be converted at the end of the world,[229] men of the most diversified opinions holding this view. Rabanus Maurus, Remi of Auxerre, two Hebraists of the Carolingian period, Pope

[228] Kalkar, Chr. H., *Israel und die Kirche. Geschichtlicher Ueberblick der Bekehrungen der Juden zum Christenthume in allen Jahrhunderten.* Tr. from Danish by A. Michelsen, Hamburg, 1869. See articles in *JE*, "Apostasy and Apostates from Judaism," ii, 12-18; "Conversion to Chrisitanity", iv, 249-252; Proselyte", x, 220-224; "Gentile", v, 615 ff.

[229] "De conversione Judaeorum ad Christum in fine mundi", Martene and Durand, v, 1558-9; *Hist. Litt. de la Fr.*, vi, 103.

Innocent III,[230] Alexander Hales,[231] and Joachim of Flora,[232] are a few examples of the many Churchmen who anticipated the speedy or ultimate conversion of Israel. Even the heretical Waldensians were in agreement with their orthodox brethren on this point.[233] The Council of Vienne in 1311 introduced the study of Hebrew and cognate languages into Christian universities for missionary purposes.[234] In modern times Christian endeavors to bring Jews into the faith have in no way abated in zeal.[235]

2. *Methods of Conversion; the Christian Attitude*

In Christian history, we find two outstanding opinions with reference to the methods by which conversion of Jews was to be accomplished. One view affirmed that no cruelty was too severe for the purpose; thus Bishop Severus, in a letter concerning the Jews of Magona on the island of Minorca urged the most drastic conversionary measures.[236] Another view was that Jews should be won to Christianity by mild and peaceful endeavors: Pope Gregory I, Bernard of Clairvaux and others were, as we shall see, its proponents. During the Middle Ages, the rigorous attitude prevailed, and the voices raised on behalf of clemency were few and unheeded.[237] It was during the reign of the Usurper Maximus in the fifth century that Bishop Severus led the populace against the synagogue in Magona and through violence secured the conversion of many Jews,[338] thereby establishing a precedent

[230] *REJ*, xxv, 251.

[231] *REJ*, xix, 228.

[232] Hahn, *Geschichte der Ketzer*, ii, 535.

[233] Hahn, ii, 27, 132, 561. Migne, 204:1493 has a paragraph: "De Judaeis vel Saracenis ad fidem Christianam conversis". *REJ*, Index volume, has numerous references to Jewish converts; *Monatsschrift*, 1873, p. 514; Weber, F. H., *Hermann der Praemonstratenser oder die Juden und die Kirche des Mittelalters*, Nordlingen, 1861.

[234] Hefele, vi, 482; vii, 589; Harduin, viii, 1190 ff.

[235] De la Roi, J. F. A., *Die Evangelische Christenheit und die Juden*, Leipzig, 1884, is an important work on Christian missions among Jews from the Reformation to the end of the 19th century. See also "Missionen unter den Juden" in Herzog-Hauck, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, 2d ed.; Gregoire, *Histoire des sectes religieuses*, ii, 354, 375, 390, 413, 417; iii, 290 ff.; iv, 403; v, 360; also works by Krauskopf, Deutsch and others.

[236] Graetz, iv, 363; v, 47, 49.

[237] De la Roi, p. 17; *REJ*, iii, 319; viii, 309.

[238] Baronius, *Annales*, ad an. 418, No. 43-72.

which found many imitators. The great persecution by Cyril resulted in the enforced conversion of Adamantius, a teacher of medicine; the remainder of the Jewish settlement were banished. The Jews of Visigothic Spain suffered grievously under the combined persecution and missionary endeavors of the kings and their prelates; death and expulsion were the usual alternatives to baptism. In the Byzantine Empire, forced conversions occurred under Leo, the Isaurian, in 723. Pope Leo VII (936-9) directed a letter to Frederic, Archbishop of Mayence, urging that the Gospel be preached to the Jews with all wisdom, skill and consideration; if they voluntarily baptized, thanks were due God; if they refused, they were to be expelled from the domain, since no converse was to be held with the enemies of God; on no condition, however, without their will and desire, were they to be baptized.[239] In 1010 Alduin, Bishop of Limoges, offered the Jews of his diocese a choice between baptism and banishment; for a month, according to the story, theologians held disputations with the Jews; little success attended their efforts, for only three or four Jews abjured their faith; of the rest, some fled into near-by cities; others slew themselves.[240] A Hebrew text states that Duke Robert of Normandy conspired with his vassals to destroy all Jews in their lands who refused baptism; many were slain or killed themselves;[241] it is not surprising in this connection to learn that Robert the Pious was well-known not merely for his anti-Jewish policy but because of his activity against Christian heretics; it was he who directed the burning of the Catharists at Orleans in 1017. The era of the Crusades is a tragic period in the history of Jewish conversions to Christianity, for not only in the Rhine region of Germany and in Jerusalem itself, but even in England, Jews were subjected to persecution, at the hands both of local Christian communities and of the Crusading armies. These outbreaks marked the accentuation of anti-Jewish legislation, looking towards the development of a systematic policy whereby Jews might be forced into the Christian fold. The few instances of enforced baptism we have cited[242] indicate the widespread prev-

[239] Jaffé, *Mon. Moguntina*, Berlin, 1866, p. 336; *idem*, *Regesten*, 2766.

[240] Bouquet, x, 152.

[241] Berliner's *Magazin*, iii; *Otzar Tobh*, pp. 46-48.

[242] See Erler 48:31; Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, 71, 483; *REJ*, iii, 32; xv, 268, ii, 281-2; xxx, 87 for other instances.

alence of a policy of violence in medieval conversionary efforts among Jews. The mob and church authorities themselves gave Jews a choice between baptism, expulsion and death; the result was that a numerous class of Christianized Jews arose, presenting problems both to the Jewish and Christian communities, from whose ranks the so-called "Re-Judaizers" or "Relapsi" were recruited, and forming a distinct and special group of heretics under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition.

a. The Official Church Position; the Degree of Compulsion. Conversions by force were officially condemned by the medieval Church, but in a fashion which left room for other missionary methods, the result of which was almost equally distasteful. Converted Jews who had been subjected to genuine duress,[243] and who persistently and completely disregarded the enforced rite of baptism, were not to be considered as truly baptized.[244] Baptism, it was argued, was a voluntary act of faith; through kindness and charity Jews were to be attracted to Christianity; through instruction, they were to be convinced of its truth. Despite these seemingly mild injunctions, the Church was strict in applying them to specific cases. Those who had been moved by threats to convert, and had interposed no real objection were, by reason of the ineradicable nature of baptism, not to be permitted to relapse into Judaism; "Re-Judaizers" were to be treated as heretics, and punished in accordance with the decisions and laws applicable to the latter.[245] The Church incorporated these provisions into its Codes,[246] and the decrees of

[243] "Absolute aut praecise coacti", *Sexti Decret.*, 5, 2, 13.

[244] "Semper invitus et penitus contradicens . . . qui nunquam consentit, sed penitus contradicit, nec rem, nec characterem suscipit sacramenti." *Decret. Greg.*, 3, 42, 3.

[245] "Qui terroribus atque suppliciis violenter attrahitur et, ne detrimentum incurrat, baptismi suscipit sacramentum, talis (sicut et is, qui ficte ad baptismum accedit) characterem suscipit Christianitatis impressum, et ipse tanquam conditionaliter volens, licet absolute non velit, cogendus est ad observantiam fidei Christianae: in quo causa debet intelligi decretum Concilii Toletani" (a. 633). *Decret. Greg.*, 3, 42, 3. See *Elenchus* of Heresies, p. 424 on "Reiudaizantes."

[246] "Just as the Jews are not to be forced to the faith, so it must not be allowed to the converted to recede from it." Gratian, *Decret*, p. 5. I, dist. xlv, c. 5 (col. 161), in *Corpus Juris Canonici*, ed. Friedberg. "Jews are not to be baptized against their will nor forced to it." (1187-91), in *Corpus*, ii, Book v, Title vi.

the Popes reinforced them. In the reign of Emperor Honorius about 412, it was ordained that neophytes who through any external cause had become Christians might return to Judaism.[247] Pope Gregory I, writing to the Bishop of Terracina, urged him to practice clemency towards the Jews, lest by the application of force and threats they be antagonized against Christianity;[248] in similar vein, he wrote to Bishop Paschasius of Naples, and Bishops Virgilius of Arles and Theodore of Marseilles.[249] Pope Gregory IV (827-844) wrote to the Bishops of Gaul and Germany that while Jews should not be forcibly converted to the faith, they should remain in it if they had once been baptized.[250] Pope Alexander II (1061-1073), in a letter to Prince Landulphy Benevente in 1065, reprimanded him for having forced Jews into baptism, calling such a procedure "unchristlike" and citing its condemnation by Gregory I. Pope Calixtus II (1119-1124), issued a Bull: "Sicut Judaeis" about 1120 wherein he extended the Jews his protection and forbade compulsory conversions, since, according to his opinion, they encouraged a merely hypocritical allegiance to the faith.[251] Pope Alexander III (1159-1181), who is said to have favored Jews at his own court, and even to have made a Jew his Finance Minister, also opposed forcible conversions, and in a Bull, the date of which is unknown, he forbade compulsory baptism and despoliation of the convert's property, under penalty of excommunication.[252] Innocent III, like Martin Luther, seems to have inclined towards mild tactics during the early part of his career: thus, September 15, 1199, soon after his elevation to the Papacy, he issued a Bull wherein among other immunities, he included the following:

> It is not permitted any Christian to force a Jew to accept baptism, for that which is done by force is not hallowed by faith; if they wish to receive baptism freely and publicly, no one must unjure them.[253]

In later years, however, Innocent, like Luther, despaired of

[247] *Cod. Theod.*, xvi, 8, 23.

[248] *Ep.* 1, 35, col. 525.

[249] *Ep.* 1, 12, col. 1226; *Ep.* 1, 47, col. 541; Migne, 77:509.

[250] *Decret. Grat.*, 1, 45, 4, 1. "Judaei non sunt cogendi ad fidem, quam tamen si inviti susceperint, cogendi sunt retinere."

[251] This Bull is mentioned by Innocent III; Potthast, *Reg.*, 834; Migne, 214, "Innocentii III Opera", i, 863.

[252] Jaffé, *Reg.*, 9038; *Decret. Greg.*, 5, 6, 9. This Bull is ascribed also to Clement III; apparently it was renewed by him.

[253] Potthast, 834; Migne, i, 864.

converting the Jews, and hence counselled more strenuous methods to win them.[254]

b. The Baptism of Jewish Children. The practical execution of ecclesiastical rules for regulating Christian proselytism among Jews resulted in many hardships. Thus Jewish children not yet seven years old, or who had not been deserted by their parents, could not be baptized without the consent of the father or mother; or, if both were dead, of the guardian; if, however, despite this, they were once baptized, they were to be regarded as Christians in view of the perpetual and inextinguishable nature of baptism; they must be educated in the Christian faith; if they relapsed, they were to be punished as heretics. The Christian grandfather, as well as the Christian grandmother on the paternal side, inasmuch as they stand in the category of "parents," have the authority, despite the protests of the Jewish parents, to baptize their grandchildren. Jewish children who have completed their seventh year, have attained sufficient intelligence and desire to become Christians, may be baptized, even against the wishes of their parents. In both instances, when baptized, these children may be taken away from their Jewish parents, in order to be trained in the Christian belief.[255] Even Thomas Aquinas, though opposed to forcible baptism of children without parental acquiescence, supported the view that once, whether rightly or wrongly, the deed had been performed, it could not be undone.[256] Vincent of Beauvais and John Duns Scotus were far more rigorous in their attitude than Aquinas, and vehemently defended the practice of enforced baptism.[257] For this they had ample precedent, for the Seventeenth Council of Toledo in 694, ordaining punishment for relapsed Jews, commanded that their children at the age of seven must be separated

[254] Lucas, L., "Innocent III et les Juifs", *REJ*, xxxv:251 ff.

[255] Erler, 48:376 quotes from *Katholik*, N. F., i, 84 ff., and from *Archiv*, iv, 290 ff., and gives his own views to justify this practice. He remarks that not only is there involved a question of spiritual superiority, but in addition it is necessary to withdraw the baptized child from its parents' control for the protection of its life. History demonstrates, he writes, many instances where Jews slew their children in order that they might not, or because they had, become Christians.

[256] Guttmann, J., *Das Verhaeltniss des Thomas von Aquino zum Judenthum*, p. 4; *Scholastik*, p. 126-7. *Summa* of Aquinas, Sec. Q. x, art. 8, 12; Zanchini, *de Haere.*, c. ii.

[257] Guttmann, *Scholastik*, pp. 126-7; pp. 157-8.

from them, and must later be married to Christians.[258] In 633, the Fourth Council of Toledo had decreed: "If a Jew has a Christian wife and wishes to live with her, he must become a Christian; if he will not do so, they are to be separated, and the children go with the mother; in the same fashion, the children of unbelieving [Jewish] mothers and Christian fathers, become Christians.[259] May 16, 1229, Pope Gregory IX replied to Bishop Berthold of Strassburg in favor of a converted Jew who had petitioned the authorities to permit him to educate his four year old son in the Christian faith, and to withdraw if from the care of the mother who had not become converted.[260]

c. Marriage Regulations and Conversions. It was natural that the Church should be called upon to decide controversies wherein, after conversion, marriage questions were involved. Thus Clement IV promulgated an interesting rule concerning Jewish and Saracen neophytes. In response to a letter from the Bishop of Segovia, he replied that converted Jews and Saracens might live with wives, related to them in second, third and fourth degrees of kinship, provided the marriage had antedated conversion; they were not, however, to be compelled to do this. Moreover, as long as their wives lived and wished to remain with them, they were not to enter any other marriage; if on the other hand, these wives deserted their husbands, the latter might contract other alliances.[261] Innocent III in 1212 was equally specific on the point involved. In a letter to the Bishop of Ferrara with reference to infidel couples, either Saracen or Jewish, one member of which had accepted Christianity, he wrote that if the unbelieving member under no circumstance wished to live with the other, or only in a way that was an insult to God and led to sin, then the believer was free and could enter another union.[262] In the problem of intermarriage between Gentiles and Jews during the Middle Ages similar issues arose on numerous occasions.

[258] Hefele, iii, 350-3.

[259] Hefele, ii, 85-6.

[260] Among the reasons which Gregory gives for this decision, he says: "in tali aetate quis non debeat apud eas remanere personas, de quibus possit esse suspicio, quod saluti vel vitae insidientur illius." Potthast, 8399; *Decret. Greg.*, 3, 33, 2.

[261] Jaffé, 10226; Mansi, xxii, 553, 562.

[262] *Decret. Greg.*, 4, 19, 7 and 8.

d. The Property of Converted Jews. Questions of property were oftentimes involved in the conversion of Jews to Christianity. In 397 a law was promulgated in the Roman Empire which forbade the acceptance of Jews into Church communion before they had fulfilled their financial obligations.[263] A decree of the Emperor Arcadius demanded an investigation into the moral and social standing of each applicant for admission into the Church; the historian Socrates tells of a Jewish impostor, typical of many converts in later centuries of Church history.[264] In every possible instance, the Church sought to protect their Jewish neophytes from injury at the hands of their former coreligionists or by Christians; thus, Emperor Valentinian II issued a decree, representative of certain tendencies in the Eastern Roman Empire, wherein he forbade Jewish parents to exclude from their patrimony children or grandchildren who had converted.[265] Canon 61 of the Fourth Council of Toledo provided: "Although those baptized Jews who have again apostatized deserve confiscation of their property, yet if they accept the faith, they may inherit the parental property." The Third Lateran Council, in consonance with a Bull of Pope Alexander, ordained that baptized Jews should in no way be excluded from their property by princes and secular rulers, under pain of excommunication.[266] Temporal heads were in the habit of depriving converted Jews when baptized of their property, asserting that it had been obtained through illegal usury; another reason was that secular potentates wished compensation from the Church for the withdrawal of Jews from their jurisdiction and taxation. A converted Jew was freed from the burdens resting upon an unconverted Jew, and hence was no longer subjected to the mulcting process whereby the treasuries of numerous states were periodically replenished. August 20, 1245, Innocent IV (1243-1254), in an epistle to the Archbishop of Tarragona, confirmed the decree of King James of Aragon to the effect that every converted Jew and Saracen might retain safe and unmolested his entire property.[267] This victory was typical of many others won by the Church on this score.

[263] *Cod. Theod.*, ix, 45, 2.
[264] Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, iv, 225.
[265] *Cod. Theod.*, xvi, 8, 28.
[266] *Decret. Greg.*, 5, 6, 5; 20, 21; Hefele, v, 636; Harduin, vi, 2, p. 1685.
[267] Potthast, 11822.

e. Privileges of Converted Jews. Converted Jews gained several exemptions and privileges by entrance into the Church. Thus the Fifth Council of Paris in 614 prohibited Jews from asking or exercising civil or administrative rights over Christians unless they and their families had accepted baptism at the hands of the local Bishop.[268] The Sixteenth Council of Toledo in 693 decreed that "every Jew who genuinely converts is to be relieved from all payments to the Treasury levied against the Jews; they are to be regarded as equal to other subjects of the King." In Gaul during this time, Jews were exempted from persecution if they accepted Catholicism.[269] Previous to the decree of 693, under Receswind in Visigothic Spain, even converts, though nominally Christians, were forced to pay the tax levied on Jews; this was because so many compulsory converts "rejudaized." The Church did all in its power to make the path of the convert easy and comfortable. Thus Pope Alexander III wrote to Archbishop Henry of Rheims, ordering him to return to Peter, an ex-Jew, the prebends taken from him;[270] he also demanded repeatedly that the Bishop of Tournay invest a certain baptized Jew with a canonship in his Church; the fact that the candidate had been a Jew was not to be held against him.[271] Philip Augustus of France in 1180 granted a perpetual exemption from a special tax to a converted Jew named Philip and his descendants;[272] this was renewed and confirmed in 1301 by Philip IV. In England endeavors were made to assist Jewish neophytes: before 1100, an epistle from Anselm to two fellow-Churchmen directed them to "take care of this Robert with that joyful piety and pious joy with which all Christians ought to help and assist one fleeing from Judaism to Christianity;" he urges them to provide for the convert and his family "from the rents of the archdeaconry and even much more, rather than that he who has fled out of the hands of the devil to the servants of God should live in misery among us."[273] England's "Domus

[268] Mansi, x, 542.

[269] Vaissette, i, 750-1.

[270] Jaffé, *Regesten*, 7677.

[271] Jaffé, 9281; *Decret. Greg.*, 1, 3, 7. Many converts rose to high position in the Catholic clergy. Many of the Inquisitors were converts or descendants of converts.

[272] *REJ*, ii, 31.

[273] Jacobs, *Jews of Angevin England*, p. 12.

Conversorum" in London and Oxford was established in the thirteenth century and played an important role in the history of English Jewry,[274] from 1233 to the time of the readmission of the Jews in the seventeenth century. The provisions of the Lateran Council in 1179 sought to prevent the spoliation of Jewish converts "since those who are converted to the faith ought to be in a better condition than before they adopted it." Pope Innocent III was eager to protect Jewish converts: November 5, 1199, he wrote to Bishop Walter of Auiun, insisting that appropriate steps be taken to furnish a livelihood to the converted Jew, P., and his daughter, who before conversion had not been accustomed to poverty.[275] He repeated the same injunction December 5, 1199, to the Abbot and Convent of St. Maria de Parto in Leicester with reference to a converted Jew, formerly rich, but after his baptism, afflicted with monetary distress.[276] To the Archbishop of Sens, June 8, 1213, he recommended a Jew from the former's diocese who had been baptized at Rome; the convert together with his family had received the impulse to accept the faith through a miracle performed with the Eucharist: it had been sacrilegiously accepted by a certain Christian woman who lived among the Jews and had been brought to the father of the convert. Innocent directed the Archbishop to care for the neophyte, and after careful investigation of the alleged miracle to report to him.[277] In 1237, the Statutes of the Cistercians provided that Jewish converts be cared for by the means at the disposal of the Order.[278]

Though converts were thus given preference in Christian society, instances occur when they were penalized for being Jews in race if not in religion. Thus the election of William Ruben, a convert of Toulouse, as Consul in 1291, was annulled under the rule of Alphonse de Poitiers that persons suspected of heresy and Jews might not hold office.[279] A baptized Jew was not believed

[274] Martin, C. T., "The Domus Conversorum", *Jewish Historical Society of England, Transactions*, i, 15-24; Adler, M., "History of the Domus Conversorum", *ibid.*, ii, 16-50, 75. *REJ*, v, 313.

[275] Potthast, 858; Migne, i, 754.

[276] Potthast, 890; Migne, i, 792.

[277] Potthast, 4769; Migne, iii, 885.

[278] "Statuta Anni MCCXXXVII. 13 Benefactoribus eorum qui conversi sunt a Judaismo ad petitionem prioris provincialis in Francia conceditur participiato omnium bonorum quae fiunt et de cetero in ordine nostro fient et fiant inde litterae." Martene and Durand, iv, 1366.

[279] Saige, p. 20; Vaissette, iv, Preuves 8.

on oath, against other Jews, according to an enactment of Philip, the Good.[280] In this fashion, the Church sought to give baptized Jews a place in Christendom, without permitting them, except in cases where their conversion was long tested and found genuine, an equal rank with born Christians.

3. *Jewish Attitude toward Converts*

The reason for this caution lay in the fact that so many reversions to the ancestral faith occurred after Jews were baptized. It was natural that the majority of relapsed converts should be recruited from the ranks of compulsory neophytes: those who either by threat of violence or in actual outbreaks had been forced to accept baptism; at the earliest moment, most of these returned to Judaism. Even voluntary converts, however, were known to desert Christianity, and to live openly or secretly with Jews; the Church indignantly affirmed that they had been bribed by gifts and promises from their former brethren. Thus the policy of Jews with reference to the treatment of apostates must be understood if a proper comprehension of the nature of the Church's difficulties with converts can be afforded.

The attitude of Jews towards apostates was determined in large measure by the activity of the converts with reference to their former brethren. Among the many apostates, only a few were instrumental in aiding their fellow-Jews, Martin of Lucena being a notable example of the baptized Jew who remained friendly to his people.[281] Some apostates were neutral in the warfare between Jew and Christian. Paul, the Jew, a monk of Fulda, entered the Church;[282] in Bourgogne, we have a record of a Jewish canon, Gaufroy by name (c. 1060), who gave a domain at Levigny to Saint-Pierre of Macon.[283] Mahieu or Matthew, the bishop of Gand, was born of Jewish parentage, and became a famous troubadour who numbered among his friends many of the most distinguished citizens of Arras.[284] But the majority of Jewish apostates proved themselves a source

[280] "Item volons que ung juifz baptisie ne soit point creu contre les autres juifs ou juives." Simmonet, p. 181 and 265.

[281] *Shebhet Yehudah*, no. 44; *REJ*, xxiv, 7.

[282] Migne, 213:962 and 976.

[283] *REJ*, xlix:260.

[284] *Hist. Litt. de la Fr.*, xxiii, 657. Matthew became a Christian through love of a woman whom he extolls in his poems.

of great vexation to their erstwhile comrades. We learn that in the regions where Christian heresy flourished, these converts were active in assailing the Jews. Joseph Bekor Shor,[285] Joseph the Official,[286] and Rashi mention the "Minim" whom they were forced to combat both in person and in writing. These converts flourished as controversialists, among them Donin, Paul Christian and Joshua ha-Lorki being the most noted anti-Jewish disputants. Peter Alphonso, Samuel of Morocco and others wrote polemics against Judaism,[287] and later apostates encouraged the ritual murder charge,[288] took part in the auto da fé of the Talmud and the expurgation of Jewish books.[289]

It is not surprising, therefore, that Jewish teachers during the Middle Ages deplored and fought against conversion to Christianity. To voluntary conversion they were vehemently opposed. With reference to forced apostasy, however, it was more difficult to frame a definite policy.[290] Gershom ben Judah (960-1040), a distinguished Talmudist, and leader of the Rabbinical Synod of 1000, brought about the modification of certain stringent rules which had grown up with reference to compulsory converts. Gershom's son had become a Christian at the time the Jews were expelled from Mayence; although the son died a Christian, Gershom nevertheless observed all the forms of Jewish mourning for him, thereby setting an example for similar cases.[291] His tolerance extended to those who had submitted to baptism to escape persecution and who afterwards returned to Judaism and the Jewish fold. He strictly prohibited reproaching them with infidelity, and even gave them opportunity to pronounce publicly the benedictions at divine services in the synagogues.[292] Meir ben Isaac of Orleans, at the end of the

[285] Loeb, p. 23; Walter, p. 16; *REJ*, iii:5; *Milchemeth Chobhah*, 33 b. *Peletath Sopherim*, p. 29.

[286] *REJ*, iii:11.

[287] Migne 149:334; *Shebhet Yehudah*, p. 62, 79, 110; *REJ*, xxiv:14. Reuter, p. 158 ff. refers to a certain "Book Concerning the Conversion of Hermann, Once a Jew", Abbot of Scheda in Westphalia (1127-1132).

[288] *REJ*, xviii:182; *REJ*, iv:89.

[289] *REJ*, xxx:258-260; *REJ*, L:98-99.

[290] *REJ*, iii:319.

[291] Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, pp. 302-3.

[292] A number of consultations are wrongly attributed to Gershom, one of which denies the right of a Kohen, converted to Christianity, but now repentant, to be called to the Law first. Gershom permitted this.

eleventh century in one of his liturgical poems: "Torah ha-Temimah" expresses his horror of the advice given Jews to accept baptism in time of persecution.[293] Maimonides in his "Iggereth ha-Shemad" permitted his coreligionists to forego Judaism in order to escape death, on condition that they return at the first opportunity to their father's faith.[294] Rashi also expressed himself leniently with reference to forced converts.[295] "Let us beware," he wrote after the programs of the Crusades, "of alienating those who have returned to us by repulsing them. They became Christians only through fear of death; and as soon as the danger disappeared, they hastened to return to their faith." In general, in matters of lending on interest, giving testimony and marriage relations, Rashi considered the apostate the same as the Jew. He was strict with those who repented only superficially, saying:

> If there is a suspicion that they committed transgressions without having been forced to do so, even if they have repented with all their heart, and all their soul and all their might, they cannot bring evidence *ex post facto* concerning facts which they witnessed before they repented.

He permitted the wine of returned converts to be used by faithful believers, and on one occasion he objected to recalling to them their temporary defection. A young girl was married while she and the bridegroom were in the state of forced apostasy. Rashi declared the marriage valid saying:

> Even if a Jew becomes a convert voluntarily, the marriage he contracts is valid. All the more is this true in the case of those who are converted by force, and whose heart always stays with God, and especially, as in the present case, if they have escaped as soon as they could from the faith they embraced through compulsion.

On another occasion, a Jew reproached one of his enemies with having been baptized; Rashi rebuked him saying that he would not remove the penalty of excommunication which Rabbenu

[293] Gross, p. 33.

[294] Abrahams and Yellin, *Maimonides*, Philadelphia, 1903, p. 49 and note 221-2. See Gregoire, *Histoire des Sectes Religieuses*, iv, 131. Maimonides' letter concerning apostasy was cited by Saadia ibn Danan, Isaac ben Sheshet and Simon ben Tzemach Duran. Maimonides' advice was with reference to persecution by Moslems.

[295] Liber, *Rashi*, Philadelphia, 1906, pp. 67, 163-4.

Gershom ben Judah had laid upon anyone who reminded an apostate of his conversion.

4. *Christian Efforts to Prevent Relapse*

This leniency of Jewish treatment served to accentuate the problems of the Church in coping with the difficulties involved in keeping the neophytes from Judaism within the Christian fold. In the early days of missionary endeavors, care was taken to train the convert properly in the tenets of Christianity so that the tendency to relapse would be minimized. Thus in 506, the Synod at Agda in Languedoc decreed that Jews who became Catholics should study the Catechism eight months in order that they might not return to Judaism; only if they were at the point of death were they to receive baptism before the specified time.[296] This regulation became part of the Canonical Law,[297] but was rarely invoked during the period when conversion by violence was in vogue. In 633, the Fourth Council of Toledo ordained that "the baptized sons and daughters of Jews shall be separated from their parents and educated either in cloisters or by Christian men and women." At the Ninth Synod of Toledo in 655 it was found necessary to pass a law requiring baptized Jews to be present at the Bishop's service on Christian as well as on Jewish holidays in order that he might superintend their services; whoever transgressed was to be whipped or starved, depending upon his age. Thus it was hoped to force Jews to relinquish the celebration of their own festivals and, under strict supervision by Church authorities, properly to observe Christian ceremonies. At the Seventh General Council of Nicaea in 787, Canon 8 affirmed:

> Jews who have only in appearance become Christians and in secret still continue the observance of their Sabbath and other Jewish customs shall not be permitted at Communion or divine worship; they shall not be allowed to visit the Churches; their children may not be baptized, neither may they buy or own Christian slaves. But if a Jew genuinely converts, he may then be accepted into the faith and his children be baptized.

a. The Inquisition and the Relapsi. With the establishment of the Inquisition, the problem of punishment for con-

[296] Hefele, ii, 655-6.
[297] Gratian, *Decret.*, iii, De consec. dist. iv, c. 92 (col. 1392).

verted Jews who relapsed from Christianity into Judaism became more clearly defined. Clement IV inaugurated the tradition on July 26, 1267, by issuing to several of the Dominican and Franciscan Brethren affiliated with the Inquisition a Bull: "Turbato corde audivimus" wherein he asked them to take action against Christians who became Jews and to treat them as heretics, while Jews who misled them were to be punished by ecclesiastical and if necessary, by secular authority.[298] No mention is made herein of Jews who "rejudaize" after baptism, but this group came in for special citation soon afterwards: in 1273, Pope Gregory X formulated the general principle which was to guide the Inquisitors in their treatment of such Jews. Jews who were baptized and then reverted to their former faith were to be dealt with as if they were heretics; the truth concerning their apostasy was to be discovered either by means of Christians or of the Jews themselves; the instigators of these desertions, and those who sheltered and defended the guilty were to be punished in the same way as the delinquents.[299] This injunction was made clear in a Bull issued by Gregory, March 1, 1274, from Lyons, renewing the "Turbato corde" of Clement IV, with additional instructions that the Inquisitors proceed not only against Christians who transfer their religious fealty to the "Judaic rite" but also "against converted Jews who rejudaize or mislead Christians to their rite."[300] In the same year, Bertrand de la Roche was appointed in Provence to the special post of Inquisitor of Judaizing Christians, a term which included not only Christians who had become Jews, but those who after baptism had returned to Judaism.[301]

The Inquisition at this period, however, sought to reach out not merely for relapsed Jews, but for bona-fide Jews as well, in an endeavor to bring them under their immediate jurisdiction. In 1269 there had been imposed upon the Jews of Provence the obligation to wear the badge ordained by the Lateran Council in 1215. They were less ready than their brethren of the North to submit to this humiliation, and through an appeal addressed by two delegates who lived at Tarascon, Mordecai ben Joseph

[298] Potthast, 20095; *Magn. Bull. Rom.*, iii, 785.

[299] Levi, I., *Les Juifs et l'Inquisition*, Paris, 1891, p. 7, gives the date as 1273; Gregory's Bull, however, was issued a year later in March.

[300] Potthast, 20795; *Magn. Bull. Rom.*, iv, 24.

[301] Lea, ii, 63.

of Avignon and Solomon of Salon, they were able to prevail upon Charles I of Anjou, King of the Two Sicilies and Count of Provence, to secure the repeal of this odious law, introduced through the malignancy of the apostate, Paul Christian. March 26, 1276, Charles issued a severe decree against the Inquisitors, particularly Bertrand Rocca, who insisted that Jews should wear badges. As Paul Christian was now dead, this order was not opposed by the Inquisitors;[302] in this way the persecution of the Jewish communities at Aix, Marseilles, Avignon, Forcalquier and other cities where Jews had been thrown into prison, was for the moment checked.

May 7, 1277, Pope Nicholas III (1277-1280) issued a Bull which Nicholas IV (1288-1292) reaffirmed under date of May 7, 1288, wherein he laid down careful rules for the guidance of the Inquisitors.[303] This was becoming more and more necessary because of the difficult problems involved in the treatment of bona-fide Jews and Jewish relapsi. August 4, 1278, Nicholas directed a Bull to the chiefs of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders wherein he instructed them to gather together the Jews in the various regions and places where they dwelt, as often as it seemed suitable and could best be achieved, and then the lesson of the Gospel should be preached to them in order that they might thus be won over to Christianity; preachers of the two Orders or others especially selected were to be assigned to this task. Those who became converted were to be treated with kindness and consideration by the prelates and secular authorities of the regions in question; they were to be protected against any injury to their person or property by Jews or others, and were to be aided in every possible way. The Pope wished to be informed concerning those Jews who did not attend these gatherings, and the names of the places and secular rulers involved; above all, he desired full details concerning the success which attended these efforts.[304] Prior to this Friar Simon Duval,

[302] Gross, pp. 3, 78 and 249; Loeb, *La Controverse Religieuse*, p. 32.

[303] Levi, p. 7 gives as source for the first Bull, Doat, xxxvii, f. 191.

[304] Potthast, 21382 and 21383; *Magn. Bull. Rom.*, iv, 45; *Septim. lib. Decret.*, 5, 1, 2. According to Potthast, the Bull was sent to the Provincial of the Franciscans in Austria, and to the Provincial of the Dominicans in Lombardy. The *Bullarium* mentions only the latter; according to the third authority, it was sent to the General of the Dominican Order, and the "Annales Colmarienses" of the Dominicans at Colmar attributes it to 1279: "Eodem tempore papalis litera venit in Columbariam (Colmar) in qua continebatur, quod deberet per-

January 21, 1278, had summoned the people and the clergy of Caen to attend his sermon on the 23rd. At Caen, he found an apostate Jewess who fled, and we have his proclamation calling upon every one to aid Copin, sergeant of the Bailiff of Caen, who had been dispatched in pursuit of her.[305] In this fashion was inaugurated a method of attempted wholesale conversion of Jews which was destined to work great hardship upon its victims, and to make the number of "Rejudaizers" so large as to become a source of perpetual irritation to the Church.[306] This was seen in the inquiry addressed by some Inquisitors in France to Nicholas III during the year 1278. Some time previous, they wrote, during a popular persecution many Jews had, through fear, though not absolute coercion, been baptized, and had allowed their children to be baptized. When the danger had passed, they reverted to their Jewish blindness, whereupon the Inquisitors had thrown them into prison. They were excommunicated, but neither this nor the affliction caused by their imprisonment had succeeded, and they had remained incarcerated for more than a year. "The nonplussed Inquisitors thereupon submitted to the Holy See the question as to further proceedings, and Nicholas ordered them to treat such Jews as heretics—that is to say, to burn them for continued obstinacy."[307] Questions concerning the jurisdiction of the Inquisition over Jews and relapsed converts repeatedly arose: thus about 1280, Jean de Grailli wrote to the Chancellor of England:

> Know that the Inquisitors of the faith wish to force me and your bailiffs of Gascogne to conduct to Toulouse certain Jews of your domains whom they accused of being "relapsed." I had explained to them that I was not

fidis Judeis prior provincialis Theuthoniae cum fratribus suis fidem catholicam fideliter predicare." *Monum. Germ. Script.*, xvi, 204. Erler, 50:3, remarks that this makes it clear that the Bull was sent to the entire Order of both monastic groups.

[305] Lea, ii, 121.

[306] Lea, ii, 63, remarks: "Although Jews as a class were not liable to persecution by the Inquisition, still, if after being once converted they reverted to Judaism, or if they proselyted among Christians to obtain converts, or if they were themselves converts from Christianity, they were heretics in the eyes of the Church, they fell under inquisitorial jurisdiction, and were liable to be abandoned to the secular arm. All these classes were a source of endless trouble to the Church, especially the 'neophytes' or converted Jews, for feigned conversions were frequent, either for worldly advantage or to escape the incessant persecution visited upon the unlucky children of Israel."

[307] Lea, ii, 63, note; Doat, xxxvii, 191.

supposed to conduct those who were outside your duchy, being ready elsewhere to execute upon them their sentence . . . The matter is very grave and I beseech you to treat with the Brothers in question, or even, if necessary, with the Pope.[308]

Martin IV continued the policy of his predecessors, and addressed to the Inquisitors of France an epistle which he had written on October 21, 1281, to the Bishops of France, and in which he ordered that even though heretics and converted Jews in large numbers sought refuge and asylum in churches in order to escape the Inquisition, they were none the less to be delivered over to the Tribunal; bishops were not to hinder the fulfilment of this mandate, but were to do all in their power to give aid.[309] In 1285, by the side of Bertrand de la Roche, the "Inquisitor in Provence against heretics and wicked Christians who embrace Judaism," Brother Guillaume d'Auxerre qualified as "Inquisitor of Heretics and Apostate Jews in France;" thus "it is evident that these cases formed a large portion of inquisitorial business."[310] Honorius IV in his Bull to the Archbishop of Evreux, November 18, 1286, and to the Archbishop of Canterbury in England, November 30th, found occasion among his numerous accusations to charge the Jews with the offense of proselytizing not only among Gentile-born Christians, but also among their former coreligionists, whom they sought to lead into apostasy by numerous gifts. Many of these apostates dwelt even in the very same parishes where they had been baptized; they lived publicly with the Jews, and led the most unworthy life in accordance with their laws and rites, while others were taken to strange places in order that, unbeknown and in secret, they might return to their unbelief.[311]

The year 1288 was an important one in the history of French Inquisitorial activity. May 7th, Nicholas IV addressed to Hugues de Bionoles and Pierre Arlin, Inquisitors, a Bull renewing the promulgations of Pope Nicholas III, May 7, 1277.[312]

[308] Langlois, *Le règne de Philippe le Hardi*, Paris, 1877, p. 221; Levi, pp. 7-8.

[309] Potthast, 22806; Raynaldus ad an. 1281, 18. We learn that Martin IV sent this command to the Inquisitors from a similar epistle of Pope John XXII, August 13, 1317, to the French Inquisition.

[310] Lea, ii, 64.

[311] Potthast, 22541; Raynaldus, ad an. 1286, 25-27. To the Archbishop of Evreux, see Doat, xxxvii, f. 128; *REJ*, i, 298.

[312] Doat, xxxvii, f. 191 (1277); *ibid.*, f. 206 (1288).

On September 5th, of the same year, he issued again the "Turbato corde" Bull wherein he condemned with even more explicitness the relapsing Judaizers.[313] He attacked not only Christians who had adopted Judaism, "but Jews themselves converted to the Christian faith and returning to it;" they are to be treated "by the Inquisitors as heretics; and those who aid them are to be punished;" Jews who draw Christians to their own rite are to suffer the severest penalties. The Inquisition took the Pope at his word and fulfilled his injunctions whenever possible. In 1276, several backsliding converts were burned by order of Nicholas III, and on Saturday, April 24, 1288, thirteen Jews were burned as heretics at Troyes. The story of this execution is the earliest record of an auto da fé of Jews. Jewish accounts of this event are given in the Hebrew *Selichoth* (Penitential Poems) of Jacob ben Judah, Meier ben Eliab and Solomon Simchah, as well as in an old Provencal account in verse by Jacob ben Judah.[314] This execution called forth vigorous protests from King Philip, the Fair (May 17, 1288), who saw in the actions of the Holy Office an infringement of his own rights; it was in this year also that he ordered the Seneschal of Carcassonne to protect the Jews from the citations and other vexations inflicted upon them by the ecclesiastical courts.[315] In similar fashion, Henry, Count of Rodez, October 24, 1290, protested to the King against the Seneschal of Rodez, because the latter wished to compel him to deliver up two Jews and one Jewess who lived at the Castle of Muro and who, after baptism, had returned to Judaism.[316] In the same year, January 28th, Pope Nicholas IV had written to the Bishops and Prelates of the provinces of Aix, Arles and Embrun, seeking their aid on behalf of the Inquisition against the many apostasies to Judaism which had occurred there, and against Jewish proselytism among Christians.[317] At Aix, Charles I of Anjou had been their protector in 1276 against the attacks of the Inquisition, but with his death their lot became more and more untenable, and they were forced to bear many

[313] Potthast, 22795; *Magn. Bull. Rom.*, iv, 88; Doat, xxxvii, f. 209.

[314] Darmesteter, A., "L'auto da fé de Troyes," *REJ*, ii (1881), 199-247; *idem* in *Reliques scientifiques*, Paris, 1890, nos. 12 and 13; Salfeld, *Martyrologium des Nuernberger-Memorbuches*, p. 162.

[315] Vaissette, ix, Preuves, 232.

[316] Doat, 175, f. 182; *REJ*, vi, 6, 8; iii, 221.

[317] Potthast, 23170; Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, Rome, 1731, v. 233.

indignities; in Arles, too, the fact that Charles I had deprived the Archbishop Bertrand de Montferrat of his rights over Jews was the cause of an increased enmity on the part of the clergy, for which after the death of their royal patron the Jewish community suffered grievously. In the County of Venaissin, Nicholas reported that he had learned of many conversions to Judaism; he enjoined the Inquisition in this region to treat those guilty of this crime as if they were heretics and idolaters.[318] We have evidence later that many conversions from Judaism to Christianity occurred in the County of Venaissin and that the Church at moments found difficulty in meeting the situation.[319] On September 9, 1290, Nicholas addressed to the Franciscan Brothers entrusted with the Inquisitorial duties in the Province of Rome a Bull directed against Jewish proselytism among Gentile Christians and baptized Jews, renewing the Bull of his predecessors Clement IV, Gregory X, and others.[320] In this way the ecclesiastical authorities spared no pains to extirpate any inclinations towards Judaism both among Christians of non-Jewish birth, and those Jews who, having once come under their jurisdiction, were subject to their control henceforth. Pope Boniface VIII (1294-1303) completed the long list of pontifical enactments against relapsed Jews during the thirteenth century, when about the year 1298 he ordered that steps be taken as against heretics, against Christians who went over to Judaism and converted Jews who reverted, even though the latter had accepted baptism as children or through fear of death, yet without absolute or real compulsion.[321] Boniface denied a dowry to a Christian woman who married a Jew, acting in accordance with the decree not only against heretics, but against relapsed Jews or apostates.[322] Even converted Jews (or Marranos, as they later came to be called), despite their acceptance of Christianity, were denied the privileges which were likewise denied bona-fide Jews; thus, as we have already mentioned, the election of William Ruben, a Marrano of Toulouse, to the position of Consul was annulled in 1291.[323]

[318] Potthast, 23185; Wadding, v, 232.

[319] Bauer, J., "Les conversion juives dans le Comtat Venaissin," *REJ*, L (1905), 90-111.

[320] Potthast, 23391; Wadding, v, 335.

[321] *Sexti Decret.*, 5, 2, 13.

[322] *Ibid.*, 5, 2, 14; Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, Rotterdam, 1707, v, 1707.

[323] Vaissette, iv, Preuves, 8; Saige, p. 20.

The relations of the secular rulers of France to the Inquisition in its treatment of apostate Jews is a theme of special interest, inasmuch as we find instances of conflict with the local ecclesiastical powers. Philip the Fair, for example, in 1288, refused to allow Jews to be imprisoned upon the requisition of the Church without investigation by the Seneschal. In 1291 Philip, seeking more and more to bring Jews under his immediate control, deprived them of their own judges and ordered them to plead in the royal courts.[324] In September, 1293, Philip "threw his aegis over the unfortunate Jew" (Lea, ii, 63): to Simon Briseteste, Seneschal of Carcassone and Béziers, he sent a copy of the Bull: "Turbato corde" as issued by Gregory X, with instructions that while this should be implicitly obeyed, no Jew was to be arrested for any cause not specified in it; if there was any doubt, the matter was to be referred to the royal council. He also enclosed an ordinance directing that no Jew in France was to be arrested on the requisition of any person or Brother of any Order, no matter what his office might be, without notification to the Seneschal or Bailiff, who was to decide whether the case was sufficiently clear to be acted upon without reference to the royal council.[325] Simon Briseteste thereupon ordered all officials to protect the Jews, to allow no exactions to be imposed upon them which might impair their ability to pay taxes, and not to arrest them at the mandate of any one without first informing him of the cause. "It would not have been easy to limit more skillfully the inquisitorial power to oppress a despised class."

The real intent of these provisions, however, is betrayed by the fact that Philip wished to be unhampered in his own ambitions to exact from the Jews their wealth and property. This became apparent in his dealings with local clerical leaders. In 1292 he commanded his officers to restore to the Viscount of Narbonne a money penalty belonging to this Viscount, inflicted upon the Jews who had been condemned by the Inquisition for the crime of apostasy.[326] In 1295, the Jews of Nismes and Beaucaire were accused of blasphemy by the Inquisition, and the richest members of the community under the jurisdiction of the Seneschal of Beaucaire were imprisoned, and their goods confiscated; some of the prisoners were sent to the Châtelet at Paris. As several of the ac-

[324] Doat, xxxvii, f. 223; Saige, p. 226.

[325] Doat, xxvii, f. 241; Saige, pp. 231-234.

[326] Vaissette, iv, 75.

cused had submitted to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Nimes, he intervened to take them under his protection in order to defend his own interests. Philip demanded that his own Jews, namely the "Jews of the King," should be released, and he compelled the release of those under the control of the Bishop as well; this was done after they had paid a considerable ransom, and stated the amount of their credit.[327] In 1299, Philip, who had been drawn more and more into the activity of the Inquisition, rescinded his order of 1293 and commanded his officers to obey the Inquisitors whenever the latter requested their service and produced letters he had delivered to them; the royal officers were to imprison suspected Jews, to conduct them, when required, from one prison to another, and to punish them according to the decisions of the Inquisitorial Tribunal.[328] These instructions were prefaced by a vehement denunciation of the alleged proselytizing activities of the Jews of France. The power of the Inquisition over the Jews during this period seems to have been strengthened, for on March 10, 1297, we find an Ordinance of the Inquisitor of Pamiers, Brother Arnaud Jean, wherein he authorized the Jews of the diocese to enjoy the privileges they had long possessed, according to the customs of the Jews in the province of Narbonne; he promised not to impose upon the community any new burdens if they would observe the laws established for their government.[329] This enactment in itself seems harmless, but indicates that the Jews had passed from the jurisdiction of the Abbot of Pamiers into the hands of the Inquisition, and hence were subject to its regulations.[330] But for a time strife broke out between the Inquisitors and the King, and in addition to other acts of legislation which served to halt the work of the Tribunal in 1302, the laws protecting the Jews, first issued in 1293, were repeated. Moreover in 1303, Philip forbade the Inquisition to take cognizance of usury, sorcery and other alleged offenses of the Jews, being prompted to this decision, no doubt, by the harshness of inquisitorial "mercy" in giving the accused a choice between

[327] Menard, *Histoire de Nismes*, i, 412-414; Preuves, p. 125; Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, p. 396.

[328] Doat, xxxvii, f. 246.

[329] Doat, xxvii, f. 156; 160; Saige, pp. 238-9.

[330] In 1279, a charter had been granted them by Bernard, Abbot of S. Antonin of Pamiers, approving certain statutes agreed upon among themselves, concerning their internal affairs. Vaissette, iv, Preuves, f. 71, 72.

death at the stake and torture in the dungeon.[331] In 1306, however, the story of Northern French Jewry for a time came to an end, because of their banishment by decree of King Philip. But in Southern France, the treatment meted out to the Jewish communities remained a subject for consideration, and we see Pope Clement V (1305-1314) endeavouring to suppress the abuses of the Inquisition by transferring from its jurisdiction to that of the Bishops the Jews of the provinces of Toulouse and Narbonne because of the undue molestation to which they were subjected incessantly. This transfer even included cases then pending, but after Clement's death a Bull was brought forward in which he had annulled his previous decree, and had restored the jurisdiction of the Inquisition.[332]

1. *Bernard Gui and the Relapsi.* Bernard Gui, Inquisitor at Toulouse from 1307 to 1323, has assembled in his *Practica* the regulations which on the basis of its experience for over a quarter of a century the Inquisition had formulated for guidance in dealing with Christianized Jews, with Christians who had become Jews, and with members of the Jewish communities under its jurisdiction or subject to its power through the medium of the secular authorities. We have already discussed the role of this Bernard Gui in the censorship of forbidden Jewish books and in the burning of the Talmud. The regulations which he organized and systematized in the *Practica* served the Inquisition not only in the treatment of Jews and Judaizers in France, but became the foundation for the Spanish Inquisition; thus the *Directorium Inquisitorum* of the Aragonian Nicholas Eymerich made abundant use of Gui's *Practica*, and throughout the history of the Marranos and Jews of Spain and Portugal, the methods codified and approved by Gui and his colleagues were applied with telling results.

Gui describes the propaganda of the Jews against the Christian faith in terms selected from the numerous Papal Bulls:

> The perfidious Jews attempt when and wherever possible secretly to pervert the Christians and to attract them to the Jewish perfidy, mostly those who were first Jews, who converted and accepted baptism and the Christian faith; especially those who are related to them or are connected with them by residence or blood; it is ordained likewise that the procedure against Christians who go over or return to the rite of the Jews, even

[331] Doat, xxvii, 150; Lea, iii, 449.

[332] "Archives de l'Inq. de Carcassonne," in Doat, xxxvii, 255.

though those returning were baptized while infants or through fear of death but still not absolutely and definitely compelled thereto, shall be the same as against heretics, whether they confess to this or are convicted through Christians or Jews; likewise against their patrons, receivers and defenders, similar steps shall be taken, as is ordained in the book concerning heretics, sixth chapter, "Against Christians".[333]

In order to discover and punish Jewish offenses against Christianity, Gui gives a list of "Special Questions Put to Jews and Rejudaizers"[334] wherein the methods employed against the Marranos" of Southern France are amply demonstrated:

First, the Jew who is to be examined is questioned concerning his name and surname.

Where he was born and where converted.

Concerning his parents: if they were and are still Jews; concerning their names, and where they were converted.

If he has brothers and sisters; their names; where they were converted; if any of them were baptized, and when and where.

Whether he himself is a Jew or a baptized Christian.

Concerning the Law; which [of the two, the Law and the Gospel] is better, and in which he wishes to live and die.

If Jews keep an oath made upon the Law of Moses and by the Voice of God, and the Scroll.

By what punishment perjurers are punished.

If he has a wife and children, and how many.

If his wife and children have been baptized.

If he himself has been baptized, and when and where; by what godfather he was raised from the sacred font; concerning the name given him at baptism.

If any others had been baptized with him, and by whom; their names.

If they had returned to Judaism; when and where; and if they have wives.

When he himself was rejudaized, and where and by whom; who were rejudaized with him, and who were present.

Concerning the rite and method of rejudaizing.

[333] *Practica*, p. 288; Doat, xxx, f. 277 a; Levi, p. 8. See also the words concerning relapsed Jews in the Introduction to the "Censura et confutatio libri Talmud" edited by Isidore Loeb, *REJ*, xviii, 232 and 237. Graetz, *ibid.*, xx, 240, according to Levi, has wrongly attributed these words to a Bull of Sixtus IV, November 1, 1478.

[334] *Practica*, pp. 289-290; Doat, xxx, f. 279; ms. of Toulouse, n. 267, 5 part; f. 85, A. B. Vaissette, iii, Preuves, 374, in vii, 987-8.

How many years he had been or remained in Christianity and in the faith of baptism, and if then he had ever confessed his sins sacramentally to any priest, and if he had, like other Christians, partaken of communion. If then he believed in the faith of Christ and the sacraments of the Church.

If he had led his wife into Christianity.

If he had had children by her, and if they had been baptized.

If he knew the "Our Father", and "Ave Maria" and "I Believe in God."

If any one had induced him to return to Judaism.

If he himself had induced any Christian to accept Judaism or any convert to rejudaize.

If he knew of any Christian who judaized or had been judaized, or any person baptized who had become an apostate, or rejudaized; and where.

If he had the certificate of his rejudaization.

In what manner Jews speak against Gentiles and against the clergy of the Roman Church.

In what manner Jews circumcise Christian boys other than their own. Where it is prescribed that Jews circumcise their own boys differently from Christians, either boys or adults, because in circumcising boys or adults who are Christians, they cut their skin in a half circle on top, and not a whole circle, as they do with their own Jewish boys.

If to Christians, when they become Jews or Jewesses, they give a certificate of Judaization which they must always carry with them; otherwise Jews will not eat or drink with them; these must contain the names of the particular magistrates who had rebaptized them. [335]

These questions, as we have already remarked, have an important bearing upon the whole history of contemporary Jewish proselytism in general and the Judaizing Passagii in particular. The information concerning special methods used by Jews for circumcising converted Christians, and the so-called "certificate of Judaization," is to be found in Eymerich's *Directorium Inquisitorum* (p. 243), thus lending the impression that it was valuable for the Inquisitors of Aragon and other Spanish provinces. It forms also a paragraph in a tractate, perhaps part of the literature of the Inquisition, entitled: "Anonymous Tractate Concerning the Heresy of the Poor Men of Lyons," wrongly attributed to Etienne de Bourbon, who in the thirteenth century, composed a polemical tract against the Waldensians and other heretics.[336] Pegna, the commentator on the works of Eymerich remarks (p. 94) with

[335] This passage beginning: "where it is prescribed" is lacking in the text edited by Vaissette, which contains several minor differences from the Levi and Douais texts.

[336] Martene and Durand, v, 1794.

reference to the facts furnished by Bernard Gui, that he had consulted on this, Rabbis at Rome in addition to Jewish laymen and apostates, and that all had affirmed to him that they had no knowledge of the practice of a special mode of circumcision for Christian proselytes, and that any one circumcised in this fashion would not be reputed a Jew. Unfortunately the Jewish sources are silent on this theme, the work of Gershon ben Jacob on the *Rules of Circumcision* merely advising Jews to refrain from making converts to Judaism among their Christian neighbors. It may be, however, that the very necessity of offering this counsel implied the existence of Jewish proselytism among Christians, and that Gershon may have been cognizant of special features involved of interest to himself as a "Mohel."[337]

In a section "Concerning the Method or Rite Which Jews Observe in Rejudaizing Converts,"[338] Bernard Gui furnishes us with some valuable data, colored of course by the Christian point of view:

The rite or method of Jews in rejudaizing baptized converts who return to the vomit of Judaism is as follows: If he ought indeed be rejudaized, he is questioned and interrogated by any one of the Jews present whether he wishes to take: *Tebhilah* (in Hebrew),[339] which in Latin means: if he wishes to take the ritual bath or washing, or a bath in running water, that he may become a Jew. He then replies that he does: thereupon the Jew who presides, says to him in Hebrew: *Ba'al Teshubhah*[340] which means in Latin: "You are reverting from the state of a sinner." After this he strips himself and is bathed in cold water; the Jews then rub him vigorously with sand on his whole body, but especially on his forehead, breast and hands, and those places of course on which the holy chrisma was placed at baptism. Afterwards they tear out all the nails from his hands and feet until the blood runs.[341] Then they shave his head and afterwards place him in the water

[337] I have consulted Rev. Dr. Moses Hyamson and Rev. Dr. Gabriel Hirsch of New York City, who have described the early and modern methods of circu mcision, but who state that to the best of their knowledge there was and is no special method of circumcision for the Christian proselyte.

[338] *Practica*, pp. 288-9; Levi, pp. 12, 13; Doat, xxvii, f. 278; ms. of Toulouse, 5 part, f. 84 D-85 A. This is also reproduced in Eymerich's *Directorium*.

[339] Doat has "similar"; Eymerich "tevila," and Douais "tymla."

[340] The Latin has: "Baaltussima" and "Baaltussuma."

[341] Statements such as this are refuted by the best Jewish authority. On the *Tebhilah* in general, see articles in *JE*, on "Ablution" and "Baths," and "Washing." Rabbi Hyamson has called my attention to the provisions for the reception of a proselyte in *Shulchan Aruch, Yore Deah*, chapter 268, note 10, "Pithche Teshubhah."

of a flowing river and make him immerse over his head three times; after this immersion they say the following words: "Blessed is God, King of the Centuries who has taught us to sanctify this water of bath," which is called in Hebrew: *Tebhilah*. When this is done, he emerges from the water, dons new garments and fresh breeches; all the Jews present kiss him, and award him a name, commonly that which he had had before his baptism.

He who thus is rejudaized is required to confess his belief in the Law of Moses, and promise to keep and serve it; secondly that he will live in it henceforth. He must renounce baptism and the faith of Christ and the Christians; he must not henceforth keep or serve it. Thus he promises to serve the Law and renounce baptism and the faith of Christ. Afterwards he is given a certificate or testimonial instrument to all other Jews; thus they may be able to receive him and trust him by reason of it, and assist him; thenceforth he lives and acts as a Jew, and attends the "school" (scolam) or Synagogue of the Jews.

This information is of considerable interest. We have been able to find only a few indirect references to practices which suggest the customs mentioned by Gui in this passage.[342] Gui speaks of the "certificate of Judaization" to which he referred in the questions addressed to Jews and Re-Judaizers. It may be mentioned here that among Rabbis of the present day who receive Christian proselytes into the fold of Judaism, it is customary to give the neophyte such a certificate, to keep one in the personal records of the officiating Rabbis, and to place one in the archives of their congregations. We have no documentary evidence that this was the practice before the modern era of the emancipation of the Jew.[343]

Gui's description of the methods of punishment inflicted upon relapsed converts is found in two important documents, one: "Form of a Letter for Imposing Arbitrary Penitence without (Public) Notice upon any Jew for the things he has committed by receiving any one or other Baptized Apostates or otherwise showing any Favor;" the second is "Form of Release of any Jew from prison to which he has been sentenced for acts committed against the Faith." In the first Form[344] the following statement was made:

[342] Does the *Tashlikh* ceremony or propitiatory rite of the Penitential Season performed on the afternoon of New Year's Day bear any relationship to this penitential bath described by Gui?

[343] Proselytes, however, were formally inducted into Judaism.

[344] *Practica*, pp. 49-50; Levi, pp. 13-15.

We . . . Inquisitor of the depraved and perfidious heresy of the Jews, designated by the Holy See for the Kingdom of France, make note by these presents to all that no one may solicit in any way whatsoever converts in the faith and baptism of the Lord Jesus Christ, to return to the vomit of Judaism, and, having left the true light which is Christ, to revert to the darkness of Jewish blindness; nor may knowingly receive such, or furnish them in any way counsel, aid or favor, to the opprobrium of the Christian faith. Through an inquisition we have made we have discovered, and through the confession of such a Jew of such a place made in judgment it has been legally established, that the aforementioned Jew knowingly received such a person, once baptized and converted to the faith, but afterwards rejudaized, and with him has participated in eating and drinking, and listening to the service in the Synagogue or School, and in observing other Jewish rites, and in administering to him from his goods (in this respect he may expiate his guilt by the payment of compensation), and by committing other wrongs which may not remain unpunished in any respect. Upon Jews delinquent in such fashion there may not be imposed holy pilgrimages, the right to carry the cross, or fasts, or similar things to which they have no right whatsoever. Therefore on the judgment of good men, we have punished the aforesaid Jew for the aforesaid things, and we have imposed on him as punishment that he pay one hundred Tours pounds to be distributed and expended for pious uses or the works of piety at our command; by these one hundred pounds he has made complete satisfaction at our order, and we have absolved and acquitted him of the things which in the aforesaid he has committed, the truth of which he has confessed and recognized before us in judgment; we have warned him that he shall not presume to attempt anything similar whatsoever under pain of imprisonment and other punishments ordained by law against those doing this; we have delivered to him letters with our seal signed in the testimony of truth. Dated . . .

The "Form of Release"[345] provides for the following:

By the tenor of these presents it is made clear to all that we . . . Inquisitor in the Kingdom of France, etc., etc., have released such a Jew, from such a place, in such an instance, and at the request of such men, from imprisonment, to which he was heretofore consigned in punishment or penitence for offenses against the faith of our Lord Jesus, by inducing with certain other Jews a certain convert of the Jews to the faith and baptism of Christ, to return to the damnable rite of the Jews, debaptizing the baptized person, as it appears in this, and rejudaizing him afterwards in their execrable rite, as it is contained in our books written down completely from his confession. In this prison he has long been confined at our order and in

[345] *Practica*, pp. 35-36; also pp. 39-40.

humble submission to the command of the Church. Moreover we warn and expressly prohibit this Jew that he may not solicit henceforth any baptized or converted person, or induce him in any manner whatsoever to take up the execrable rite of the Jews; he may not receive or welcome or extend counsel, aid or favor to any baptized Jew, an apostate from the faith of baptism, or any Christian, denying the truth of the faith, or any convert reverted to the vomit of Judaism; but he shall detect and reveal to the Inquisitors of depraved heresy whatever he knows of any of the aforesaid matters; and when they are seized and delivered to the Inquisitors, he shall do all in his power, under pain of the ordinances by law against perfidious Jews relapsing or relapsed according to the aforesaid. All these things jointly and singly the Jew promises to keep and hold on an oath made before us on the Law of Moses, and to abstain from things prohibited. But to carry the cross, to construct basilicas, to visit holy places, or to do the other pious works which are customarily imposed upon guilty persons and penitents from the crime of heretical depravity, we do not deem wise to impose upon the aforesaid Jews, enemies of the cross of Christ. But in order to aid the Christian faith which he has inconsiderately followed, on the counsel of good men we impose some money penalty, to be expended for the investigation and capture of heretics, fugitives or apostates, or for other pious uses, as may seem advisable to us. We retain also for ourselves and our successors in the office of the Inquisition the power to add to, or to diminish this, and also to return to prison that Jew, even without new cause or guilt, as it appears expedient to us. All of these things the Jew has accepted and promised to do and observe. In testimony of which we have appended our seal to these presents, Dated. . . .

Gui furnishes also the text of the "Method of Abjuration of Jews Who have Been Seized, and Have Confessed that They Have Been Guilty of Enormous Offenses Against the Catholic Faith:"[346]

I of such a name, a Jew, son of such a person, inhabitant of such a place, such a diocese, brought for judgment before you, such a person, Inquisitor, do swear and promise upon the Law of Moses, placed before me, and touched by my hand and kissed, that henceforth I will not induce or solicit any Christian to judaize or serve the rite of the Jews; nor any baptized convert will I solicit or induce in any manner whatsoever to rejudaize or return to Judaism, or to apostatize from the faith of baptism.

Likewise I promise and swear upon the same Law that henceforth in no way will I receive or knowingly accept into my home, or give advice to, or aid or favor a Judaizing Christian, renouncing the true Christian faith, or any rejudaized convert or revert to Judaism; but I will expose and reveal

[346] *Practica*, pp. 299-300; Doat, xxx, 296 b.

to the Inquisitors of heretical depravity if I know any one or ones to be of the above-mentioned; furthermore I will do all in my power to capture and deliver them to the Inquisitors. All these things I promise under pain of the ordinances by law against relapsing or relapsed Jews according to the aforesaid. Likewise, I promise and swear that I will live in this fashion, and guard and carefully abstain from blasphemy against Jesus Christ, His Mother and the Christian faith.

Gui gives us also the "Method of Abjuration of those who, Converted From the Perfidy of the Jews to the faith of Baptism, Return to the Vomit of Judaism:"[347]

I . . inhabitant of . . . place . . . diocese, brought in judgement before you . . . Inquisitor, by the Sacred Gospel placed before me, completely abjure all heresy whatsoever of this damnable sect, and especially and expressly, I abjure the rite of the Jewish perfidy, which I left recently to receive the grace of baptism, and to which later by my own guilt I once reverted. I abjure all belief, participation, favor, reception and defense of heretics of that damnable sect, and especially and expressly of apostates departing from the faith of Christians, or baptized converts returning to the rite and vomit of Judaism, under the penalty of law due those relapsed into heresy, abjured in judgment.

Likewise I promise and swear to do all in my power to pursue, reveal and expose, and cause to be captured and delivered to the Inquisitors of heretical depravity, heretics of that damnable sect, and especially and expressly apostate Christians and those returning to the rite of Judaism, and those baptized returning to the rite and vomit of Judaism, the believers, patrons, receivers and defenders of these, whenever and wherever I know them to be or any one of the above mentioned.

Likewise I promise and swear that I will keep, observe and defend the Catholic faith, etc., as above, in the common manner of abjuration.

Gui has provided us, therefore, with texts concerning the description of "Judaizing," its punishment, its abjuration and its prevention. It is doubtful whether Gui's practical execution of the punishments described in his many decrees was as dire as the rules of the Tribunal ordained. Of the several hundred persons condemned by the Inquisition during his term of office over a period of fifteen years, we have mention of 15 Beguins, 92 Waldensians, 495 Albigensians, 20 miscellaneous persons and 5 Jews.[348] May 31, 1310, there occurred at Paris a formal auto da fé, at

[347] *Practica*, p. 300; Doat, xxx, 297 b.

[348] Maitland, p. 218; Peyrat, iii, 351.

which a renegade Jew was burned, and Marguerite de Hainault, or La Porete, was put to death at the stake. (Lea, ii, 123). She was a "Beguine clergesse," one of the first apostles in France of the German sect of the Brethren of the Free Spirit. It is interesting to observe that the burning of a Jew and a heretic should occur at the same time; it is reminiscent of the execution of the heretic Arnold of Bonn, near the cemetery of the Jews at Cologne in 1163. In Southern France, similar autos da fé, at which Jews, Judaizers and heretics were executed at the same time, no doubt occurred during the regime of Bernard Gui. If Bernard did not inflict his will upon many Jews, it was due to the fact that the latter took heed from his warnings, and did not carry on the propaganda so noticeable before the introduction of the Inquisition. Moreover, in 1306, Philip, the Fair, expelled the Jews from France, and curtailed thereby any activity obnoxious to the Church.

b. "Relapsi" during the Fourteenth and Fifteenth centuries. The fourteenth century witnessed no abatement of the problem of the "Relapsi" in the Christian Church. Thus in 1311, King Robert of Naples and Sicily, at the suggestion of Fra Matteo da Ponza, ordered that all newly converted Jews should live scattered among Christians lest they be tempted back to Judaism. August 13, 1317, Pope John XXII renewed the Bull of Martin IV of Oct. 21, 1281, wherein he discussed the subject of the right of asylum for fleeing heretics and baptized Jews, giving the Inquisition the power to seize the fugitives.[349] September 4, 1320, he renewed the Bull of Clement IV and Honorius IV against the Talmud, against Jewish proselytism, and against Judaizing Christians, with an added injunction concerning compulsory attendance at special services and sermons.[350] Pope Innocent VI (1352-1362), on Sept. 21, 1359, issued an epistle to the Inquisitor in Provence, Bernard de Podio, summoning him to take steps against relapsing Jews[351], and June 26, 1364, Urban V (1362-1370) addressed a similar command to the Seneschal Fulga de Agouto and the Inquisitor Hugo de Cardilione in Provence and the County Forcalquier.[352] At Bresse in France, during the second half of the fourteenth century, the Inquisition burned a number of here-

[349] *Magn. Bull. Rom.*, iv, 250.
[350] Raynaldus ad an. 1320, 24 ff.
[351] Wadding, 8, 142 ff.
[352] Wadding, 8, 176.

tics and confiscated their goods on the pretext that they judaized.[353] On August 30, 1409, Pope Alexander V (1409-10) sent a Bull to the Inquisitor Poncius Feugeyronis in Southern France which assails heretics and Jews who by their magic mislead simple Christians, and which calls special attention to the number of relapsing Jews; Pope Martin V (1417-31), February 3, 1418, renewed this Bull, complaining strongly of the ravages which Jews and heretics were making in Christian ranks.[354]

In Venice, Fra Michele da Pisa, 1356, imprisoned some Jewish converts who had apostatized; in Mantua and the Two Sicilies during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, conversionary efforts were numerous, with a resultantly large number of relapsis; in 1439, Fra Matteo da Regio was appointed at Naples by Pope Nicholas V as Inquisitor of Apostate Jews, and after the Spanish Expulsion, active endeavours were made in Italy to duplicate the tactics of the Inquisition in other countries. For this policy, Spain, of course, had set the precedent. The Inquisition of Aragon, led by Nicholas Eymerich, took the lead in persecution, Eymerich's *Directorium* being a model guide-book for the Tribunal. In this *Directorium* appeared numerous items, influenced by the documents in Bernard Gui's *Practica* and improved by the experience of later courts.[355] In addition to Fraticelli, Waldenses and renegade Saracens, Eymerich dealt with apostate Jews, among them a certain Fra Ramon de Tarraga, a Jew turned Dominican whose philosophical writings savored of heresy; another Jew, Astruchio de Piera was imprisoned on accusation of sorcery. In Castile and Leon, in Portugal and other regions of the Iberian Peninsula, the problem of the "relapsi,"

[353] *REJ*, viii, 237. In the fifteenth century, similar instances occurred; see references to the "synagogue of the heretics."

[354] Wadding, 9, 327; 10, 3, 223; see bull of Eugene IV, Feb. 24, 1434; *REJ*, vi,5 ; and Bauer, J., "Les conversion juives dans le Comtat Venaissin," *REJ*, L, 90-111.

[355] Edited, Pegna, Rome, 1587 in fol. In part 2 we find the following: "1. Judaei in quibus casibus subdatur Inquisitorum potestati," p. 139; 2. Judaeorum improbitas magna . . " p. 149; 3. Judaeorum impietas et caecitas," p. 4 D. E. 4. Judaei cur Christianas nutrices habere studeant. p. 4 D. 5. Judaei nutrices non habent Christianas. p. 5 A. 6. Judaeis praedicitur Evangelium ac semel in hebdomad. p. 53 D. E. and 140. 7. Judaei qui convertuntur, benigne tractantur. p. 54 A. 8. Judaei conversi non molestantur. p. 54 A. B. 9. Judaei si post sufficientur praedicationem protueri resistant, Papae denunci-entur. p. 54 C. 10. Judaies conversis ad fidem multa privilegia conceduntur. p. 111 A. 12. Judaei baptisati instruantur in articulis fidei. p. 111 B.

which later became known as the problem of the Marranos, proved a constant source of difficulty for the Church, long after the Expulsion of 1492.[356]

5. *Influence of Relapsi upon Christian Thought.*

The influence of the converted Jew within the sphere of Christian belief is a theme which cannot be overlooked. We have traced the story of voluntary and forced conversions throughout the Middle Ages, and have seen that large numbers of Jews became Christians, though many reverted to their ancestral religion. The presence of Marranos, namely secret or Crypto-Jews, in the Christian community and their activity as teachers and leaders, changed from within the form and outlook of the Christian system in many respects. Intermarriage with neophytes in some countries, Spain and Italy for example, has been so frequent that Jewish blood runs in the veins of a large portion of the existing populations of Europe. Many of the Inquisitors themselves were descended from Jews.[357] Protestantism made its greatest stand where the Marrano Jews were active, and Jewish apostates were a source of stimulus in all the Reformation movements on the European Continent and in England.[358] The steady losses to the Christian faith which the desertion of Christianized Jews represented proved a constant annoyance to the Church; moreover, the Church affirmed that these Marranos infected native-born Christians, and influenced them to accept Judaism.[359] Finally, the

[356] For references to the problem of the Marrano Judaizers, see Lea, ii, 471, *et passim; REJ*, xviii, 231; Robinson, C. H., *The Conversion of Europe*, London, 1917, has an important chapter on attempts to convert Jews; Adler, E. N., "Documents sur les Marranes d'Espagne et le Portugal sous Philippe IV", *REJ*, xlvii-xli *passim; REJ* xx, 240 on Bull of Pope Sixtus IV., Nov. 1, 1478: "Contra Christianos qui ad ritus transierunt;" *REJ*, iv, 40; Fita, F., "Los judaizantes espanaoles," *Real Academia de la historia*, Madrid, xxxiii, 307-48; Kaufmann, D., *JQR*, xiii, has material on the Marranos of Venice; Kohut, G. A., on the Marranos of South America, Mexico and the Philippines, *AJHS.* iv, *passim*, and *ibid.*, xii, and xi, *passim.* Limborch, Chapter xxii, 235-243, has material on "De Judeis et redeuntibus ad ritus Judaeorum." On the heresy of the Neophytes in Naples, Guedemann, *Erziehungswesen*, ii, 206.

[357] *REJ*, xxxvii, 268; see also the *Semi-Gotha*, an anti-Semitic Almanac of nobility printed in Germany.

[358] Pool, David de Sola, "The Influence of Some Apostates on the Protestant Reformation," in the *Jewish Review*, London, 1911, ii, 327 f.

[359] *REJ*, iii, 20, xxii, 106; see the Bulls of Nicholas IV, Sixtus IV, and other documents referred to above.

backsliding and Marranos silently "judaized" the doctrines of the Church from within.[360] Apostate Jews became the teachers of Hebrew to the Christian clergy and laity; they helped to further interest in the original text of the Bible; they helped to popularize the commentaries of the Rabbis, prominent among them Kimchi and Rashi; they taught Christians the simple Jewish interpretations of Christological and so-called Messianic portions of the Old Testament; they helped break down the authority of the Vulgate, and thereby prepared Europe for the Reformation. No more striking proof of the contributions of Marranos to the progress of religious reform within the bosom of Christianity can be found than the fact that Marranos in Holland from their headquarters in Antwerp disseminated the Anti-Papist writings of Luther in Spain in order to weaken the hold of the Church on the religious life of the nation which a few decades before had exiled its loyal Jews. In these and other ways, converts to Christianity helped to introduce a Judaic influence which served to alter the tendencies of the Church in many of its most important features.

d. JEWISH PROSELYTISM AND THE HERESIES

The fourth major problem with which the Inquisition was compelled to deal during the Middle Ages was the prevention of Jewish proselytism, not only among converted Jews, but among native born Christians as well.[361] This proselytism had its background in the missionary activities of the Jews during the period prior to the rise of Christianity, and during the early centuries of the new religion's career.[362] The strenuous opposition of the Christian

[360] Kohler, in *JE*, iv, 252.

[361] Among the works which survey the whole field of Jewish proselytism, the most informative is Samter, N., *Judenthum und Proselytismus*, Breslau, 1897. He divides Jewish proselytism into four periods of activity: 1. Biblical Times, pp. 2-6; 2. From the Maccabees to the End of the Bar-Kochbah Rebellion, pp. 6-15; 3. From the End of the Rebellion to the French Revolution, pp. 15-36; 4. Since the French Revolution, pp. 36-40. There is need for study of Jewish conversionary efforts *à travers les âges*, amplifying Samter's material. Mortara, Marco, *Il Prosélitismo Juidaico*, 1876; *Le prosélytisme Juif*, traduit par E. David, 1875; see on this work, Schwab, *Hist. et Litt. Juive*, p. 273; see also *REJ*, Index, *passim*.

[362] Considerable has been written on this theme, among the works being: Levi, Israel, "Le prosélytisme juif," *REJ*, Li. 1 ff; Liii, 56 ff. The article by Emil G. Hirsch, in *JE*, x, 220-224, on "Proselyte" gives scarcely any bibliography; see Hirsch on "Gentile, "*JE*, v, 615-619, again with little bibliography. J. D. Eisenstein writes on the relationship of the Gentiles to the Jews, *ibid.*, pp.

Church and the neutral, oftentimes hostile attitude of the medieval Synagogue were unsuccessful in preventing the entrance of Christian converts into the fold of Judaism. During every age of Christian history, Christian proselytes for one reason or another embraced Judaism and threw in their lot with the Jewish people. In the centuries when heresy gained its first foothold in Christendom, there appears to have been a vigorous proselytism conducted by Jews among Christians; and though the Jewish community lost far more in deserters than it gained in new adherents, nevertheless the number and story of these Christian neophytes demand the attention of any student of the associations between the two religious groups.[363]

1. *Material on Jewish Proselytism*

An account of Jewish proselytism during the Middle Ages is important not only because of its intrinsic value, but because it takes us into the domain of the foremost literary sources of medieval history. The decrees issued by the Popes over a period of several centuries, the laws and promulgations of various secular princes and potentates; the canonical decrees of Church Councils and local Synods, the enactments and regulations of the Inquisition—all contribute to present us with a picture of Jewish religious activity in the Christian life of the times; Jewish documents add their own data to reinforce and correct the statements found in Catholic material. Thus, in this composite portrayal, we discover the attitude of the official Christian world towards Judaism, the Jewish community and individual Jews; their legal status is defined, and the endeavour of ecclesiastical Christendom to prevent social, political, economic and religious contacts between Jews and Christians becomes clear. Nothing is more obvious than the wish of the Church to segregate the Jew, with a view to protecting believers from the inroads of his influence; hence noth-

619-625, with a helpful bibliography. See also Kohler, K., "Israel and the Heathen World. The Stranger and the Proselyte," in *Jewish Theology*, New York, 1918, pp. 336 ff.; 411-423. See also Appendix in this volume. For bibliography of Jewish and non-Jewish works on Jewish proselytism in modern times, see Appendix.

[363] Jacobs, J., "Purity of Race," in *JE*, x, 283-4, quotes Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, as giving a list of only forty-four names, to which, he says, perhaps five can be added from the Memory-Books. We shall see that though the individual names in most instances cannot be furnished, the documents which tell of the appearance of Christian converts can be cited.

ing is more surprising than that the Jewish religion was yet able to attract to itself members of the dominant faith.

2. *Jewish Attitude towards Proselytism*

Jewish opinion during the Middle Ages did not favor the making of proselytes. This, together with the fact that proselytism threatened great peril to neophyte and to his recipients, has given rise to the belief that Jews refrained entirely from making converts during the medieval period. The State punished conversion to Judaism with death, taking its cue from the rigorous prohibitions adopted by the Church. The low estate which Judaism occupied during the Middle Ages, its persistent humiliation at the hands of ecclesiastical and secular potentates, contributed to the difficulties which Jewish missionaries encountered in seeking to add to their numbers by conversion. Furthermore the consensus of Jewish legal opinion seems to have opposed the acceptance of proselytes, and stringent communal restrictions were issued on this point. Whenever a non-Jew was accepted into the covenant of Abraham, the Jewish community was regarded as having enticed him thereto, and for this rashness, it stood in constant danger of Christian wrath. The Roman scholar, Solomon ben Moses ben Jekuthiel, remarked that the task of enlightening the Gentiles must be left in the care of Heaven; "we can do nothing to aid it."[364] Isaiah ben Elijah of Trani, the Younger, in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries, remarked in his *Pirke Halakhoth:* Jews should not engage in religious disputations with Christians; they should not teach them the Old Testament, with the possible exception of the Prophets and the Holy Writings, since opinions favorable to the Jews were likely to be found, which, together with arguments against irreligious views, might impel non-Jews to become affiliated with Judaism.[365] A contemporary of Isaiah of Trani, the famous Jacob Anatolio, advised against conversions to Judaism since "conversions of Christians bring us danger."[366] Gerson ben Jacob ha-Gozer, the German Talmudist who flourished in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and author of *Kelale ha-Milah* containing rules for circumcision, also counselled against the making of Christian proselytes.[367] In the light of the

[364] Guedemann, ii, 231.

[365] Guedemann, ii, 191.

[366] *Malmad ha-Talmidhim*, 12 a.

[367] Glassberg, A. J., *Zikhron Berith ha-Rishonim*, Berlin, 1892, p. 132.

current practice of circumcision among the "Circumcisi" or Passagii, this warning by Gerson has a special significance, and implies that Jews must have known of these Christian Judaizers, and even that some Jewish *Mohelim* were in league with them. Light is also thrown on the subject by the reference in the documents of the Inquisition to a special mode of circumcision for Christians. Gerson's opposition to this practice, however, was echoed by his contemporaries. We find that Rabbis oftentimes advised prospective converts against becoming Jews; and there are instances when they denounced to the Christian authorities such would-be neophytes.[368]

Fear lest the Inquisition and the State visit dire penalties upon converts and their recipients, did not, however, succeed in eliminating from Judaism either the hope for the conversion of Gentiles, or the reality of actual conversion by individual Christians.[369] In the Middle Ages we find references to the entrance into Judaism not only of laymen but also of Christian ecclesiastics, among whom were Bodo and Wecelin of Germany; an Oxford Deacon, two Cistercian monks, Robert of Reading, a Dominican in England; and others.[370] Christian converts even became authorities in Jewish learning, and made literary contributions thereto.[371] Several of the numerous expulsions which Jews suffered were caused, according to statements of secular and ecclesiastical rulers responsible for them, through unchecked proselytizing by members of the Jewish community; Jews were driven from England, France

[368] Minhag 112 a of "Maharil" or Rabbi Jacob ben Moses Moelln, cited by Guedemann, iii, 155.

[369] The *'Alenu* prayer in the Jewish ritual, looking towards the time when the truths of Israel will become accepted by mankind was recited in the Middle Ages, and has remained even in the Reform Prayer-Book today.

[370] Nester, Robert of Soest, Corneli of Montalcino, Pater Clemens, Nicholas Antoine, Jean de Clerc, Roselli are a few names of other Churchmen who joined Jewish ranks at the close of the Middle Ages; the teachers, Conrad Victor (Moses Pardo), and Johann Peter Spaeth (Moses Germanus) may be added to the list. See my forthcoming volume: *The Rapprochement of Liberal Christianity and Liberal Judaism Since the Reformation*, for further information on Jewish proselytism.

[371] Samter, p. 29, mentions an authority on the Tosaphoth, Rabbi Abraham; an exegete, Rabbi Isaac; a controversialist, the author of "Disputation of a Bishop;" even a Synagogue poet, Rabbi Jehosifiyah, and an ethical writer, Rabbi Isaac Granbom, who became Rabbi in Amsterdam; Isaac Papons, who was Rabbi in Eibenschutz.

and Spain on this pretext.[372] Whether or not there was justification for the charge that Jews sought to win converts, there is no doubt that the accusation was used in order to foment persecution even when Jews were permitted to remain in the country.[373] Other evidence is at hand, to lend weight to the assertion that whatever may have been the attitude of both Church and Synagogue, proselytism never ceased in Jewish circles.

3. *Sources of Jewish Proselytes*

The sources from which Jewish proselytes were recruited were several. In the first place, Gentiles became Jews as a result of their service as slaves and servants in Jewish households; though the Church repeatedly issued injunctions against Jewish missionary activity of this nature, many instances occurred when slaves were either persuaded or compelled by circumstances to become Jews. In the second place, friendly social and personal relationships led to intermarriage between Jews and Christians.[373] Though Church and Synagogue fulminated against this practice there is evidence it occurred frequently; in fact marriage between a Jew and Christian was the basic impulse in many cases of conversion. Finally there were instances where Christians adopted Judaism because of an inclination towards its tenets and institutes. Commercial, social and religious intercourse, despite the prohibitions of the Church, brought Christians into direct touch with Judaism: Jews rented houses to Christians, visited Christian relatives or friends, even were present at the celebration of the Mass; Rabbis and laymen engaged in religious discussions with Christian ecclesiastics and believers; in short, Jews and Gentiles in their inner life were thrown into fairly close association; and the result was that individual Christians came to display a tendency towards Jewish views which brought them into disrepute with the Church. As we have already indicated, in a study of these cases of conversion it is necessary to differentiate between Christians of Gentile birth voluntarily converted and Christians of Jewish

[372] England, Graetz, vii, 485; France, J. v. Doellinger, Rahmer's *Jued. Litteraturblatt*, 1881, p. 142; Spain, Lindo, E. H., *History of the Jews in Spain and Portugal*, p. 277. Also from Vienna, 1670; Kaufmann, D., *Die letzte Vertreibung der Juden aus Wien*, p. 156.

[373] "Une cause des pérsecutions des Juifs au moyen âge," *REJ*, xxiv, 152 ff.; also iii, 319; Pado, P., "Proselitismo e Persecuzioni Religiose attribuiti agli Ebrei," *Vessilo Israel.*, 53:342.

birth who either voluntarily or through compulsion had become converted, and then had been reconverted or had relapsed into Judaism; the latter, as we have seen, far exceeded in number the former, and proved a problem of special intricacy to Pope, Inquisitor and secular ruler. It is necessary also to distinguish those instances where Christian individuals or groups "judaize," that is to say, betray an inclination to one or more doctrines or practices of Judaism, without becoming bona-fide Jews. We shall discover that many Christians, without accepting Judaism in its entirety, showed proclivities towards special Jewish customs or views; they were almost as obnoxious in the eyes of the Church as were their brethren who definitely converted to Judaism. Yet it is to genuine Christian neophytes in the ranks of medieval Jewry that we wish now to give our attention, in order that we may understand their role in the growth of liberal religious tendencies in various countries during the so-called "heretic centuries."

a. Proselytism in Various Countries

1. *Proselytism in France.* Jewish proselytism is confined to no one country, though its major center during the heretic centuries was Southern France. The prevalence of apostasy from Christianity to Judaism has been included by several investigators among the influences which promoted dissent in general and the Judaizing heresy in particular.[374] The thirteenth century became known as the period during which Jewish missionary activity flourished; it is doubtful, however, whether Jewish propaganda in reality became more effective then, or whether, on the other hand, the Church merely became more sensitive to its presence, and more aggressive in seeking to prevent it. During the thirteenth century, Papal power reached its apogee, and the pontifical word carried more authority than ever before. We must be cautious in our acceptance of the many accusations levelled against the Jews, by Pope, Church Council and Inquisitor, inasmuch as they emanate from strongly biased sources; but that there was a basis of truth in most of their charges against Jewish influence and activity, particularized in the copious Church denunciations of the thirteenth century, we shall see is indubitable. The parallelism between the spread of heresy and the increase of Jewish liter-

[374] Hahn, iii, 24; Saige, p. 20, etc.

ary and personal influence among Christians to which we have already alluded is accentuated by the growth of Jewish conversionary efforts in France, Italy, Germany, England and other countries where dissent flourished.

In the early centuries of the Frankish Empire, we find repeated references to the inclinations some Christians showed towards Judaism. Renan in his essay on: "Judaism as Race and Religion" remarks:[375]

> There were without doubt in Gaul, Jewish exiles (of the Semitic race), but there were also groups of people who attached themselves to Judaism by conversion, and who did not have a single ancestor in Palestine. And when one remembers that the Jewries of Germany and England have come from France, one regrets that we do not possess more data concerning the origins of Judaism in our country. One would probably see that the Jew of Gaul at the time of Gontran and Chilperic was more often only a Gaul professing the Israelitish religion:.[376]

In the ninth century, the attack upon Jewish influence in France was launched. With the appearance of Agobard (779-840), Bishop of Lyons during the reign of Louis the Debonair, successor to Charlemagne, the threat of the so-called "Jewish peril" and "menace" to French Christianity was described in strong and uncertain terms. Agobard as guardian of the French Christian tradition complained bitterly of the arrogance of the Jews, bemoaning the fact that their doctrines seduced Christian believers to error: the sermons of the Rabbis, he complained, were regarded as more attractive than the preaching of the priests; the peasants and simple folk proclaimed that the Jewish people was the Chosen of God, and that the Jewish belief was more firmly established than the Christian; even King Louis spoke favoraby of Jews because of their descent from the Patriarchs. "Ignorant Christians," said Agobard, "claim that the Jews preach better than the Christian priests, and the commissioners of the King have ordered a change of the market-day, in order that the Jews may be able to observe their day of rest." In his letter: "Concerning the Insolence of the Jews," Agobard made recommendation to the faithful in respect to protection against their influence, and in his work: "Concerning the Superstitions of the Jews," he cited numerous Biblical texts in order to demonstrate that the

[375] pp. 22, 24 ff; see *REJ*, xxvii, 9.

[376] These statements must be accepted with caution.

society of Jews should be avoided even more than that of pagans, because Jews were outspoken opponents of Christianity. When Nibridius, Bishop of Narbonne, as a sign of his cordiality, invited Jews to his table, Agobard indignantly sought to persuade him to break off all relations with them.[377]

Amolo (died 852), Archbishop of Lyons during the reign of Charles the Bald, learned from his teacher Agobard to make the Jews the object of his attention. With the assistance of the Bishop of Rheims and the Archbishop of Sens, who nourished similar sentiments, he tried at the Council of Meaux (849) to revive the old canonical restrictions upon Jewish activity. Unsuccessful in this attempt, he wrote a virulent letter to the ecclesiastical authorities wherein he formulated a strict policy for keeping Jewish activity in check. He laid great stress upon the conversion of the Court Chaplain Bodo, to Judaism, and thereby turned the eyes of the Church towards the far-reaching influence exerted by the Jewish community, which did not even hesitate to accept Christian converts into its midst.[378] It is interesting to observe that Agobard and Amolo were Archbishops in Lyons, the city where two centuries later, the pro-Biblical Waldensian movement: "The Poor Men of Lyons" took its origin.

The Bodo referred to by Amolo was a descendant of an old Alemannic race and a favorite of the King. Tiring of life at Court, he made a pilgrimage to Rome, where, according to some authorities, he came into contact with the Jews, and though in the very stronghold of Christianity, he conceived the idea of renouncing his ancestral faith and adopting Judaism. Before taking this step, he sold his Christian slaves to "pagans," infidels, as ancient Chroniclers lament. He compelled his nephew like himself to become a Jew,[379] was circumcised, let his hair and beard grow, and assumed the name of Eleasar; like the Deacon of Oxford in 1222 and Lord Gordon many centuries later, he married a Jewess. But this was still insufficient. Bodo, or Eleasar, as he

[377] Hefele, iv, 71. Wiegand, F., *Agobard von Lyon und die Judenfrage*, Leipzig, 1901; reviewed by David S. Schaff, in *American Journal of Theology*, vi, 360-1.

[378] Migne, 116:142 ff.; *Hist. Litt. de la France*, viii, 650.

[379] Rabanus Maurus, *Adv. Judaeos*, c. 42 in Pertz, *Monumenta*, i, 433. "Seducatus est ab eis (Judaeis) diaconus palatinus, nobiliter natus, nobiliter nutritus et in ecclesiae officiis exercitatus, et apud principes bene habitus."

was now called, abhorred life in a Christian state; in companionship with other Jews, in August, 839, he went to Saragossa where he entered military service. The impression made by this act was tremendous, and even the Emperor himself refused to believe the doleful tidings. In Spain, Bodo is said to have incited the Moorish government against the Spanish Christians who asked aid of the Franks lest they be forced to accept either Islam or Judaism. In 840, Bodo corresponded with the baptized Jew, Pablo Alvaro of Cordova, each convert endeavouring in vain to lead the other back to his former faith; Bodo displayed a neophyte's zeal in his eagerness to stimulate conversions to Judaism.[380] For our study, two facts are significant: first, that a nobleman of the ninth century was so affected by what he conceived to be the superiority of Judaism that he adopted it in the face of his former coreligionists' extreme opposition; secondly, that the discussion in Christian circles over Bodo's apostasy awakened both laymen and clergy to the presence of a militant Jewish element in their midst.[381] It is during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that the evidence of Jewish proselytism in France became cumulatively strong. Innocent III, arch-foe of the Albigensian heretics and the Jews, kept close watch upon their doings during his papacy; January 8, 1213, he wrote to the Archbishop of Sens concerning a Christian woman who through residence in a Jewish home had lost all faith in Christianity; she had, according to report, even received the Holy Eucharist, and then brought it to the Jews; she declared that Christianity had no power to profit or sustain her, and that one piece of plain bread was equal in importance with the Host on the altar.[382] Jewish and Christian sources show that Christian conversions to Judaism did not cease with the promulgation of the edicts of the Lateran Council in 1215. A certain Jedaya addressed to Rabbi Isaac ibn Latif a question in the name

[380] Kayserling, *Monatsschrift*, x, 245 ff., discusses this correspondence. *Ibid.*, ix (1860), p. 244, Kayserling says that Bodo became a Jew, not at Rome, but in Southern France. Vogelstein and Rieger, however, i, 136-7, who mention all the sources, say that they do not sustain Kayserling's assertion.

[381] Rab. Maurus, *Adv. Judaeos*, c. 42, quoted by Ducange, iii, 907, remarks: "Quod quidem ipsorum qui in nonnullis civitatibus inlicite constituuntur, soleant in remotioribus locis Christianos pauperes et ignaros pro eodem teloneo acriter constringere deinde ut Christum negent, persuadere."

[382] Potthast, 4749; Migne, 3, 885; *REJ*, xxxv, 254: "a catholica fide facta fuit Judaeis seducentibus aliena . . . erroris Judaici tenebris obvoluta."

of "many persons of the people who had turned to Judaism."[383] A polemical work attributed to David Kimchi, the noted exegete of France, mentions several French proselytes to Judaism: "And verily I have seen French proselytes, saints and sages in their practices, who became proselytes because of this," namely, the numerous contradictory passages in the Gospels.[384] Marmorstein affirms that this passage "refers without doubt to the Albigensians;" Porges, in reply, remarks that Marmorstein's citation from Graetz's *History of the Jews* is incorrect,[385] and that it says nothing of conversions, but merely mentions the intellectual intercourse between educated Jews and free-thinking Christians. "If several Albigensians had embraced Judaism, historians of the Christian sectaries would not have failed to signalize this great scandal, and the Church would certainly have exploited this efficacious means of agitation to preach a war of extermination against the heretics."[386] Camerini in a later article in the *Revue des Études Juives*[387] attributes this fragment of anti-Christian polemics, based on the Psalms, not to David Kimchi, but as Porges had previously asserted, to Efodi's *Kelimath ha-Goyim*. Since this work was written in 1397 in Spain, long after the Albigensian movement had been obliterated, the passage must refer, not directly to them, but to a contemporary group of French proselytes. The statement of Porges, however, concerning the absence of conversion to Judaism among Albigensian heretics is not entirely correct: not only were there intimate personal and intellectual relations, but even conversion and intermarriage occurred. An imposing list of ecclesiastical documents indicates the publicity which the Church in its campaign to eradicate heretical dissent gave to alleged Jewish proselytism.

On July 23rd, 1253, Innocent IV (1243-1254) wrote to the Archbishop of Vienne, giving him authority to expel the Jews from his diocese, inasmuch as they had not observed the prescriptions laid down by the Holy See, and according to the information of the Archbishop, had threatened the faithful with heavy spiritual

[383] *Kerem Chemed*, iv, 10; Samter, p. 28.

[384] The Hebrew text is given by Marmorstein, *REJ*, lxvi, 247.

[385] "Instead of iv, 141 (3rd ed.), it is necessary doubtless to read vii, 8." This reference, however, to the relations between the Albigensians and Jews occurs in two places in slightly varied form.

[386] *REJ*, lxvii, 129.

[387] lxvii, 292.

dangers.[388] On July 26th, 1267, Pope Clement IV (1265-1268), to whom the Spanish Jewish apostate Paul Christian had given evidence concerning the contents of the Talmud, issued a famous Bull: "Turbato corde audivimus," wherein he complained that a very large number ("quamplurimis") of Christians had denied the faith and had been converted to Judaism. This Bull was addressed to Jean de Chalon l'Antique, Lord of Salins, and almost uncontested master of the County of Bourgogne, in order to arouse his zeal against "the defenders of Waldensian heresy and certain adepts to Judaism, very numerous in his domains."[389] "These adepts were called Judaizing Christians because they followed several practices of Judaism, and wished to sanctify the Seventh Day in memory of the Mosaic Sabbath. Several of them had renounced baptism. It was especially in the Jura and the mountains of Doubs that these Judaizers were to be found during the thirteenth century, since the territory of the Lord of Salins extended into these regions." The County of Doubs with its capital city Besancon, seems thus to have been a center for a Judaizing heresy comparable in some respects to that of the Passagii. Though no mention is found of a Jewish community in this region until 1320 and later when, during the time of the Black Plague, they were conspicuous in Christian discussion, it is known that Besançon had long been a center of Jewish learning and activity. These Judaizers in Doubs may have formed a distinct Judaizing group which arose locally and indigenously, or they were a remnant of the Passagii. A third hypothesis is that they represented a recurrence of the same Judaizing heresy. The County of Doubs in the Jura mountains is near Switzerland, and in close proximity to Italy; the fact that these Judaizers lived in the mountains lends credence, as we have noted, to a derivation of the name Passagii from the Latin: "dwellers in passes;" it links them also with the Waldensian mountain-dwellers.

The Bull of Pope Clement, which was often renewed by later Pontiffs was sent from Viterbo, Italy, reminding the Dominican andiMinorite Brethren intrusted with the leadership of the Inquisit on in France, how to proceed "against Christians who go over to the rite of the Jews and Jews who lure these Christians to it."[390]

[388] Potthast, 15064; Raynald. ad. an. 1253, 34.

[389] *REJ*, vii, 3, gives this important note; see also xlix, 2.

[390] Potthast, 20095; *Magn. Bull. Rom.*, 785-6. "Turbato corde audivimus et narramus quod quamplurimi reprobi Christiani veritatem catholicae fidei abnegantes se ad ritum iudaeorum damnabiliter transtulerunt."

Such Christians should be dealt with as if they were heretics; Jews guilty of missionary activities should be severely punished; if they protest, they should be made to suffer ecclesiastical penalties; the secular arm should be invoked when necessary.

The Council of Béziers in 1276 issued an important canon concerning those Jews "whose perfidy has fraudulently deceived many simple-hearted Christians, and maliciously drawn them into their own error."[391] Jews were permitted to reside only in certain specified districts and under rigorous restrictions. In this way Christian ecclesiastical rulers sought to segregate Jews and to localize any manifestation of heresy lest Jewish influence stimulate and increase it. Whether there existed a genuine proselytizing movement by Jews among Christians at this time cannot be determined from decrees of Councils or Bulls of Popes; their statements must be confirmed from other documents, if possible; and it seems probable that the mere threat of Jewish propaganda served as a satisfactory excuse for strenuous ecclesiastical efforts to suppress Jews. We shall see, however, that Samter (p. 28) is right in his statement: "with these declarations of the Popes and Councils the Jewish sources are in complete agreement." If Jews had not feared the heavy hand of the Inquisition, we may well imagine that their missionary activities would have been even more pronounced.

For in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, the Inquisition had gained a solid foothold in Southern France, and Jews were made to feel the full pressure of its authority. In 1274, Bertrand de la Roche was appointed Inquisitor for Judaizing Christians in Provence, a term which, as we have seen in our discussion concerning the special problems facing the Holy Office, included not only Christians who apostatized to Judaism, but Jews who after accepting Christianity, relapsed into their former faith. On March 1, 1274, Pope Gregory X (1272-1276) renewed the Bull: "Turbato corde audivimus," first issued by Clement IV, but made a few changes in its form. It includes the words: "Christians who go over to the Judaic rite, and converted Jews who rejudaize or draw Christians with them to their rite."[392] The Bull

[391] Mansi, xxiv, f. 176: "XIV. De Judaeis, quorum perfidi plerumque simplices Christianos fraudulenter decipit, et malitiose secum pertrahit in errorem."

[392] "Contra Christianos ad ritum judaicum transeuntes, iudaeosque conversos rejudaizantes vel christianos ad eorum ritum inducentes." Potthast, 20798; *Magn. Bull. Rom.*, iv, 24-5.

was issued from Lyons, the home of the original Waldensians. In our discussion of the influence of Jewish "Relapsi" upon Christian believers, we have pointed out that this Bull indicated the fear of the Church that reverting Jews would induce native-born Christians to renounce baptism and to accept Judaism with them. Gregory X had formulated a general doctrine for the Inquisitors in 1273.[393] They were to treat as heretics all baptized Jews who returned to Judaism and Christians who abjured their faith for it; they were to discover the truth either through the Christians or the Jews themselves; the instigators of such apostasies, those who received or defended the guilty persons, were to be punished in the same way as the delinquents; while Jews who drew Christians to their rites were to be condemned to the severest punishment. Nicholas III (1277-1280) issued a Bull, May 7, 1277, of similar import which Nicholas IV (1288-1292) reaffirmed under the date of May 7, 1288, in a Bull addressed to Hugues de Bionoles and Pierre Arlin, Inquisitors.[394]

That conversions from Christianity to Judaism actually occurred during this period is demonstrated by an incident mentioned in the Chronicle of William Bardin, dated January 4, 1278. According to Bardin, the Jews of Toulouse buried in their cemetery a certain Perrot, who had been converted to their faith; thereupon Jean de Frontlieu, lieutenant of the Inquisitor of Toulouse, instituted a criminal action against the local Jewish community; Rabbi Isaac Males, who had received Perrot into Judaism after his abjuration of Christianity, was condemned and burned.[395] The boldness of Jewish proselytism, when undertaken by enthusiasts, is illustrated by the attempt of the Kabbalist, Abraham Abulafia in August, 1281, to convert to Judaism Pope Martin IV (1281-1285). Nothing came of this endeavour which, had he pressed it a little further, would doubtless have led Abulafia to the stake.[396] On October 21 of the same year, Pope Martin addressed an epistle to the Bishops of France wherein he ordained that the many heretics and converted Jews who sought asylum in churches when fleeing from the Inquisition were none the less to be delivered over to the tribunal of the Inquisition; and

[393] Levi, *Les Juifs et l'Inquisition*, p. 7.

[394] Levi, p. 7; Doat, xxxvii, f. 191 and f. 206.

[395] Vaissette, iv, Preuves, col. 5.

[396] Kayserling, *Die Juden in Navarra*, Berlin, 1861, p. 83; Graetz, vii, 211; Vogelstein and Rieger, i, 249.

the Bishops were not to obstruct the execution of this mandate, but to offer their aid in every instance.[397] The Inquisitors of France received a missive of the same content.[398] That heretics sought refuge with Jews when seeking escape from Inquisitorial pursuit is mentioned in other documents of the time.[399]

Pope Honorius IV (1285-2187) issued from Rome, November 18, 1286, to the Archbishop of Evreux and his Suffragans, a Bull against the Talmud and against both the proselytism which Jews were said to be conducting among Christians, and their efforts to regain for Judaism baptized Jews.[400] The text of this Bull[401] was the same as that issued on November 30th of the same year by the Pope to the Archbishop of Canterbury wherein conditions supposed to exist in England were graphically described.[402] The question arises whether the Bull was not originally intended to describe a situation in Southern France rather than in England. Popes were in the habit of renewing Bulls to apply to different localities where problems were virtually the same, and Honorius may have found the Bull of November 18th so effective for his purpose in Southern France that he reissued it for England; the facts he narrates appear in other promulgations of this period. After an attack upon the Talmud as the source of Jewish perfidy, Honorius affirms that Jews busy themselves on the one hand in seducing the faithful to their unholy sect, and on the other, in leading their converted co-religionists astray into apostasy by means of many gifts. Large numbers of these apostates dwell even in the same parishes in which they once accepted baptism, living openly with the Jews; they lead in company with them, and according to their laws and rites, the most unworthy life, while

[397] Potthast, 22806; Raynaldus ad an. 1281, 18.

[398] John XXII on August 13, 1317, addressed a letter to the French Inquisitors wherein he remarked that Pope Martin IV had already issued a similar decree. Erler 50:4.

[399] 1299, Doat, xxxvii, f. 246; *REJ*, iii, 223.

[400] Doat, xxxvii, f. 128.

[401] According to Loeb, *REJ*, i, 298.

[402] Potthast, 22541; Raynaldus ad an. 1286, 25-27. Raynaldus mentions the same Bull ad an. 1320, 28-39, as an interpolation of the Bull of John XXII of August 22, 1320. In the first place, this Bull was issued, according to Erler, 50:6, to the Archbishop of Canterbury and his Suffragans; in the second place, to the Archbishop of York and his Suffragans. It appears, therefore, that the Bull was directed to the entire Episcopacy of England, with a view to encouraging the anti-Jewish campaign which in 1290 resulted in the expulsion of the Jewish population by Edward I.

others are taken to foreign places in order to revert there in secret to their unbelief. Moreover, they invite faithful Christians on every Sabbath and on other festivals to their homes; they urge them in their synagogues to participate in their worship, and to practice it with them according to their rites, to bow their knee before the Torah; thus very many Christians judaize with them. So, too, they retain in their families Christians whom they compel to do menial labor on Sunday and Festival days; they employ Christian women for the care and education of their children, and since they live together, oftentimes scandalous relationships exist between Jews and Christians. In addition, they pay each other visits, and this friendly social intercourse serves to spread Jewish unbelief. Moreover, the Jews curse Christians daily in their prayers and do other things which cast contempt upon the Catholic faith. Unfortunately the Bishops, although called upon, have hitherto not effected a remedy for these evils. Henceforward, however, with all zeal and in every possible way, through instruction, prohibitions, ecclesiastical and temporal punishments, they must take the necessary steps, and inform the Pope concerning their action.

Pope Nicholas IV (1288-1292) continued the campaign against Jewish proselytism. On May 7, 1288, he reissued the Bull of Nicholas III, first promulgated on May 7, 1277, dispatching it to Hugues de Bionoles and Pierre Arlin, Inquisitors.[403] On September 5th, Nicholas renewed the Bull: "Turbato corde audivimus," first promulgated by Clement IV (July 26, 1267) and later by Gregory X (March 1, 1274). The version of Nicholas IV, sent from Rieti, contains a few changes in form, only accentuating the severity of the punishment to be inflicted upon Christian proselytes to Judaism, whether of Gentile or Jewish birth.[404] Nicholas may have renewed the Bull of May 7 to commemorate the anniversary of its initial announcement: he re-enacted the Bull of September 5 during the first year of his pontificate, no doubt to give public notice that he intended to continue the policies of his predecessors in aiding the Inquisition to suppress Jewish influence. It is evident, however, that these Bulls were issued in no purely formal spirit, for on January 28, 1290, the Pope called upon the Bishops and Prelates of Aix, Arles and Embrun to sup-

[403] Doat, xxxvii, f. 206, Levi, p. 7.

[404] Potthast, 22795; *Magn. Bull. Rom.*, iv, 88; Doat, xxxvii, f. 209; John XXII renewed this Bull, August 13, 1317.

port the activity of the Inquisitors in their endeavours against the many apostasies to Judaism occurring there, and against local Jewish proselytism.[405] On February 20, 1290, the Inquisitors of the three provinces mentioned, together with the Franciscans commissioned to act in the Comtat Venaissin, were summoned by Nicholas to proceed to action against the very numerous ("quamplures") Christians who inclined to Jewish practices. In moments of sickness or other tribulation, anxious for friends at sea or over approaching childbirth, these Christians frequented Jewish synagogues with lighted lamps and candles, offering oblations, watching through the vigils of the Sabbath, and showing by superstitious signs reverence and adoration for the Torah. The Pope enjoined his deputies to treat as idolators or heretics those who urged these Judaizing Christians to such actions, whether they were Jews or Christians.[406] On September 9, 1290, Nicholas once more renewed the Bull: "Turbato corde audivimus," in order to check Jewish activities in the Roman Papal Province;[407] the Franciscan monks placed in charge there as Inquisitors were to fulfil the Pope's instructions.[408] The description furnished by Nicholas of Christian Judaizing in the Comtat Venaissin bears many points of resemblance to the narration of Honorius IV, and confirms the impression mentioned above, that the facts were first gathered by Inquisitors in Southern France, and then included in a Bull which was issued first for France, and then applied to similar circumstances existing in England.

Pope Boniface VIII (1294-1303), about the year 1298, ordained that the procedure against Christians who apostatized to Judaism, and against relapsing Jews should be the same as against heretics; this applied to baptized Jews even though they had accepted baptism either as children or through fear of death, that is to say, without absolute or genuine compulsion.[409] Boniface denied a dowry to a Christian woman who married a Jew; herein

[405] Potthast, 23170; Wadding, *Annales Minorum* ed, J. M. Fonseca, Rome, 1731, v, 233.

[406] Potthast, 23185; Wadding, v, 232; Lea, ii, 118.

[407] Potthast, 23391; Wadding, v, 335.

[408] It is interesting to note here, however, that despite the seemingly anti-Jewish and anti-heretical policy of the Popes during this period, Jewish sources according to Graetz, vii, 175, report that "one of the four Popes who reigned in the short space of time of thirteen years (1279-291)" had a Jewish body-physician, Isaac ben Mardocai, who bore the title: "Mastro Gajo."

[409] "Non tamen absolute aut praecise coacte;" *Sexti Decret.*, 5, 2, 13.

he acted in conformance with the decree not only against heretics, but against backsliding Jewish Christians as well.[410]

Among the secular rulers who accused Jews of conversionary efforts was King Philip, the Fair, of France. His attitude towards his Jewish subjects showed many contradictions; although inclined to afford them his protection, he was compelled under pressure from the Inquisition to take a firm stand against the dissemination of their influence. On June 6, 1299, he issued a mandate expressly forbidding Jews to make proselytes and seeking to keep in check any tendencies towards the adoption of their faith among Christians. It has come to his ears, he writes to his justiciaries, that in many parts of his kingdom, Jews by promises and gifts, have solicited Christians to join their religion; that many have been seduced by their wiles, have been circumcised, and thereafter have blasphemed the Eucharist and other sacraments. Another charge was that Jews and Christians attracted to Judaism gave asylum to fugitive heretics. Philip decried the influence of the Talmud and other Jewish writings, which, he affirmed, conduced to infidelity among the faithful.[411] Evidently Jewish propaganda had been of long standing, for we read in the "Memory-Book" of Mayence that in the pogrom at Wissembourg, July 4, 1270, a proselyte: "Rabbi Abraham" (the name given to all proselytes) of France, formerly General of all the Barefoot or Minorite Franciscan friars, had been burned as a martyr to the Holy Name.[412] It appears that this neophyte had left his home in France, and, as Pope Honorius IV in his Bulls of 1286 concerning the Jewish practice had complained, concealed himself in another Jewish community, there following in secret his new religion.[413]

In Anjou, Jewish propaganda appears to have been active during the thirteenth century, though to what extent the accusations were merely stereotyped and without relation to the actual situation is difficult to say. Charles I, Duke of Anjou (1263-1285), protected his Jewish subjects against the rapacity of the bailiffs; in the Constitutions which his son, Charles II published in 1283,

410 Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, Rotterdam, 1707, v, 1707; Erler, 50:8.

411 Doat, xxxvii, f. 246; Saige, p. 235; *REJ*, iii, 223.

412 Neubauer, A., "Le Memorbuch de Mayence," *REJ*, iv, (1882), 13.

413 For further information concerning Catholic conversions to Judaism during this period, see Berliner, A., *Aus dem inneren Leben der Deutschen Juden im Mittelal ter*, Berlin, 1900, pp. 108-9; *REJ*, xl, p. lix, Conference of 1900.

we find the provision that "Jews who are subjects of the Church may be entrusted with no offices, but at the same time, they shall suffer no special burdens of oppressions."[414] It appears from this that other Jews, not under ecclesiastical control, were not excluded from public duties.[415] But on December 8th, 1288, an ordinance dated at Angers and issued by Charles II, Duke of Anjou and King of Sicily, expelled the Jews from Anjou and Maine.[416] The excuse was given that it was necessary to purge the country of abominations odious to the Christian faith; in numerous centers of the County, it was said, Jews were conducting among the Christian population an open propaganda to mislead people of both sexes to the practice of Judaism; by their usurious dealings, they despoiled Christians of their property and reduced them to poverty; finally, they engaged in illicit relationships with Christian women, a favorite accusation at the time of a Jewish expulsion. Later, however, many Jews returned to Anjou, and we find them cordially received by the local rulers: thus, Robert of Anjou was an intimate friend and patron of Jewish scholars including Kalonymos ben Kalonymos (1286-1328), known as Maestro Calo.[417]

2. *Jewish Proselytism in Italy and Sicily.* Italy furnished one of the most fertile fields for Jewish missionary efforts during the Middle Ages. Pope Gregory I (590-604), who sought to prevent Jews from holding Christian slaves and converting them to Judaism, found it necessary during his pontificate to address a letter to Libertinus, the Prefect of Sicily, on the subject of a pro-Jewish movement, led by a certain fanatic who, under the name of the Prophet Elijah, had built an altar for worship. It was reported to the Pope that this Jewish zealot had attracted many Christians to his cult, that he had purchased Christian slaves for his service and that the former Prefects through greed had accepted bribes to refrain from persecuting the sect. Pope Gregory enjoined

[414] Giannone, *Geschichte des Koenigreichs Neapel*, German edition by Le Bret, Leipzig, 1768, iii, 95.

[415] Erler, 48:32.

[416] *Bibl. nat. collection* of Dom Housseau, vii, no. 3362; cited in the Latin text by L. Lazard, in *Les Juifs de Touraine.*

[417] Steinschneider, M., "Robert von Anjou und sein Verhaeltniss zu gelehrten Juden," *Monatsschrift*, xii (1904), pp. 713-717; Berliner, A., *Persoenliche Beziehungen zwischen Juden und Christen im Mittelalter*, 1882, pp. 12 ff.

Libertinus to investigate the matter thoroughly, and if he found the report correct, to punish the Jews severely, and to emancipate, according to the law,[418] the slaves involved. It is difficult to determine the exact nature of this Judaizing movement in Sicily. It may perhaps have been one of the many Jewish Messianic movements which periodically agitated both the Christian and the Jewish world. On several occasions, pretenders to the Messianic title in Jewish circles found followers among Christians of their time: thus, Abraham Abulafia and Sabbatai Zevi are two names in a long list of Pseudo-Messiahs whose activities made an imprint upon contemporary Christian life. This false "Elijah" may have been an early leader of the same type.

A tradition prior to the eleventh century survived that some Jewish fanatics had become involved with women in Catania, and during the reign of Roger II, brother-in-law of Anacletus II, the "Jewish Anti-Pope," the report was disseminated that a courtier of the King (about 1146), one of his special protégés, unbeknown to his ruler had shown great favor towards Jews, and himself became secretly converted to Mohammedanism.[419] During the closing years of his life, Roger endeavoured to convert Saracens and Jews, and rewarded liberally any neophyte.[420] Moreover, apostasies to both Judaism and Mohammedanism occurred among the people, for Roger II issued a series of laws against apostates, wherein he threatened them with the loss of their property, their birthright and other privileges; Frederic II accepted these laws for his Constitutions, and repeated them with additional severity.[421] Moreover, the injunction of the Third Lateran Council in 1179 that Jews and Saracens should not own Christian servants or slaves was doubtless stimulated by conditions in Sicily and Naples, where Christians were thrown into close social relationships with Saracens and Jews.[422] The Assisses of Frederic II at Capua in 1220 repeated the law that no Jew or

[418] Epist. 3, 38, col. 651; in Greg., *Opera*, Ed. Bened. Paris, 1705.

[419] "Synagogas malignantium frequenter visitabat et eis oleum ad concinnanda luminaria et quae erant necessaria ministrabat." Romualdi Salernitati, "Chronicon," in Muratori, *Script.*, vii, 194.

[420] *Ibid.*, p. 196.

[421] Const. 1:3, in Carcani, *Constitutiones regum regni utriusque Siciliae*, Naples, 1786, p. 6; Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici II*, Paris, 1852-61, 4:8; 5:206, 216; Boehmer-Ficker, *Regesta Imperii V, 1*, Innsbruck, 1881, 2365.

[422] Harduin, vi, 1685; *Decret. Greg.*, 5, 6, 5.

heathen was to acquire Christian slaves or hold any title whatsoever to them.[423] In other decrees, emanating from the Norman period, we find provisions to the effect that any transgressor of these laws should lose his own property and freedom; if he had circumcised the slaves, and led them astray to deny the Christian faith, he should suffer death.[424] In Palermo in 1220, two hundred Jews were converted to Christianity,[425] some of whom doubtless relapsed into their former belief; this fact probably was one of the influences in Frederic's renewal of the laws of Roger II against apostates, and may have helped call forth his enactment against heretics, particularly the "Circumcisi;" it has been suggested, however,[426] that this term may signify those who were converted to Christianity but relapsed to Judaism, as well as the Judaizing Passagii who were active during the time of Frederic.

Various decrees affecting the Jews of Sicily and Southern Italy are to be found during the thirteenth century: one of the most interesting is the order of Charles II, December 8, 1298, expelling from the Kingdom of Naples the Jews together with other so-called "foreigners," including the Lombards and Caorsins who practiced usury. Perhaps there contributed to this expulsion the fact that in the struggle between the Ghibellines and the Guelfs, the Jews supported the former, the adherents of the anti-Papal group; a letter of Pope Martin to the inhabitants of Messina gives likelihood to this statement.[427] There is ground for believing that the Pope in his letter may have used the term "Jews" in the same way that the French called the Sicilians "Patarenes," the name of a sect particularly prominent and despised in Sicily at this time.[428] Peter III of Aragon (1282-1285), against whom

[423] Carcani, *op. cit.*, 227; Boehmer-Ficker, 1260; Erler, 48:20, discusses the comment of other authorities on this enactment.

[424] Bruenneck, W. von, *Sicilien's mittelalterliche Stadtrechte*, Halle, 1881, i, 98, ii, 179; Amari, M., *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, Florence, 1854-72, iii, 234.

[425] Zunz, *Zur Geschichte*, p. 487.

[426] Erler 48:25.

[427] The Anonymous author of the: "Historia conspirationis John. Prochytae" in Gregorio, *Bibliotheca scriptorum, qui res in Sicilia gestas sub Aragonum regno retulere*, Paris, 1791-3, i, 267. Though there is doubt whether the Jews were included in this letter, the note is regarded as of interest because of the attitude involved; Erler, 48:32-3, discusses it at length.

[428] Cassel, quoted by Erler, 48:32, who discusses the opinions of several authorities on the text: "A li perfidi Judei dilla Isula di Sicilia Martinu papa terzu manda quilli saluti, siccomu a corrumpituri di paci e di Christiani aucidituri e spargituri di lu sangu di nostri figli, etc."

Pope Martin IV preached a Crusade as a punishment for his conquest of Sicily after the Sicilian Vespers, was aided in his campaign in Africa, before he seized Sicily, by a Jewish friend.[429] When Pedro of Aragon entered Messina in 1282, the Jews of the city came to greet him with a scroll of the Torah (as they had done when Innocent II, the adversary of Anacletus, entered Rome in 1138). The civil laws of the city of Palermo, the Jewry of which was the acknowledged leader of the Sicilian community, contained regulations "concerning Jews and Saracens and other heretics" with reference to testimony in law suits,[430] financial affairs, occupation of public offices (from which they were excluded) and the practice of law and medicine (which was also prohibited to them.)[431] The "Consuetudines" of Syracuse also excluded Jews and unbelievers from testimony against Christians, "to suppress the iniquity and perfidy of the Jews."[432] Under King Frederic II (III) (1295-1337), a Council was held October 20, 1296, at Piazza which forbade Jews to act as physicians and judges. Thus consistent efforts were made to isolate Jews in order that Christians might be protected from their influence.[433]

3. *Jewish Proselytism in England.* The records of English Jewry prior to the Expulsion in 1290 contain several references to Jewish proselytism. The Jews of England lived on amicable terms with their neighbors, including the clergy, and, at times of disturbance, were accustomed to seek refuge in the abbeys. The Jewish community to a slight degree was recruited from the native population. We recall the incident of King William Rufus, who, about 1090, threatened to accept Judaism if his clergy did not vanquish the Jews in debate. Gerald of Cambridge narrates that before 1200 two Cistercian monks turned Jews.[434] "A certain monk," he wrote, "at last caused himself to be circumcised

[429] "Historiae Sabae Malspinae Contin." (Villani), in Gregorio: *Script. rer. arag.* 2, p. 361-4; Cassel, p. 143.

[430] Jews might not give testimony against Christians because: "Cum eos Christianis subjacere oporteat. Sunt alias infames Judaei et debent a communione fidelium separari."

[431] Bruenneck, *op. cit.*, Part I, p. 15, 23, 27, 47 ff., 58.

[432] *Ibid.*, p. 147.

[433] For further information concerning Jewish activities in Italy, see Zunz, *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, Berlin, 1845, pp. 487 ff.; Giovanni di Giovanni: *L'Ebraismo della Sicilia*, Sicily, 1748; Erler, 38:35 ff; Guedemann, ii, 268-292.

[434] *Opera*, iv, 139; Jacobs, *Jews of Angevin England*, pp. 283-4.

with the Jewish rite, and as a most vile apostate joined himself to his damnation to the enemies of the cross of Christ. Also on the northern borders of England, in a house of the same order called Geroudon, a certain brother . . . fled with ruinous and ruin-bearing ways to Judaism."

But when that man, known for his distinguished fame and extent of writings, as well as gifted with wit, Walter Mapes, Archdeacon of Oxford, heard of these two having apostatized out of that order alone, wondering, he broke out in public into these words: "It is remarkable," said he, "that those two wretches . . . did not become Christians."

Gerald hints that it was for love of some Jewess that the Cistercians forsook both their vows and their creed. It was this very Walter Mapes who spoke of seeing the Waldensian translation of the Psalms at the Lateran Council in 1179, and of whom we have a note to the effect that in the performance of his duties as officer of the law under Henry II, he would be as faithful as possible "to all except Jews and white monks (Cistercians)."[435]

About 1202, a case came before the "jury of the hundred" at Clipton, wherein Bonefand, the Jew of Bedford, was accused of having converted and circumcised Richard, the nephew of Robert of Sutton; Bonefand was acquitted by the jury.[436] An "apocryphal account of Jewish propagandism" tells of the missionary efforts of a certain Gislebert which had the following result: "some who had hitherto remained unbelievers and who were still blinded by Jewish perfidiousness, being smitten with compunction at his words, utterly abandoned their former errors and ran to take refuge in the bosom of the Church . . . At this time also he sent to his manor of Wedthorp, near Stamford, some fellow-monks of his . . . These oft-repeated words of instructions in the ears of the people of Stamford greatly prospered and strengthened the Christian faith against the Jewish corruptors."[437] Whatever may

[435] Jacobs, *op. cit.*, pp. 275-6; Hyamson, A. M., *History of the Jews in England*, London, 1908, p. 32.

[436] *Ibid.*, p. 216-7; Tovey, *Anglia Judaica*, p. 66.

[437] Jacobs, pp. 293-4, in quoting from the pseudepigraphic Chronicle of Ingulph, says: "there is not the slightest likelihood of such a spread of Jewish doctrines at the supposed date of the extracts, the beginning of the twelfth century. Later on there is some evidence that Jews made converts in this country. It is difficult to see why such items should have been introduced after the expulsion of the Jews, when the forgery of the Chronicle was committed. It is just possible that the reference has no bearing on Jews personally, but is

have been the real situation which gave rise to these particular comments, we know that during the twelfth century in England, there existed a congregation of proselytes numbering twenty persons; in the pogrom of 1189, together with a large number of native-born Jews these proselytes were massacred because of their fidelity to their faith.[438]

In 1222 the Archbishop together with the Bishops of Lincoln and of Norwich published an injunction prohibiting all Christians within their diocese from having any intercourse with Jews, whom they practically placed under an interdict. This ecclesiastical anti-Jewish feeling may doubtless be traced to the scandal concerning a Christian deacon at Oxford who had deserted Christianity for Judaism out of love for a Jewess; he had expiated his offence by death at the stake.[439] A similar instance of conversion is found in the story of Robert of Reading, a Dominican monk, who by his eloquence in the pulpit had won many followers. He had studied the Hebrew language (about 1275), upon the cultivation of which the third General of the Order of Preaching Friars, Raymond de Pennaforte, laid much emphasis; instead, however, of using Hebrew as a means of converting Jews, Robert succumbed to its attraction, and was led into association with the Jewish community. It came to pass that he fell in love with a beautiful Jewess, underwent circumcision, assumed the name of Haggai, and married the Jewess. When summoned to answer for his defection, Robert defended his new allegiance with great zeal. King Edward I delivered him over for punishment to the Archbishop of Canterbury; his fate is unknown; it may be that he and his spouse escaped unhurt;[440] but if the precedent of treatment for apostates by the Southern French Inquisition was followed, Robert was severely punished. The Dominican party, enraged and scandalized by the apostasy of one of its number, redoubled its campaign against the Jews; it brought pressure to

rather to the custom of keeping Easter at Passover, to which Bede also refers as 'Judaism' ". This surmise is supported by the remarks of Walerann of Newburg on "Pascal Judaizing;" Migne, 158:541-8.

438 Neubauer and Stern, *Hebraeische Berichte ueber die Judenverfolgungen waehrend d. Kreuzzuege*, pp. 70, 205.

439 "A calendar of authenticated trials for heresy in England prior to 1533" by Canon Stubbs in Great Britain: *Ecclesiastical Courts Commission, Report of*, London, 1883, i, 52. Matthew of Paris, *Chronica Majore*, iii, 71. Hyamson, p. 64.

440 Graetz, English Edition, iii, 640-1.

bear upon the King through the Queen-Mother Eleanor, whose first act was to expel the Jews from the town of Cambridge, her own possession.

The anti-Jewish group, no doubt spurred on by the conversion of Robert, appeared before the Pope and lodged serious accusations against the Jews for their missionary activities. On November 30, 1286, Honorius IV launched a Bull against English Jewry which he addressed to the Episcopacy of England, and which was a "remarkable witness," says Erler, "of the unchecked fanaticism of the Jews there."[441] Though there is doubt, as we have already noted, whether this Bull was framed originally with English conditions in mind, being a more accurate description of the situation in Southern France, nevertheless Honorius, who on November 18, 1286, had issued the same Bull from Rome to the Archbishop of Evreux and his Suffragans,[442] found it applicable to England and hence sent it there. The Bull, as we have already described, gives a graphic picture of alleged Jewish proselytism.[443] The Talmud is condemned as the source of Jewish perfidy; Jews are accused of leading astray baptized converts; even native-born Christians are enticed to practice Jewish ceremonies, and to worship in the Synagogues. Religious and social intercourse, complained the Pope, was much too free between Jews and Christians, with the result that Jews were winning adherents to their faith from the ranks of Christian believers; no pains should be spared by ecclesiastical and secular authorities to suppress this activity. This Bull, which, as we have seen, was repeated again under other circumstances, may have been sent to England not because conditions warranted it, but in order to incite prejudice against the Jews. The star of the English Jewish settlement was rapidly waning; hence any statement of its activities from the lips of hostile Churchmen must be analyzed with caution. The merchants also were being aroused against Jews, and malicious charges were being disseminated with reference to Jewish financial dealings. Clergy and laity were on the lookout for any excuse which might justify drastic measures

[441] Erler, 50:5. This Bull was addressed first to the Archbishop of Canterbury and his Suffragans; in the second place to the Archbishop of York and his Suffragans. It was also sent to Evreux in France. It was at Canterbury that the ecclesiastical tribunal had tried Robert of Reading.

[442] Doat, xxxvii, f. 128.

[443] Potthast, 22541; Raynaldus ad an. 1286, 25-27.

against the Jewish population; a slight Judaizing tendency at this time may have been seized upon and exaggerated. As a prelude to the Expulsion of 1290, the assertion of Jewish proselytism in England is not surprising. When the exile did occur, the Dominicans had their revenge for the conversion of Robert in 1275, and the taunts of their Franciscan rivals were silenced.[444]

4. *Jewish Proselytism in Germany.* Germany, as well as France, England and other countries, had its quota of Christian converts to Judaism during the Middle Ages. In the eleventh century the first persecutions of Jews in Germany occurred, a circumstance no doubt due to the apostasy of a Churchman, Wecelin by name, Chaplain to the Duke Conrad, a relative of the Emperor. About 1005 Wecelin converted to Judaism, probably in or near the city of Metz, and thereupon he wrote a satire upon his former religion. The Emperor Henry was so incensed at the defection of the Chaplain that he commissioned a monk, Alpert of Metz by name, to reply to Wecelin. This obligation Alpert fulfilled, making abundant use of Scriptural passages to combat his adversary, and employing the method used by the Church Fathers in answering Jews and heretics.[445] It did not often occur in Christian life that a cleric was called upon to answer the pro-Jewish arguments of a former co-religionist; it more often happened that Jews were compelled to defend Judaism, as in the case of Paul Christian, Abner of Burgos and numerous others, against the attack of apostates from their own ranks.

Mention may be made of a certain Isaac, the author of several exegetical treatises, who was called "The Proselyte;" the authenticity of this title, however, is questioned because the Hebrew phrase: הגר may be read: הַגָּר which means "The Hungarian" rather than: "The Proselyte."[446] In the Memory-Book of Mayence,

[444] Jews were expelled from France and Spain and from Vienna in 1670 because of the accusation of proselytism; Samter, p. 27. The Franciscans also lost by conversion to Judaism; see the Mayence "Memory-Book."

[445] Alpertus, "De diversitate tempp." in Pertz, *Monum.*, vi, 704 and 720. Guedemann, *Erziehungswesen*, p. 21, says that the reference by Alpert concerning Metz indicates that the episode occurred there. For an appreciation of the work by Tritheme and others, see *Hist. Litt. de la France*, vii, 250; Graetz, English Edition, iii, 245-6.

[446] Berliner, *Peletath Sopherim*, pp. 26-7. "Although the appearance of a Proselyte as an exegete is not too striking in those days when many a Christian ecclesiastic went over to Judaism, nevertheless it may well be that the word here is הַגָּר instead of הַגֵּר.

the names of no less than ten converts between 1264 and 1341 are found, seven men and three women.[447] Half of these proselytes met their death as martyrs for Judaism in the pogroms of the times. "It is curious to see that in spite of continual persecutions, Christians embraced the Jewish faith." In the outbreak at Wissembourg, July 4th, 1270, the proselyte "Rabbi Abraham" of France, "who had been Head of all the Barefoot Monks (Franciscans) and who had renounced idolatry to come and take refuge under the wings of the Lord of Eternal Life, was burned for the sanctification of the Holy Name."[448] In the list of martyrs burned at Nuremburg, July, 1298, a reference is made to the "proselyte who was converted during the time of God's wrath."[449]

The Pope sought with customary zeal to quell any Jewish propaganda in Germany. On March 4, 1233, Gregory IX addressed a Bull to the Bishops of Germany wherein he complained that Jews were injuring the Christian faith by possessing, against the rules of the Church, Christian slaves ("mancipia") whom they circumcised and compelled to accept Judaism. Many Christians even went voluntarily over to Judaism, were circumcised and proclaimed themselves publicly as Jews. Worldly dignities and public offices were entrusted to Jews, in the exercise of which they displayed their animosity for Christians and even enticed them to Judaism. They kept Christian nurses and servants in their homes, and with these engaged in nefarious practices. In spite of the ordinances of the General Council, they wore no badges. The Bishops must eliminate such great evils; they must not permit the faithful to engage in religious disputations with Jews, and should call upon the aid of the secular power to overcome the arrogance of the infidels. Rebellious Christians should be punished with ecclesiastical penalties, the Jews, however, by a prohibition of intercourse with the faithful.[450]

The Council of Vienna in 1267 devoted several Canons to the activity of Jews and took vigorous steps to curb their alleged proselytism. The excuse given for these enactments was that Jews

[447] Perles, I., "Das Memorbuch der Gemeinde Pfersee" in *Monatsschrift*, xxii (1873), pp. 508 ff.; Neubauer, A., "Le Memorbuch de Mayence," *REJ*, iv (1882), pp. 1 ff.; Stern, M., *Die Israelitische Bevoelkerung der deutschen Staedte*, ¡ii, 99 ff.

[448] Citation from the Memory-Book, *REJ*, iv, 13.

[449] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

[450] Potthast, 9112; *Magn. Bull. Rom.*, iii, 479; Raynaldus ad. an. 1233, no. 49.

were enticing Christians from the faith. Canon XV begins: "Since the insolence of the Jews has risen so greatly that through them the purity of the Catholic faith among many Christians is threatened . . .," Jews must be completely separated from Christians in all forms of religious, social and economic intercourse. Canon XIX provides: "Nor may they presume to dispute with the simple concerning the Catholic faith, nor when the children and wives of Jews come to the Christian faith, may they dare to restrain them; nor may they lure Christians to Judaism, nor by any rash temerity circumcise them."[451] This Council virtually collated and summarized all the enactments against Jews which Church Councils had promulgated since the commencement of anti-Jewish legislation. Whether the long list of forbidden relationships between Jews and Christians indicated that the intercourse between them in Germany, Bohemia, and other localities in and near Austria was especially intimate, is difficult to determine.[452] It is probably necessary to discount many of the accusations of Pope and Council, for Papal Bulls and Synodal canons were oftentimes the result of collaboration between the high officials in Rome and local ecclesiastical potentates, who with unceasing energy labored to eliminate the slightest manifestation of Jewish influence in Christian centers. Many of the charges were exaggerations, for churchmen were anxious to draw up as strong a case as possible so that any excess of resulting persecution might seem justified by the excesses of the Jews themselves. Despite these reservations, however, a study of documents similar to the decrees of the Council of Vienna makes clear the fact that there was sufficient ground for fear by Christian ecclesiastics lest Jewish missionary activity in the form of disputation, and social and religious friendliness with Christians, might prove a source of irritation to the dominant faith.

5. *Jewish Proselytism in the Slavic Countries.* That Jewish influence was strong in the countries of Slavic Europe is not surprising when one remembers that the home of the Catharist heresy during the Middle Ages lay to the east of the Adriatic among the

[451] Mansi, xxiii, f. 1174-76.

[452] Canon XVIII deals particularly with the social relationships between Jews and Christians in the province, city and diocese of Prague, where a century and a half later the Hussite movement found its chief supporters.

Slavic races.[453] Merchants from these peoples were instrumental not only in disseminating commercial, but also religious wares, particularly in the countries near the Mediterranean, including Italy. During the tenth century, when the dualist heresy first gained its foothold in both the Slavic lands and Western Europe, we find a striking reference to Jewish proselytism in the story of the Chazars. A letter written about 960 to King Joseph of the Chazars by Chasdai ibn Shaprut, the Jewish statesman of Cordova, contains references to the friendly relationship existing between the King of Slavonia, the Jews of Hungary and the Chazar Kingdom. It appears that during the eighth century the warlike tribe of Chazars, a people of Turkish origin, had become converted to Judaism. King Bulan had summoned representatives of the Jewish, Mohammedan and Christian religions into his presence:

> As each of the champions believed his religion to be the best, Bulan separately inquired from the Mohammedans and the Christians which of the other two religions they considered the better. When both gave preference to that of the Jews, the king perceived that it must be the true religion. He therefore adopted it.

One of the successors of Bulan, named Obadiah, regenerated the Kingdom of the Chazars and strengthened Judaism therein, many Gentiles accepting it as their religion. "Such a conversion in great masses," says Chwolson, "may have been the reason for the embassy of Christians from the land of the Chazars to the Byzantine Emperor Michael. The report of the embassy reads as follows: 'Quomodo nunc Judaei, nunc Saraceni ad suam fidem eos molirentur convertere." [454] In the second half of the ninth century, the apostle of the Slavonians, Constantine (Cyril) went to the Crimea to spread Christianity among the Chazars. The Chazar Kingdom became the object of assaults from surrounding peoples, and in 1016 the last vestige of its political power vanished. Many of the Chazars intermingled in the Crimea with the local Jews; the Krimtschaki are said to be their descendants; the Subbotniki, or Russian Judaizers, are also reputed to trace their origin from the Chazar neophytes.[455] Some of the latter went to Hun-

[453] Lea, i, 107 ff.; ii, 290 ff.

[454] Schloezer, *Nestor*, iii, 154; Chwolson, *Ibn-Dasta Izvyestiya o Chazarakh, Burtasakh*, etc., St. Petersburg, 1869, p. 58.

[455] *Voskhod*, 1891, iv-vi.

gary and played a role in the important Judaizing movements in this country.[456]

Other communities affected by the Chazar movement included the inhabitants of the Caucasus, of Armenia and of Hungary. In the Caucasus, the traveler Petachyah of Regensburg in his *Sibbub ha-'Olam* (1175-1185) relates that ambassadors came to him from a heathen nation, from the Moshic hills in Armenia, seeking to obtain Jewish religious teachers for their country; seven of their chiefs had resolved to embrace the Jewish faith and to instruct their followers therein. Many poor students from Babylonia and Egypt determined to repair to this distant nation of proselytes and to instruct them in the Bible and Talmud.[457] The tradition of a Jewish origin in both the religious and racial composition of Armenia had long existed; the lost Ten Tribes were supposed to have found residence there. Some of the Caucasus Jews also claimed to be descendants of these lost Tribes, and it is possible that the Chewsures, and a portion of the Lesghians and Swanetes, are of Jewish descent; the Tats are of Iranian origin, but have intermarried with Jews. In some parts of Daghestan the Mohammedan religion has supplanted Judaism, but in many Mohammedan families are to be found Jewish books inherited from Jewish ancestors. According to Erckhert, the Caucasian Jews helped to spread Christianity into Armenia, Georgia and the highlands of Albania.[458] Among the peoples of the Caucasus the Jewish type is strongly represented, and even among Christian and Mohammedan tribes many Jewish customs and habits have been preserved to the present day. The Ossetes not only have preserved the old Mosaic law of Levirate marriage, but in outward appearance and manner of speech resemble Jews; many of their villages bear Hebrew names; their marriage and funeral ceremonies correspond in many items to those of the ancient Hebrews. The Tschechcenotzy also show many points of Jewish influence. In the Caucasus, as noted above, the Subbotniki or Sabbatarians have survived, in all probability descendants of the Chazars; though Slavonic in racial type, they are Jewish in mode

[456] The references to the conversion of the Chazars are abundant; Herman Rosenthal, in *JE*, iv, 1-7 has brought these together; their relationships to Christian Europe, however, have been little discussed.

[457] Carmoly, *Sibbub ha-'Olam*, Paris, 1831; Benish, A., *The Travels of Rabbi Petachyah*, London, 1856.

[458] Erckhert, *Der Kaukasus und Seine Voelker*, Leipzig, 1887, p. 302.

of life; they keep the Sabbath strictly; they observe all the Mosaic laws, and many Rabbinical precepts; they use the same prayers as do the Russian Jews, and they deem it a great honor to intermarry with Rabbinical Jews; such marriages, however, are rare because of the opposition of the Georgian and mountain Jews in the Caucasus.[459]

In Hungary traces of Chazar influence are discernible as late as the twelfth century.[460] It was during the so-called heretical centuries, however, that attention was called to the presence of powerful Jewish elements in the culture of the country. From Slavic lands, including Dalmatia, Bulgaria, and Bosnia, the Catharist movement emanated; from this region the dualist Bishop Marcus came about 1167 to challenge the authority of the Italian Catharist Bishop, "John the Jew," in Northern Italy. Schmidt, historian of the Catharist heresy (i, 105), sees a close connection between the weakness of Hungarian Christianity, the strength of local Catharism and the high rank in public life accorded to Saracens, Pagans and Jews. This fact was strongly emphasized in ecclesiastical communications, and during the thirteenth century the Popes, whose attention had formerly been diverted by the Albigensian Crusade, turned once more to the task of suppressing Slavic Catharism and Slavic Judaism.

King Coloman (1095-1114) had renewed the Szabolcs decree of 1092 which sought to keep the Jews in check, and had added further prohibitions against the employment of Christian slaves and domestics. But King Andreas II (1205-1235) displayed himself, like the pro-heretical princes of Southern France, a mild opponent of heresy and a staunch patron of the Jews. He appointed them to prominent posts, despite earlier secular and ecclesiastical restrictions; by the side of Saracens, the Jews became chamberlains, mint, salt and tax officials, mingled freely with the Christian population, contracted Christian marriages, and in other ways claimed equal rights with other groups of the nation. The nobles, however, abetted by the clergy, induced Andreas in 1222 to issue the so-called "Golden Bull," wherein he promised to deprive Jews of the offices they held;[461] another proclamation excluded them

[459] Harkavy, A., *Ha-Yehudim u-Sephath ha-Slavim*, Wilna, 1867, p. 116; pp. 105-9; see Rosenthal, "Caucasus" in *JE*, iii, 631, for bibliography.

[460] Samter, pp. 23-4, refers to the "Chalisier" in Hungary, who came under the influence of the Chazars, and were still Jews as late as the twelfth century.

[461] Endlicher, *Rerum Hungaricorum Monumenta Arpadiana*, Sangalli, 1849, p. 45.

from the ownership of property and the exercise of privileges possessed by the nobles.[462] The subject had evidently been brought to the attention of Pope Honorius, for in an Epistle, written between the years 1216 and 1227 (the exact date is unknown), he expressed his astonishment to the Archbishops and Bishops of Hungary that Jews and Saracens were permitted to occupy public offices.[463] In another Epistle to the Archbishop of Colcsa and his Suffragans, dated August 23, 1225, he complained of the fact that heathens and Jews, contrary to ecclesiastical rules and the Constitution of the Empire, held public office and led Christians into their error. The Pope demanded an end to these abuses.

In 1226, however, Andreas, in need of money, farmed out the royal revenues to the Jews, and thereby brought upon himself the papal anger. Gregory IX in a letter to the Archbishop Robert of Gran (Strigonium) on March 3, 1231, complained that in Hungary Saracens and Jews ruled over Christians, that they held important positions by means of which they despoiled the churches, and that they were hostile to the Christian religion. He deplored the fact that many Christians, overburdened by exactions, had become Saracens, in order to avail themselves of the latter's special privileges; Saracens and Christians intermarried, and their children were reared as Saracens; Christians sold their sons and daughters to the infidels, who abused them shamefully. In the same vein, the Pope wrote to King Andreas.[464] The King promised in newly promulgated laws of 1231 (a modified "Golden Bull") not to entrust financial duties or public offices to Jews or Saracens, and, as pledge of good faith, he gave his oath recognizing the right of the Archbishop of Gran and Primate of the Kingdom to excommunicate him if he failed to fulfil his pledge.[465]

These measures, however, were of little or no avail, and at the end of 1231, the Archbishop placed an interdict over the country, and excommunicated the advisors of the King. The Pope sent a Legate, the Bishop Jacob of Praeneste, to set the Hungarian situation in order; this Jacob was later ordered to convert the Bosnians, who nourished in their midst many Catharist heretics. On August 12, 1233, Gregory wrote to the King, describing the heinous offense of permitting poor Christians to be subjected

[462] Bergl, *Geschichte der ungarischen Juden*, Leipzig, 1879, p. 30.

[463] Potthast, 7835.

[464] Potthast, 8671; Raynaldus, ad an. 1231, no. 39 ff.

[465] Endlicher, *op. cit.*, pp. 431 ff.; Raynaldus, ad an. 1232, n. 18.

to the overlordship of Saracens and Jews, and of sanctioning the oppression of the Church and the curtailment of its freedom; on the same day, he sent instructions to his Legate.[466] Finally, at the end of August, 1233, Andreas together with his sons and vassals agreed in the so-called "Bereger Concordate," made up of sixteen paragraphs, to the following propositions: Jews, heathens or Ishmaelites in the future should not be appointed to the office of chamberlains, finance, salt, tax or other public commissions; they should not be given authority with which to oppress Christians; they should wear a badge that they might be distinguished from Christians; they were not to purchase or in any way retain Christian servants or slaves; marriage with Christians was severely prohibited; each year in every diocese where Jews, heathens or Ishmaelites resided, a Magnate, reliable in his faith, should conduct an investigation; he should take from them Christian slaves, wives, and any other Christians who might live with them; and those who were guilty of offenses, whether Christians or infidels, should be condemned to slavery and to the confiscation of their property.[467]

Once more, however, the King evaded the fulfilment of his promises, and in 1234, the Papal Legate laid the ban of excommunication upon the King and several of his Magnates, and the interdict upon his court. On July 19, 1234, Pope Gregory severely reprimanded Archbishop Robert because he would not publish this sentence, but had tendered an appeal in order to hinder its operation, and had advised the King not to consider himself bound by the decree. The Pope threatened the Archbishop himself that if he did not obey the command within four months, he would have to answer to him personally in Rome.[468] On July 28, 1234, he warned the King to fulfil his pledges, and not to undo the good of his earlier actions.[469] To the Bishop of Bosnia (who had replaced a Bishop formerly infected with the Catharist heresy, but who had excused himself on the ground that he had ignorantly supposed the Catharists to be orthodox believers), the Prior of the Dominicans at Gran (who had come into the land to extirpate

[466] Potthast, 9272; 9273; 9274.

[467] Endlicher, p. 436; Kroenes, *Handbuch der Gesch. Oesterreichs*, Berlin, 1879, iii, 141; Erler, 48:407-8.

[468] Potthast, 9492.

[469] Potthast, 9497.

heresy), and the Minister of the Minorite Brothers in Hungary—all of whom had been entrusted with the proclamation of the sentence of interdict and excommunication—Pope Gregory on August 16, 1234, sent word that they might raise the ban when King Andreas had made satisfactory amends.[470] This Andreas, from several statements of Gregory in the first half of 1235[471], appears to have done; soon after, however, he died.

With the accession of Bela IV (1235-1270), the power of the Church in Hungary over Jews and heretics was strengthened. As Crown Prince, Bela had opposed the financial and public influence of the Jews and Saracens, and on February 22nd, 1234, at the suggestion of the Papal Legate, he had given his oath that in the lands entrusted to him then, and that might be under his care in the future, he would tolerate no heretics or apostates to Mohammedanism or Judaism.[472] As king, Bela aided in the eradication of heresy, particularly in Bosnia, but despite his efforts and the leadership of Coloman, Duke of Croatia and Dalmatia, the Catharist movement persisted. In fact, it became necessary for Gregory, on December 11, 1239, to remind Bela, as he had already done in the case of the King of Portugal, that he might farm out the royal revenue to Jews and heathens, but if he should do so, he must appoint a reliable Christian through whom the Jews and Saracens, without violence to Christians, might collect the imperial taxes; yet, said the Pope, it would be more in keeping with his royal dignity if he farmed out these taxes to Christians.[473] Bela appointed a Jew, Henul by name, court chamberlain (the Jew Teka had filled this office under Andreas II); and Woelfel and his sons Altmann and Nickel held in pawn the castle at Komarom with its domains. Bela also entrusted the Jews with the care of the mint, and Hebrew coins of this period are still to be found in Hungary. In 1251, he granted a "privilegium" to his Jewish subjects, similar to that granted by Duke Frederic II to Austrian Jews in 1244; this "privilegium," modified to suit Hungarian conditions remained in force until 1526. It is not to be wondered at that "although Bela's long reign lasted until 1270, he failed utterly in his efforts to extirpate heresy. On the contrary,

[470] Potthast, 9508.
[471] Potthast, 9934; 9950; 9991; 9998; 10007 ff.
[472] Raynaldus ad an. 1243, n. 40.
[473] Potthast, 10829; cf. *Decret. Greg.*, 5, 6, 18.

the Catharists grew ever stronger, and the Church sank lower and lower." (Lea, ii, 297-8.)

It was during the reign of Bela, at the close of the fifth millenium of the Jewish era, that the Jewish hope for the advent of the Messiah was at its height. The invasion of the Tartars, which in 1241 reduced Hungary to a desert and nearly cost Bela his life, seemed to the Jews of the time the fulfilment of the prophecy of the war between Gog and Magog. Once more, however, their dreams were shattered, for though Christians who were also affected by the Jewish millenial hope asserted that the Tartars were in reality Jews who had been aided secretly with information and arms by their European brethren, the invading Tartar hordes did not accept this view, and persecuted the Jews as cruelly as they did the Christians.

The Synod of Ofen in 1279, held during the reign of King Ladislaus IV (1272-1290), decreed in the presence of the Papal ambassador, that every Jew appearing in public should wear on the left side of his upper garment a piece of red cloth; that any Christian engaging in business transactions with a Jew not so marked, or living in a house or on land together with any Jew, should be refused admittance to Church services; and that a Christian entrusting any office to a Jew should be excommunicated. These enactments were the result not of Ladislaus' own attitude, but of Papal insistence, for the King was constantly at odds with the Roman authorities during his reign. Andreas III (1291-1301), the last King of the House of Arpad, was summoned by Pope Nicholas IV to preach a crusade against the heretics in his domains, but the appeal was fruitless; hence we are not surprised to find that he granted a "privilegium" to the community of Presburg (Pozsony), and that the local Jews enjoyed all the liberties of citizens. In 1319, Pope John XXII who had dispatched to various countries under Papal control Bulls directed against heretics, Judaizers and Jews, described the conditions in Bosnia as deplorable. Thus Hungary furnished another illustration of the concurrence of friendliness towards heretics and towards Jews. On some later occasion we shall discuss in detail the rise of powerful Judaizing movements in certain localities of Hungary, including Transylvania and Moravia, where, during and after the Reformation, groups with definitely Judaic tendencies proved a source of difficulty to both the Catholic and Protestant parties.

4. *Appendices*

a. Jewish Proselytism prior to 500. Jewish proselytism during the early centuries of Christian history has received more notice than has the story of similar efforts in other centuries. The attitude of the Prophets towards the ingathering of the nations,[1] Jewish propaganda among the Greeks before the Christian era,[2] Jewish literature used for the purpose of spreading Jewish doctrine,[3] the ritual bath of the proselyte,[4] are some of the themes which have occupied the attention of both Christian and Jewish scholars. During the reign of the Roman Emperors[5] Caesar, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian, Jewish missionary activity seems to have been at its height,[6] a fact of which scholars have taken cognizance.

Though Jewish proselytism before the triumph of Christianity is of interest, there is a special appeal in its story after the new religion had won the allegiance of the Roman world. For illustrations of the missionary strength of Judaism during the centuries of early Christianity, it is necessary to turn to the lands where the authority of Rome was weak. Thus, before the advent of Mohammed the Jews played a significant role in Arabia, whole tribes having been converted to Judaism, including even two Kings of the Himyarites.[7] Renan remarks that only a hair's

[1] Durand-Gasselin, C., *La conversion chez les prophètes d'Israel, ses postulats, sa nature*, Cahors, 1902. Weill, Isaac, *Le prosélytisme chez les Juifs selon la Bible et le Talmud*, Strasbourg, 1880, reviewed in *Jued. Lit.*, 1881, No. 4.

[2] Friedlaender, N., "La Propagande Religieuse des Juifs Grecs Avant l'Ere Chrétienne," *REJ.* xxx, 161 ff. (1895.)

[3] Klein, G., *Der aelteste christliche Katechismus und die juedische Propaganda Litteratur*, Berlin, 1909.

[4] Bengel, E. G., *Ueber das Alter der juedischen Proselytentaufe*, Tuebingen, 1814; Rothschild, "Das rituelle Bad einer Proselytin," in *Jued. Lit., 1884, no. 32;* Brandt, W., *Die jued. Baptismen oder d. religioese Waschen u. Baden im Judenthum mit Einschl. des Judenchristentums*, Giessen, 1910; *idem, Jued. Reinheitslehren, ihre Beschreibung in den Evangelien;* see *Z. A. T. W.*, xviii, xix; *REJ*, lxii, 292.

[5] Ottolenghi, R., "Il proselitismo Ebreo nelle societa Romana durante l'epocha imperiale da Cesare a Domiziano" in *Voci d'Orienta*, Florence, 1905.

[6] Graetz, H., *Die jued. Proselyten im Roemerreiche unter den Kaisern Domitian, Nerva, Trajan und Hadrian*, Breslau, 1884; see also Montefiore, C. G., "Jewish Proselytes in Olden Times," in *Jewish Chronicle*, London, 1886-87, *passim;* and Levi, I., "Le prosélytisme juif," *REJ*, 1-liii, 56 ff; *REJ*, xix, 20; xlv, 41-45; and xiv, 125.

[7] *REJ*, xviii (1869), 16 ff. "Examen Critique des Sources Relatives à la Per-

breadth prevented all Arabia from becoming Jewish; the indebtedness of Islam to Judaism has long been acknowledged.[8] In Abyssinia, the sect of the Falashas or Black Jews arose; they have remained until today one of the most interesting phenomena in the religious and racial history of Israel.[9] The Christianity of Abyssinia, introduced in the fourth century, has been strongly tinged with Jewish beliefs and practices. In India, too, Jews made proselytes; a colony of Babylonian Jews in 480 under the leadership of Joseph Rabban went to India, where in Cranganor and on the coast of Coromandel they were received with cordiality and were given permission by King Chiran Perramull to make converts among the Hindus;[10] later, they went to Cochin China, where, it is said, their descendants are still found. The descendants of the Indian proselytes, the so-called "Benei Israel," a group which like the Abyssinians, seeks to trace its descent to the Lost Ten Tribes, are apparently the offspring of converted Hindus.[11]

b. Jewish Proselytism in Christianity During the Fifth and Sixth Centuries. During the fifth century, there were several instances of conversion to Judaism by Christians. Chrysostom (347-407) in his "Orationes VIII Adversus Judaeos" lifted his voice with zeal against the "Judaizing" of Christians in Antioch.[12] Many Christians, he complained, were accustomed to celebrate the Jewish New Year, the Day of Atonement and the Feast of Tabernacles. While Chrysostoms' polemic is filled with

What forgiveness can we expect when we run to their synagogues, merely following an impulse or a habit, and call their physicians and conjurers to our houses . . . I invoke heaven and earth as witnesses against you if

sécution des Chrétiens de Nedjran par le Roi Juif des Himyarites;" A. P. Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, i, 91-95; 120-133. See also the *Annales* of Caetani, *passim*.

[8] Geiger, A., *Was Hat Mohammed aus dem Judentume Aufgenommen*, Bonn, 1834. Hirschfeld, H., *Beitraege zur Erklaerung des Korans*, p. 4; Noeldeke, Th., in *Deutsche Rundschau*, xxxiii (1882), 379; *Geschichte des Korans*, p. 2; Kuenen, A., *Volksreligion und Weltreligion, p. 27;* Samter, p. 23

[9] Rohlfs, G., *Meine Mission nach Abessinien*, p. 274, is of the opinion that those Abyssinians who had their origin in another part of Africa brought Judaism with them into their new country.

[10] Metz, in *Jued. Lit.*, (1883), p. 82.

[11] Neubauer, A., in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain*, xv, (1886), 21; also Loeb, I., "Reflexions sur les Juifs, "*REJ*, xxvii (1893), p. 11.

[12] Migne, i, 843-944.

any one of you should go to attend the Feast of the Blowing of the Trumpets or participate in the fasts or the observance of the Sabbath or observe an important or unimportant rite of the Jews, and I will be innocent of your blood.

arguments and descriptions prompted by his anger, nevertheless it is certain that he gives a fairly accurate picture of Judaizing tendencies among Christians of the day.[13]

We have an account also of a monk in the monastery on Mount Sinai in the Sinaitic Peninsula who after many years of devotion to the Christian religion suddenly left it for Judaism. He professed to have been tormented by dreams which showed him on one side Christ, the Apostles and the Martyrs, enveloped in darkness, whereas on the other side were Moses, the Prophets and the Holy Men of Judaism, bathed in light. After considerable internal struggle, he descended Mount Sinai, crossed the desert to Palestine, settled in Tiberias, and there became a Jew. He was circumcised, adopted the customary name of Abraham, married a Jewess (as others who later left the Church for Judaism did), and became henceforth a zealous partisan of Judaism as against his former faith.[14]

c. Jewish Proselytism in Modern Times. Since the rise of the modern Reform Movement in Judaism, there has been considerable discussion with reference to the Jewish attitude towards proselytism. Many Jewish leaders look askance upon any missionary endeavour; others believe it to be an essential part of Judaism.[15] Moses Mendelssohn wrote to Lavater: "According to the fundamentals of my faith, I may not seek to convert any one to my religion who is not born according to my Law."[16] Isaac Beer Levinsohn, who has been styled the "Russian Mendelssohn," declares him a "pious fool" who would seek to convert the

[13] *REJ*, xlv, 41-45, gives an account of Jewish proselytism at Antioch.

[14] Graetz, English Ed., iii, 21. The monk of Sinai is taken by some scholars to be identical with the Bishop who was converted to Judaism about 514 and wrote a polemic against Christianity. See the works of Leon Schlossberg, Paris, 1888; Steinschneider, *Hebr. Bibl.*, xx, 75; *REJ*, v, 202-3; xvi, 300; Graetz, 2nd ed., v (1871), 25-26.

[15] Philipson, D., *The Reform Movement in Judaism*, New York, 1907, pp. 192, 500 ff., gives an account of the early debates on the subject of proselytism in the assemblies of the Reform leaders in Germany and the United States.

[16] *Gesammelte Schriften*, iii, 42.

members of another faith. But among those friendly to the standpoint that proselytism is not only permissible, but desirable, we find such distinguished Jewish spokesmen as: Abraham Geiger, Adolph Jellinek, David Kaufman, Herman Adler, Bernard Felsenthal[17] and many other English and American scholars. Claude G. Montefiore, one of the leaders in the group of Jewish scholars, would effect a rapprochement between Liberal Judaism and Liberal Christianity, has asserted that the future of Judaism depends upon its ability to win converts in circles outside of Israel.[18] The subject of Jewish proselytism in its relationship to the racial composition of the Jewish people has been discussed by several modern investigators.[19]

[17] *Zur Proselytenfrage im Judenthum*, 1878; see also Loewenstein, L. H., *Ueberzeugungen eines Israeliten gegenueber dem Proselytenthum*, 1842; Simon, O. J., "Missionary Judaism," *JQR*, v, 664.

[18] *Jewish Chronicle*, London, July 9, 1886. Montefiore has sought to act upon this principle in his movement, namely, the Liberal Jewish Union in England. His numerous writings on the relationships of Judaism and Christianity have won widespread recognition in Christian circles. Whether they have attracted neophytes to Judaism is the subject for a study on another occasion.

[19] Leroy-Beaulieu, *Israel among the Nations*, English Translation, New York, 1895; Zollschan, I., *Das Rassenproblem*, Vienna, 1911; Sombart, W., *Jews and Modern Capitalism;* Cohen, Israel, *Jewish Life in Modern Times*, *passim.*

BOOK III

JEWISH INFLUENCE ON SOME PRE-REFORMATION AND REFORMATION MOVEMENTS

JEWISH INFLUENCE ON SOME PRE-REFORMATION AND REFORMATION MOVEMENTS

I. JEWISH ASPECTS OF THE HUSSITE REFORMATION

The Hussite Reformation in Bohemia was the second important movement to challenge the authority of the Catholic Church. The Albigensian-Waldensian heresy in Languedoc and Lombardy had been crushed, but the impulse to revolt was transplanted to other countries, and during the 15th century gave birth to the Bohemian Reformation. Even as the Albigensian movement had been characterized by elements of Languedoc political nationalism at the same time that religious and theological issues were involved, so the Hussite movement was both political and religious in origin and result. It was essentially a blow on behalf of Czech freedom from German domination. Yet the Hussite movement was not solely Bohemian in impulse; it contained features derived from Old Testament Hebrew and Diaspora Jewish sources. The phenomena present in so many Christian Reform movements were not absent from the Bohemian Reformation: thus, we find its spokesmen accused by their opponents of conspiracy with Jews; they are themselves stigmatized as "Jews" or worse than Jews; the movement they champion is branded as "Judaism" or an approximation to it. An examination of its history reveals distinct Hebraic and Jewish factors on the basis of which accusations of "Judaizing" were founded. Among the Hussites, we find a return in literary and religious emphasis to the Bible, particularly the Old Testament; the Hebrew language and literature are studied by leaders and adherents; reliance is placed upon citations and illustrations from Biblical books; Jewish commentaries in the original and translation are employed. In addition, the Reformers have personal associations with individual Jews and Jewish communities in their country; Jewish groups participate actively and publicly in the rise and spread of the

movement; the treatment of Jewish inhabitants in centers of revolt is a vital issue in the career of the movement. These factors, which run like dark threads through the history of nearly every movement of reform in European Christendom, united in a special combination in the case of the Hussite Reformation.

1. Jewish Associations of Hussite Precursors

Jewish and Old Testament associations and influences touch the pioneers of religious independence in Bohemia. Thus, Conrad Waldhauser (died 1369), rector of the Theyn Church at Prague, a preacher of unusual force, is said to have drawn many Jews to him as ready hearers. Some citizens endeavoured to exclude them when they flocked to his sermons, but Conrad gave orders that they be permitted to remain.[1] Adalbert Ranconis, who is called by Loserth a genuine friend of Conrad, though a concealed one "through fear of the Jews and Pharisees," eulogizes Conrad as "a second Elijah."[2] Conrad's successor in the Theyn Church, Milicz of Kremsier (died 1374), seems to have been strongly under Old Testament influence; he cleansed the Benatky section, the home of the fallen women of Prague, and won for it the name "The New Jerusalem."[3] In the person of Matthias of Janow (died 1394), the Biblical emphasis of the rising Bohemian Reformation found a powerful champion; in a volume entitled: *The Rules of the Old and New Testament* (*De Regulis veteris et novi testamenti*), he launched an attack on the excessive study of Roman canonic law to the detriment of the study of the Bible; he announces in his preface that he has been "a diligent searcher" of the Scriptures from his youth onwards:

> In these my writings, I have throughout made most use of the Bible and its actual manuscripts, and but little of the sayings of the Doctors . . . When I found the blessed Augustine, in his book *De Doctrine Christiana* and Jerome, saying that the study of the texts of the most holy Bible is in the beginning and the end above all things necessary and useful to one desiring to attain to knowledge of theological truth, and is and ought to be the

[1] Tomek, W. W., *Dejepis mesta Prahy* (History of the Town of Prague), iii, 1855. This note must be accepted with caution: it was undoubtedly related in order to glorify Waldhauser as a missionary among the Jews.

[2] Loserth, J., *Hus und Wiclif*, Prague, 1884, p. 268.

[3] Luetzow, F. H., *Master John Hus*, London, 1909, pp. 35-37.

fundamental thing to every well-instructed Christian, my mind became attached to the Bible in perpetual love.[4]

Matthias' assertion that he believes with Augustine and Jerome in the perusal of the important texts of the Bible leads to the supposition that he made an attempt—whether successful we do not know—to learn Greek and Hebrew.

2. John Huss as a "Judaizer."

In John Huss, who gave to the Bohemian Reformation its name and aspiration, the Old Testament and Jewish influences became most explicit. Tribute to the presence of these traits in his work is paid by the arguments of his accusers. Thus Cochlaeus, a mouthpiece of orthodox German opinion in the 16th century, and author of a history of the Hussites, pronounced Huss worse than a Tartar, a Turk, a Sodomite, or a Jew.[5] At the ceremony of degradation, when Huss was about to be burned at the stake, the bishops stripped from him his sacerdotal cloak, took away his chalice, and accompanied the act with the words: "Oh thou accursed Judas, who breaking away from the counsels of peace, hast consulted with the Jews."[6] Not only is Huss stigmatized as a "Judaizer," but his followers as a party are subjected to the same reproach. A note in the Book of Acts of the Theological Faculty of the University of Vienna, January 10, 1419, mentions a conspiracy between the Hussites, Waldensians and Jews.[7] John of Wesel, in the second half of the fifteenth century, was accused of serving clandestinely as a bishop of the heretical Hussite sect, and of being on familiar terms with the Jews.[8]

[4] Matthias quotes Jeremiah's complaint, calling upon all to lament over the crimes of Jerusalem the daughter of his nation; in the first book he deals with the distinction between the true and the false prophets, according to the Old Testament. Cf. Luetzow, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

[5] Schaff, David S., *John Huss*, New York, 1915, p. 293.

[6] Gillett, E. H., *The Life and Times of John Huss, or the Bohemian Reformation of the Fifteenth Century*, Boston, 1864, ii, 64.

[7] 1419. 10 Jan. congr. Facult. theol. Facta fuit mencio de confederatione Judaeorum et Hussitorum ac Waldensium, item de multitudine iudaeorum, de delicta vita ipsorum, et de quibusdam libris execrabilibus, quos habent in contumelian creatoris et blasphemiam omnium sanctorum et maximam iniuriam omnium christianorum que tamen materia propter quorumdam magistrorum absenciam fuit suspensa usque ad adventum ipsorum, et domini prioris de gemnicia qui utilis potest esse, si in casu placeret facultati aliquid loqui domino principi de hoc." Lib. I *act. fac. theol.* f. 22.

[8] Ullman, C., *Reformers before the Reformation*, translated by the Rev. Robert Menzies, Edinburgh, 1874, i, 332.

It is necessary to examine each of these accusations on its own merits before a decision concerning the fact and extent of Huss' association with Jews and Judaism can be reached. The charge of Cochlaeus contains no specific data, but merely includes Huss in the category of types despised in Christian society because of their reputed beliefs and practices. On several occasions Huss makes use of a similar list as illustration of his argument.[9] The words at Huss' execution may be a general charge, and hence need further elucidation in the light of his known intercourse with the Jews of Prague. The accusation against John of Wesel in his trial for heresy in 1479, to the effect that he consorted with Jews, is substantiated by the fact that he cultivated the acquaintance of learned Jews in Worms in order to learn Hebrew from them; moreover, it is established that he was an active Hussite.[10] The note of the Vienna Theological Faculty is uncertain; Huss himself denies his dependence upon Waldensian influence,[11] though it is likely that indirectly at least, the movement left an imprint upon his thought; points of contact between Waldensians and Jews, as we have already seen, were numerous. George Wolf[12] is skeptical of the correctness of the accusation that Jews and the two heretical sects were allied against the orthodox party: he offers as reason the fact that the note is dated two years before a violent pogrom against the Viennese Jews, and hence arose during a period when anti-Jewish feeling, which might give rise to this and similar charges, was gaining momentum.[13] The charge of Judaizing was a weapon easily adopted by German and Roman enemies of the Bohemian Reformers. It is interesting to observe, however, that Master John Jezenicz, an ardent champion of Huss' cause, did not hesitate to call his orthodox opponents

[9] Thus in his appeal, Huss remarks that Cardinal Peter of St. Ange "has utterly refused audience to my advocates and procurators, though he ought not to have refused it to a Jew, a pagan, or a heretic." Gerson, also, in his trial for heresy says that he would sooner have Jews and pagans for judges than the deputies of the Council. The plea of the anti-Trinitarian, Michael Servetus, both to Calvin and the Judges at Geneva, is strikingly similar to these: "I entreat you for the love of Jesus Christ, not to refuse me that which you would grant a Turk, when I ask for justice at your hands."

[10] Ullman, *op. cit.*, i, 333.

[11] Schaff, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

[12] *Studien zur Jubelfeier der Wiener Universitaet*, Vienna, 1865, p. 22-3.

[13] But Wolf's lack of information concerning the relationships between Jews and Hussites, and Waldensians and Jews makes his criticism of little value.

"worse than Jews and Pharisees who crucified Jesus."[14] He did not seek thereby to signify that Huss' enemies had Jewish associations; he merely sought to apply to them an opprobrious epithet. In the case of Huss, however, it is necessary to examine each accusation with scrupulous care. For though the charge of "Judaizing" falls lightly from the lips of both orthodox and heterodox parties, it rarely occurs in the case of an individual Reformer or of his party except that it be founded in fact. In order to establish therefore the truth concerning the alleged affiliation of Huss with Jews and Jewish literature, we return to a perusal of the concrete data available on this point.

3. Huss as a Biblical Student

We concern ourselves first with Huss' activity as a Biblical student. The Hussite movement, like the Waldensian, Calvinist, Lutheran, Puritan and Unitarian, based itself on the Scriptures, the Old Testament no less than the New. Previous to the time of Huss, efforts had been made to translate the Bible into the national vernacular of Bohemia, and during the fourteenth century, parts of the Scriptures had been done into Czech by various writers. There still exists in the Imperial Library of Vienna an index of a translation of the Bible made before the year 1328; its author, Zadislaus Bathor, was a monk of the Order of St. Paul who withdrew to a cavern in the mountains, and, excluding every human being, labored for 20 years at his solitary task. The scattered parts translated by various workers during the 14th century were collected, and edited about 1410; they were, however, of unequal value; some were filled with obvious errors, and some were crude Bohemian; while others, *per contra*, testified to the learning of scholars, a few of whom may have known Hebrew. On the basis of these fragments, Huss undertook the translation of the Bible into literary Bohemian. Throughout his life, indeed, the

[14] Hoefler, C. A., *Magister Johannes Hus*, Prague, 1864, pp. 265-6. "Conjugatores et moderni conspiratores sunt Judaeis et Pharisaeis Christum crucifigentibus deteriores. Nam sicut Judaei conspiraverunt contra Christum et cum falsis testibus criminosis accusationibus mendose multipliciter coram Pilato accusarunt dicentes, reus est mortis; sic isti moderni conspiratores non solum contra Christum sed contra totum regnum Boemiae et universitatem nostram Pragensen conspirarunt . . Sed quod sunt Judaeis deteriores patet: Judaei namque per ignorantiam sicut et eorum princeps Christum accusaverunt et multi compuncti corde peoni tuerunt ut dicitur."

Bohemian Reformer was actuated by a veritable passion for Scriptural study; he urged his Bohemian friends to listen only to such priests as were reverent students of the Bible; he carried his Bible with him to Constance and to the Dominican prison; he bequeathed as a solemn legacy to his disciple Martin the advice that he read the Bible with unceasing zeal. In this devotion to the Bible, and his efforts to make its simple word accessible to the Bohemian laity, Huss incurred the enmity of the prosperous Czech clergy, who sought to accomplish his downfall. "If Tyndale was strangled at Vilvorde for having translated the Bible into English, then it is also true that Huss, a hundred years earlier, was burned at Constance for his devotion to that sacred book."[15]

The outcome of Huss' efforts on behalf of a popular Bohemian version was that the masses became so familiar with the Scriptural word that they soon challenged the knowledge of the priesthood. Cochlaeus, the inveterate foe of the Reformer, pays him the grudging tribute of having made possible the dissemination of Biblical truth among the common people:

> Furriers, shoemakers, tailors and that class of mechanics by their frequent attendance at sermons and their zealous reading of the Scriptures that had been translated into the vernacular tongue, were led to open discussion with the priests before the people; and not men only, but women also, reached such a measure of audacity and impudence as to venture to dispute in regard to the doctrines of the Scriptures, and maintain these against the priests.[16]

Aeneas Sylvius, speaking of the Taborites, the militant Hussite followers, remarks that he blushes at the ignorance of the priests in contrast to the thorough Biblical knowledge of the Bohemian heretics.

4. Huss as a Hebraist

For his translation, Huss undoubtedly made use of both the Greek and the Hebrew text, since he was familiar with these languages. Before Huss, it appears, a few Bohemian Biblical scholars had studied Hebrew; as in the case of Matthias of Janow, however, the evidence is incomplete. Though Luetzow is correct in his remark that Huss' work as editor and translator of the Scriptures requires further research in spite of the attention dedicated

[15] Schaff, p. 284.

[16] Quoted in Gillett, i, 158-9.

to the Reformer by recent Bohemian scholars, it is indubitable that a knowledge of Hebrew was included among Huss' attainments. Berger[17] doubts whether Huss really possessed extensive acquaintance therewith; but passages from Huss' *Orthographica Bohemica* indicate that the Reformer surely knew Hebrew sufficiently to make use of it as a basis for comparison with the Czech.[18] Seyfridus remarks: "Huss gave much time to the learning and cultivation of the Hebrew and Greek language, to the study of which few in those days paid attention. Huss in truth, in order to gain a thorough knowledge of these languages, was accustomed to make use of the works of the Jews of Prague."[19]

These works included well-known Jewish commentaries, for Huss quotes on occasion from Rashi, the Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel, and the commentary of Gershom ben Judah.[20] In his "Exposition of the Decalogue," we find a reference to "Rabi Moyses" by whom he doubtless means Moses Maimonides.[21] He makes frequent use of the *Postilla* of Nicholas of Lyra, which in

[17] Berger, W., *Johannes Hus und Koenig Sigismund*, Augsburg, 1871, pp. 37 and 165.

[18] Luetzow, p. 298. See Flajshans, W., *Literarni cinnost Mistra Jana Husi* (Literary Activity of Master John Hus), pp. 74-5.

[19] Seyfridus, W., *Vita Johannis Hussi*, Jena, 1743, p. 21, note a. "In stilo latine excolendo parum profecisse Hussium omnino fatendum est, ideo facile alicui scripta Hussii legenti propter horridum ac incultum in illis stilum tardium suboriri potest, e. g., hic est primus punctus. Ita quod dicere possum dogmatisavit replicat grossus Theologus pro magnus, etc. . . . Nam Hussius plus temporis in linguam hebraicam et graecam addiscendam et eccolendum impendebat, ad quarum linguarum studium eo tempore pauci appellebant animum, Hussius vero in imbibendis feliciter his linguis, opera Judaeorum Pragensium uti noverat. Linguam tamen disertam ipsi tribuit Aeneas Sylvius in Hist. Bohem. c. 35. conf. etiam abbas Trithemius in 'Chronico Hirsaug.' Tom. 2., p. 315, 338; & Navilerus in 'Chronographia generatione,' 47." Seyfridus, p. 88, and note 1 and 2 on the Valley of Jehosaphat; also p. 110, note b. refer to Huss as a Hebraist.

[20] Krummel, L., *Geschichte der Boehmischen Reformation*, Gotha, 1866, p. 175. On Gershom, see Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, pp. 299 ff.

[21] In Flajshans, *Opera Omnia* (Prague, 1903), ii, 490; in a discussion on "Utrum preceptum de observacione sabbati sit mortale," Huss says: "Rabi Moyses dicit quod habuit pro causa significationem triplicem moralem que signat requiem humane mentis a peccatis et ab omnibus aliis rebus, in quibus quietem mentis non invenit, secundam significationem allegoricam, signans Christi quietem in sepulcro, et terciam anagoycam; que signat eternam requiem in qua sancti beatifice requiescent, Amen." Or does Huss mean the Jewish convert, Moses Sephardi? Migne 157:535 ff.

turn are built on the works of Rashi;[22] he bases several interpretations of passages upon Lyra's references to the original Hebrew.[23] Huss makes a few critical and philological notations; for example, in his discussion of the Hebrew letter "Tsade," he shows a comprehensive knowledge of the Hebrew alphabet.[24]

The Reformer is distinguished as a Biblical student not only by his Bible translation but by several treatises on Biblical themes. His *Exposition of the Decalogue* bears resemblance to the work of Wycliffe, whose movement, like the Hussite, was accused of tendencies towards "Judaic perfidy."[25] Fragments of commentaries are scattered throughout his works: for example, in "De Mysterio Iosephi ac Pharaonis" and "Locorum aliquot ex Osee ac Ezechielo prophetis cap. vi & viii."[26] His *Postilla*, *Letters*, and *Sermons*

[22] Siegfried, "Raschi's Einflus auf Nicolas von Lyra und Luther," in *Archiv fuer Erforschung des Alten Testaments*, i, 428, ii, 36.

[23] In his tractate on "The Reception by Laymen of Christ's Blood under the Form of Wine," Huss cites Lyra as saying that in the primitive Church both elements had been distributed in the sacrament. In "De Ecclesia," the chapter on "The Law of God" contains a reference to the exposition of Stephen Palecz, in answer to which Huss quotes Lyra on Exodus 23:2: "On this Lyra says that in the Hebrew it runs: 'Thou shalt not fall away after the Rabbins—that is the teachers or the great men—to commit sin.' " (Cf. Maschkowski, "Raschi's Einfluss auf Nicolas von Lyra in der Auslegung des Exodus" in Stade's *Zeitschrift*, 1891). For other references to Lyra's interpretations in this work, see Schaff, *Treatise on the Church*, New York, 1916, pp. 164, 165, 166-7 on p. 199, with reference to the phrase "Moses' seat," he quotes Lyra's discussion on Exodus 18:15. See also quotation from Lyra on Deut. 18, in Palacky, E. F., *Documenta Mag. J. Hus*, Prague, 1869, pp. 499-500; also Flajshans, *Opera Omnia*, iii, 150.

[24] In his discussion of Psalm 3:9, he says: "The letter Tzade sounds in the Hebrew alphabet neither entirely like S, or even C., nor even Sc, but partly S and partly C, so that it must be pronounced neither entirely Sade or Cade (Bohemian Czade); moreover, S must be breathed softly and not sharply, and likewise C through the teeth, and Tzade must be pronounced with an A between A and E. The Hebrew has three S sounds: Samech, the Latin S; Syn, corresponding to the sharply-hissed SS (as in the Bohemian ssyn); Tzade vero aures Latinorum penitus reformidant." Quoted by Krummel, p. 175, from Huss, *Opp.* ii, 390.

[25] Raynaldus, 1402, *P. C.*, quoted in Mortara, M., *Le prosélytisme juif*, 1875. p. 32. Mortara adds: "This could have been said as well of all the heresies." Huss in "Ad Scripta Stanislai" *Opera*, i, 280b, quotes from Wycliff, *De Christo*, chap. 6, concerning the equality of the Apostles, the passage from Galatians ii, where Paul accuses Peter of Judaizing. Cf. Loserth, p. 192-3.

[26] Johannes Hus, *Opera*, Tomus I, p. xcvij. and Tomus II.

contain comments on large portions of the Old Testament.[27] Huss quotes from Genesis, Ecclesiasticus, Jeremiah and Proverbs at length, and makes most use of Isaiah and the Psalms.[28] Old Testament references to Judaism and the Jewish people appear frequently in works not based directly on the Bible.[29]

5. Old Testament and Jewish Elements in Huss' Theology

In these references, the Reformer's attitude towards Jews and their religion is manifested. He maintains the conventional Christian viewpoint concerning the abrogation of the Mosaic Law, and asserts the superiority of the Gospel over the Pentateuch.[30] Circumcision is no longer obligatory upon Christians;[31] intermarriage between Christians and Jews is to be strictly prohibited.[32] Huss devotes several passages to a discussion of the status of Jews won over to Christianity; they have renounced Judaism, he says, in order to escape error.[33] Thus it can be seen that Huss deviates in no way from the traditional Christian atti-

[27] Cf. Erben, K. J., *Huss' Czech Writings*, iii, which contains a Commentary on the Song of Songs. For the Old Testament references in Huss' letters, see Workman and Pope, *The Letters of John Hus*, London, 1904, pp. 33, 175, 197. Andrew Brod wrote to Huss, commenting on the latter's act of advertising his creed on the bare walls of Bethlehem Chapel: "You paint the Ten Commandments on your walls; would that you kept them in your heart."

[28] On Huss' use of Old Testament quotations, see indices in Flajshans, *Opera Omnia*, Prague, 1903-8, 3 vols.

[29] Palacky, *Documenta*, pp. 36, 46, 49, 123, *et passim*.

[30] "Utrum lex vetus justificabat vel occidebat," Flajshans, ii, 497; "Utrum lex vetus sit gravior quam lex nova," ii, 498; iii, 160.

[31] Flajshans, ii, 523-4; iii, 317-18.

[32] "Utrum infidelis potest contrahere cum fideli et e converso," *ibid*, ii, 686-7; "Utrum infidelis conversus possit conmanere cum infideli?", ii, 688-9.

[33] "De Haeresi diversa exponuntur," Flajshans, ii, 587. "Haeresis enim grece eleccio interpretatur eo quod singularem elegit disciplinam. Ista fatent amplius 24 questiones ubi consequenter describuntur secte heresum quam plurimum hereticorum plus quam 100 haeresum in primitiva ecclesia ortarum, quarum tamen quinque fuerunt principales, sc. Paganus, Judeus, Manicheus, Sabelus et Arrius. Sed nunc quidam Paganos et Judeos nolunt esse hereticos, sed solum Christianos, qui baptismato accepto abierunt in errorem. Sed quis potest negare illos esse hereticos, sc. Paganos et Judeos, cum teneant dogma falsum in intellectu et sic errorem sacre scripturo contrarium, negantes Trinitatem in Deo et negantes Filium Dei incarnatum et hoc tenentes pertinaciter et blasphemantes in Deum Jesum Christum."

tude towards things Jewish; the variations in his outlook arise from more subtle and less visible causes.

The reliance of Huss upon the Old Testament for substantiation of many of his doctrines is evidence of his debt to its influence. Simony he condemns on the basis of numerous Old Testament texts; on several occasions he refers to the example of Gehazi and Jeroboam.[34] In his attack against the bulls of John XXIII calling for a crusade against Ladislaus, he denied the authority of a pontiff to call for war against Christians in the absence of a special command from God; similarly he denied the application of Old Testament passages which seem to call for the death penalty against heretics, saying that only express commands from God could justify it;[35] in this respect, he anticipated by over a century Michael Servetus and his literary partisans. In his discussion of the concept of obedience and submission, Huss remarks that the former is more general than the latter, and quotes Joshua 10:14 to prove that God obeyed man's voice: "There was no day like to it before or after, for that God hearkened unto the voice of man and fought for Israel";[36] on "obedience to the Church," he quotes I Samuel 15:23-24. He praises the Jewish people for their refusal to apply the Interdict.[37] In the chapter on "The Law of God the Standard of Ecclesiastical Judgments" in *De Ecclesia*, Huss states that the Catholic clergy neglect the authority of the literal Scriptural word, and quotes Deut. 17:8-12 to support his view concerning the priesthood.[38] He turns to the Old Testament as well as the New for confirmation of his ideas on purgatory. Prayers for the dead he conceives to be ineffective, since the matter is not spoken of in the whole Scripture except in the Second Book of the Maccabees, which the Jews did not regard as canonical.[39] These selections, a fraction of the large number to be found in Huss'

[34] In his work *On Simony*, written early in 1413, the third chapter traces it back to the time of the Old Testament. It had "two fathers, one in the Old Testament, called Gehazi, the other in the New Testament, called Simon." The former took gifts for the healing of Naaman of leprosy. "Know then that those who follow Simon are called Simoniacs or Simonists; those who follow Gehazi are called Gehazites; the followers of Balaam, Balaamites; of Jeroboam, Jeroboamites; of Judas, Judites."

[35] Schaff, pp. 300-1; also *De Ecclesia*, p. 171.

[36] Schaff, *De Ecclesia*, pp. 185-6.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 297.

[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 161-2.

[39] *Historia et Monumenta J. Hus*, Nuernberg, 1558, ii, 52.

works, indicate the method the Bohemian Reformer pursued in his use of the Old Testament as authority for his system of beliefs.

6. Huss' Sense of Identity with Old Testament Characters

In addition, Huss employed the Old Testament in order to find in the past parallels to his own actions. He felt—like the Puritans in England and America, and Christian Biblicists of every period—a strong and immediate sense of identity with many figures in Jewish history. In his capacity as Rector of the University of Prague in 1409, he was revered as "Magister in Israel," the ruler over the people of God, chosen by Him for special honor. Thus not only did the Bohemians, in the words of Rokycana, believe themselves to be "sons of God, the chosen race," but Huss himself was hailed as the intermediary between God and his people.[40] On one occasion at Bethlehem, in a sermon to a congregation of unusual magnitude, he is reported to have said:

> He would not cease preaching even though he were driven into exile, or were to die in prison; he exhorted them to steadfastness, for a need was arising, even as in the Old Testament, according to the ordinance of Moses, to gird on the sword and defend the word of God.

Huss sought to compare not only himself, but his followers to Old Testament characters:[41] in one instance, he speaks of Bohemian "Gentiles who worshipped Baal." His most striking comparison is the analogy he draws between the Jews whom Nehemiah forbade to intermarry with foreigners, and the Czechs whom he would prevent from intercourse with the Germans. In his Exposition of the Decalogue, Huss quotes Nehemiah 13:23-27, and goes on to say:

> You see then that this good priest [Nehemiah] forbade the Jews to marry heathen women, even if they accepted their faith, and that for two reasons: firstly, that these women might not lead them away from God and to idols, as they led Solomon, that king beloved of God and wise; secondly, that the Hebrew language might not perish. Thus he [Nehemiah] says

[40] *Cod. Cap. Prag.* F. cxvi; Hoefler, *op. cit.*, pp. 276-77; see also p. 310.

[41] Loserth, p. 109, quotes Ludolf von Sagan, a contemporary historian, who identified the enmity between the Germans and Czechs to that existing between the Jews and Samaritans: "Antiquatum nempe odium et nimis radicatum est inter hec duo ydeomata, Teutonicorum et Bohemicorum ut sicut Judaei non contuntur Samaritis, sicipsi Bohemo Teutonicus ad videndum sit gravis."

that he heard children who knew not even Hebrew, but spoke in a half-heathen speech. And therefore he smote them sorely, whipped them, and the men he slew. Thus also should the princes, lords, knights, patricians and citizens prevent their people from committing unchastity . . . Thus also should we behave that the Bohemian language perish not. If a Bohemian marries a German, the children must immediately learn German, and not divide their speech in two [speak partly German, partly Bohemian.] For this division causes but jealousy, dissension, anger and quarrels. Therefore did the Emperor Charles, King of Bohemia, of holy memory, order the citizens of Prague to teach their children Bohemian, to speak it, and to plead at law in Bohemian in the town hall which the Germans call "Rathaus". And just as Nehemiah, when he heard Jewish children speaking partly in the speech of Ashdod and not knowing Hebrew (well), whipped them and beat them, thus would those citizens of Prague deserve a whipping, as well as those other Bohemians whose speech is half Bohemian and half German.

The opinion of Huss that the marrying of a foreign wife was an offense against the Bohemian national unity, shows how closely he sought to follow the example of the Hebrew Prophet.[42]

During the stormy days of Huss' exile and imprisonment, he turns to the Old Testament for solace. During the month of March, 1415, he sought refuge from his burdens in appeals to God:

As God had delivered Jonah from the whale's belly and Daniel from the lion's den, and the three young men from the burning fiery furnace, and Susanna from her false accusers, so, he wrote, He was able to deliver him provided such deliverance would be for His glory. In his mercy, He could release the Goose, though locked up in vilest prison.[43]

When the Council of Constance ordered his books to be burned, lest his friends be intimidated by this action Huss wrote them reminding them that Jeremiah's prophecies had been burned, and yet at God's command, the prophet while he was in prison, had dictated them over again to Baruch, adding at the same time other prophecies.[44]

The book of Samuel, I, 15:26, furnished Huss with the text by which he could assail the power of King Sigismund. When summoned before the Council to answer the charges drawn up against him, he asserted that not only a pope, bishop, or prelate ceased to

[42] Luetzow, pp. 293-6, devotes considerable attention to this passage.
[43] Schaff, p. 189.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 245; Workman, *Letters*, p. 254.

be the rightful holder of his position if in mortal sin, but kings as well lost their power in the sight of God if they transgressed. Huss quoted the words of Samuel to Saul: "In that thou hast rejected my word, I will also reject thee that thou shouldst be king." Sigismund was called in, and Huss repeated his words, eliciting the response from the King: "John Huss, there is no man who does not sin."

A deputation which visited Huss in prison in order to secure from him a recantation found him obdurate. He refused to subscribe to the form drawn up by Zarabella, and turned to the Scriptures for guidance:

> If therefore Eleazar under the Old Testament, whom we read of in the book of Maccabees, would not falsely confess that he had eaten meat forbidden by law, lest he should sin against God and leave an evil example to those who should come after him, how shall I, a priest of the New Testament, although unworthy, for fear of punishment that will soon be passed consent to a grievous sin, to transgress the law of God, first by departing from the truth and secondly by committing perjury?

Huss was not alone in this perusal of the Old Testament for illustrations of historic incidents similar to his own. Thus Jerome in his defense against the charge of heresy, speaks of those who have been condemned unjustly, and after mentioning heroes of Greek history, "passed to the Hebrew examples, first calling up Moses, the liberator of his people; then Joseph, sold by his brethren, Isaiah, Daniel and Susanna".[45] The last act in the life of Huss has a Jewish reference which has already been noted. "Thou accursed Judas, who hast spurned the counsels of peace and hast taken counsel with the Jews," are the words of the bishops as Huss is prepared for torture and execution. Huss immediately before being led to the stake kneeled and sang Psalms: "Have mercy upon me, O God," and "In Thee, O Lord, do I put my trust."[46]

7. The Taborites, Huss' Followers, and the Old Testament

The death of Huss was the signal for the outbreak of fierce war between the German Imperial and Bohemian national forces. The followers of Huss, due to internal dissension, divided into

[45] Letter of Poggio, quoted by Schaff, p. 326.
[46] Schaff, p. 256.

two groups, the Taborites, and the Calixtines or Utraquists. The Taborites were dominated by Old Testament influence almost to the same degree as the Puritans of England and early America; they took their name from a hill near Bechyn which they called Tabor, while a subdivision of the Taborites called themselves the Horebites, deriving their name from a mountain in Bohemia to which they gave the Scriptural name of Horeb, and on which they encamped when commencing war against Germany.[47] These Old Testament Hussite parties compared themselves to the ancient Israelites, regarded themselves as God's Chosen People, and denounced their foes as impious Canaanites, inhabitants of Edom, Moab and Amalek, as they designated the adjacent German provinces.[48] Under the stimulus of a passion to revenge the death of their beloved leader, and encouraged by their minute study of the Old Testament, the Hussites carried on a war "for the Lord of Hosts" with relentless zeal. They found a new leader in the person of John Zizka, who fulfilled with fierce energy those injunctions of the Old Testament which he believed applied to the task before him.[49] In the books of Scripture he found inspiration, and he "ruled like a Judge of Israel." In his "Regulations of War," he says:

If some one carries away anything or keeps it, and he is convicted of this, then such a man shall be executed and lose his life and goods, as one who has robbed God and the commonwealth, whoever he may be, without ex-

[47] Blunt, *Dictionary of Sects and Heresies*, Philadelphia, 1874, p. 203.

[48] Gillett, ii, 393. See also Hagen, Karl, *Deutschlands literarische und religioese Verhaeltnisse im Reformationszeitalter*, Erlangen, 1841, i, 53. See the *Elenchus*: "Hutitae sunt secta Antilutherani a quodam Ioanne Huto sic dicti qui (auctores Lindan Dubitanti sui dialogo secundo) sese corporaliter populum israeliticum iactitabant, Cananaeorum omnium excisores; diem Domini brevi instare, ideoque omnia ante eius aduentum abligurienda. Unde ad summam sunt inopiam redacti, frustra illum diem intempestive expectantes. Haec ille." See also, Kohns, O. *John Huss, the Witness*, Cincinnati, 1909, pp. 149-150. Compare to the attitude of the Taborites, the declaration of war issued by the early American Colonists against the Indians, wherein they speak of the mischief the latter intend to do "as probably of ould, Asher, Amalek, and the Philistines with others did confederate against Israel."

[49] Luetzow, F. H., *The Hussite Wars*, London, 1914, p. 175; see also pp. 72, 108, and 369. It is here stated that Zizka cherished undying hatred for King Sigismund because he learned revenge from the Jewish Scriptures. Rather may it be said that Zizka planned his campaign and determined upon his methods not merely through the Old Testament, but because he found it useful in his effort to gain victory over the enemies of his country.

ception in favor of anyone; for thus was treated Achan because of the cap and the cloak, and the king's daughter. (Joshua, 7:19-26.)

The Taborite followers of Zizka and his successors were steeped in knowledge of the Bible. In a controversy between the Utraquist or conservative Hussites and the Taborites on the issue of the priestly status and the use of vestments, both sides made liberal use of Old Testament quotations, and each accused the other of falsification of Biblical texts.[50] The Taborites asserted that "no sayings or writings of learned men were to be held or believed as catholic by the faithful unless they were contained explicitly in the canon of the Scriptures."[51] They insisted that the clergy like the Levites of the Old Testament should be directly dependent on the contributions of the people. They rejected the entire ecclesiastical ritual system, and held invocation of saints to be heretical and idolatrous. They were completely iconoclastic in outlook, and took their position firmly on Old Testament injunctions against image worship. Relics of the saints were ruthlessly flung out of the churches like common earth; statues and pictures of the saints of the Church they urged should be destroyed.

The sternness of the prophet on Carmel while he mocked the worshippers of Baal seemed to relax into a grim smile; and we can imagine with what cool derision the Taborite could look up in the presence of his gaping and credulous enemies to the gouged eye or slit nose of some mangled image, saying: "If you are God or His saint, defend yourself and we will believe you." The place of His worship was to be disfigured by no image or desecrated by no sculpture. [52]

The Taborites, according to Aeneas Sylvius, met in a place of worship built of wood, and similar to a barn. "This they call their temple; here they preach to the people; here they daily expound the law." In all their religious conversations on Tabor and at other sacred spots, the open Bible in front of them served as supreme authority. Moreover, the Taborites were anti-imperialists and republicans, or at least in favor of an elective king; they turned to the Book of Deuteronomy, as did Cromwell and

[50] Luetzow, *Wars*, pp. 112-114; Krummel, L., *Utraquisten und Taboriten*, Gotha, 1871, p. 67.

[51] Preger, W., *Taboriten und Waldesier*, Munich, 1887, pp. 52, 100.

[52] Gillett, ii, 456.

the founders of the American Republic, for the model and pattern of their own commomwealth.[53]

In the spirit of the warriors of the Old Testament, the Hussites, as we have already remarked, carried on their wars. When Prague was besieged in 1420 by the armies of Sigismund, the people found strength and courage by perusal of the books of the Bible. "Absolute confidence in Scripture rendered despondency impossible. A thorough acquaintance with the Old Testament is evident in all the contemporary records of those stirring times. No man or woman of Prague doubted that the Lord who had once struck down the forces of Sennacherib would now strike down the forces of Sigismund."[54] Not merely in the Old Testament, however, did the Hussites find support for their cause. In the streets of Prague, the hymns of Rabbi Avigdor ben Isaac Kara, the teacher and friend of King Wenceslaus, were sung by both Christians and Jews.[55] On April 8, 1420, the Jews of Prague aided the Hussites in the construction of a moat opposite the castle of Vysehrad.[56] On March 16, 1421, however, when the Taborites and Praguers captured the city and the castle of Komotau, the Jewish inhabitants were given the usual choice of martyrdom or apostasy: many preferred the former and hurled themselves with wife and children into the flames.[57] This notice seems to indicate that not all the Jews of Bohemia were in sympathy with the Hussites; it may be, however, that the Jews of this

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 455.

[54] Luetzow, *Wars*, p. 353; he refers also to his works on *Bohemia, an Historical Sketch*, for an account of the siege of Prague.

[55] Berliner, A., *Aus dem inneren Leben der Deutschen Juden im Mittelâlter*, Berlin, 1871, pp. 32-33. The lines: "Jew, Saracen and Christian know that God is incorporeal," which are said to have been sung on the streets of Prague, are taken from a Wedding Song, published in Baer, *Tikkun Ha-Sopher*, p. 4. See also Guedemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der Juden in Deutschland waehrend des XIV and XV Jahrhunderts*, Vienna, 1888, p. 155. See G. Pollak: *Halikhoth Kedem*, Amsterdam, 1847, p. 79 ff. In a manuscript of Maharil (Rabbi Jacob ben Moses Moelln ha-Levi), the Hussites are styled according to Jewish sources (Minhag 40a), as בני חושים and אווזות (Geese, *Huss* meaning "Goose"); cf. Israel Bruna, *Responsa* (Stettin, 1860), 278. See the Canons of the Council of Vienna in 1267 with reference to the diocese of Prague.

[56] Bondy, Gottlieb, *Zur Geschichte der Juden in Boehmen*, Prague, 1906, i, 95; cf. *Scriptores Rerum Bohemicarum*, 35.

[57] Tomek, *Dejepis mistra Prahy*, iv, 134; Bondy, i, 95; cf. Aeneas Sylvius, *De Bohemorum origin ac gestis historia*, 1524, p. 64.

particular locality were forced to throw in their lot against their will with the Imperial troops defending the town of Komotau.

8. Jews and the Hussite Wars

The position of the Jews in Bohemia and Germany was anomalous and fraught with peril. By the Catholics, Jews were accused of conspiring with the heretic party: Huss is supposed to have been on friendly terms with Jewish teachers in Prague; the accusation of the Vienna Theological Faculty indicates a probable union of forces between the Jews and Hussites. The Jews of Bavaria were charged with secretly supplying the Hussites with money and arms; on this account, in several Bavarian towns near the Bohemian Forest, they were mercilessly persecuted.[58] Attempts have been made to show that the Jews of Bohemia were neutral in the struggle between the Czechs and the Germans, but this does not seem likely.[59] For when the "crusades" of Sigismund were launched, his mercenaries, recruited from Brabant, Holland, threatened the Jews in the Rhine communities, in Thuringia and in Bavaria with complete extermination when they should have returned victorious from Bohemia. Letters of lamentation over the threatened disaster were addressed from all sides to an illustrious Rabbi of Mayence, Jacob ben Moses Moelln ha-Levi ("Maharil," 1365-1427); he ordered a general fast, accompanied by prayer; his instructions were communicated throughout German Jewry, and two successive periods of fast, one from September 8th to 11th, 1421, the second for three days after the Feast of Tabernacles in the same year, were ordained. Soon after, the Imperial Army and its allies of mercenaries, assembled near Saaz, were so stricken with terror at the news of Zizka's approach that they fled in disorder. Famished and footsore, many of the very men who had vowed death and extirpation to the Jews appeared at the doors of their homes, begging for bread.[60]

But the status of the Jews continued to be precarious. On May 23, 1420, the Jewish inhabitants in the realm of Archduke Albert of Austria had been imprisoned, robbed, banished or forced

[58] Aschbach, *Geschichte Kaiser Sigismunds III*, p. 51; Graetz, *Geschichte*, viii, 142.

[59] Stein, A., *Geschichte der Juden in Boehmen*, Bruenn, 1904, p. 20.

[60] G. Pollak, *Halikhoth Kedem*, pp. 79 ff.; Graetz, viii, 145-7; Zunz, *Synagogale Poesie*, p. 48; cf. Joseph Kohen, *Emek ha-Bakhah*, p. 74.

to accept conversion. Many of the converts, at their earliest opportunity, escaped to Poland and Italy, or to Bohemia, "rendered tolerant by the Hussite schism." The Dominican clergy continued their attacks against Jews wherever heresy raised its head; commissioned to denounce the Hussites, they availed themselves of every opportunity to include the Jews in their polemics. The latter went to Pope Martin V, and from him obtained a favorable Bull, wherein he enjoined Christians to remember that their religion was inherited from the Jews, and that they were a corroboration of Christian truth.[61] Other voices were raised in defense of the Jews. Paul Voladimir, ambassador to the Polish king, on the day previous to the burning of Huss, presented to the German nation, by them to be considered and communicated to other nations, a treatise entitled *A Demonstration*, wherein he undertook to prove against the Teutonic Knights that Christians are not permitted to employ violent means for the conversion of infidels nor under this pretext to plunder them of their goods.[62] He condemns the cruelty which in Europe had been too commonly characteristic of the treatment of Jews and other unbelievers, contending that Christian princes ought not despoil them, or expel them from their lands. But this plea for tolerance remained unheeded; the Bull of Martin and the promised protection of Emperor Sigismund were ineffectual. The clergy continued their attacks unabated.[63]

Bohemia also became contaminated with anti-Jewish sentiment. In 1422, the population of the so-called New Town in Prague, incensed at the murder of the Taborite priest, John of Zilivo, on the Monday following Reminiscere Sunday, attacked the Old Town, plundered the houses, and wherever they found city officials murdered them. They then attacked the Jews, and stole or destroyed all their possessions. It is important to note

[61] Raynaldus, *Annales*, ad an. 1422, No. 36. This bull by its language makes clear that the Dominicans were responsible for anti-Jewish feeling at this time.

[62] Gillett, ii, 106-7; Hardt, Hermann v. der, *Magnum Aecumenicum Constantiense concilium*, iii, 10 ff.

[63] Droysen, *Geschichte der preussischen Politik*, Leipzig, 1868, i, 382, states that the influence of the Hussite movement tended to stimulate a widespread revolution on the part of the German masses against their rulers. Not only the poor near Bohemia, but also in the Rhinelands, gathered in bands, and "coming to Worms, demanded the surrender of the priests and the Jews." On the earlier relations between Wenceslaus and the Jews, see Denis, E., *Huss et le Guerre des Hussites*, Paris, 1873, pp. 57-8.

in this connection, however, that the conservative elements, who leaned towards a Romanist restoration, were partly responsible for the massacre.

Late into the 15th century, the accusation of Jewish affiliations with the Hussites was repeated. John of Capistrano was sent by Pope Nicholas V as a legate to Germany, Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, with the special mission to preach against the Hussite and other heretical teachings, and to subdue "the disbelieving Jews" in conformance with the resolutions adopted at the council of Basel (1431-3). Thus in Breslau (1452-5) we find him grouping Jews, Turks, Hussites into one category, and affirming that these heretics and unbelievers had joined forces against the Pope and Christendom.[64] While this assertion must be regarded as that of a propagandist, seeking to discredit Christian heretics by allying them with the outcasts of Christian society, there is sufficient truth therein to make Capistrano's evidence of interest.

A word must be said in conclusion concerning the identity of fortune which Jews and Hussites experienced in centers beyond the confines of the movement's original hearth. On July 9, 1609, the Protestants received a charter signed by Rudolph Budowa, who had drawn up the claims and announced the signature of the document, adding that now the Protestants (the descendants of the Hussites), equally with the Jews of Prague might enjoy full liberty of worship. In localities where Hussite doctrines survived the so-called Adamite movement later arose, characterized, like its predecessor, by traces of Jewish influence.[65]

Thus it can be seen that the Hussite Reformation from its inception to its decline bore marks of Jewish, and particularly Old Testament influence. No attempt has been made here to assert that the Hussite movement was so completely Old Testament in character as, for example, the Passagii during the 12th and 13th centuries, or the Puritans in England and America. Huss, Zizka, the Taborites and their followers, were Christians throughout and accorded to the New Testament the pivotal place in their religious and political system. Nevertheless the movement they championed possessed distinct Jewish aspects and attributes; to describe and estimate these has been the purpose of the material here presented.

[64] Klose, *Geschichte von Breslau*, ii, part 2, 39 ff.

[65] On the Adamites and Jewish influences, see Oppenheim, *Juedisches Volksblatt* x (1863), pp. 187 ff.

II. JEWISH ASPECTS OF THE ZWINGLI REFORMATION

The German Swiss Reformation led by Ulrich Zwingli (1844-1531) in the first half of the sixteenth century, was no more free from the imputation of "Judaizing" than any previous, contemporary, or later Christian Reform movement. The Zwingli revolt in Zurich originated in a combination of causes; yet in the eyes of Catholic Christendom, and even among certain Protestant groups, the "Judaic" influence was one of paramount importance. The Zurich Reformation itself was marked by a return to the authority of the Bible, with emphasis placed upon the Old Testament; Zwingli and his co-workers studiously cultivated the Hebrew language and literature; as in the case of other Reform movements, a translation of the Bible from its original Hebrew into the vernacular was made. Several of Zwingli's doctrines were called "Judaic;" his ideas concerning the nature of Christ, his oppostion to Images and the Eucharist, his theories of government arose, it was alleged by contemporary Churchmen, from his prejudice in favor of the Old Testament, and his instruction at the hands of Jews.

The occasions on which the charge of "Judaizing" was raised against Zwingli and his followers are numerous. His occupation with the original text of the Hebrew Bible placed him under the suspicion of "Judaic" heresy; at Marburg in 1529, as D'Aubigné affirms, he was compelled to deny his adherence to "humanitarian" or "Jewish" views on the nature of Christ; this did not prevent Luther from comparing Zwingli to Arius. An Elenchus of Heresies compares Zwingli's attack on the veneration of images to the practice of the Jews, with the direct implication that the iconoclastic opinions of the Zurich Reformers were borrowed from Jewish sources. (Du Preau, 225.) So strong was the suspicion of his Jewish affiliations that Zwingli was compelled to issue a defense on June 25, 1524, against the charge that he had derived his knowledge of the Scriptures from a certain Jew of Winterthur, named Moses.[1] Zwingli requested the Jew himself to deny the

[1] "As if that could make any difference" is the comment made by a biographer of Zwingli: Jackson, S. M., *Huldreich Zwingli*, New York, 1901, p. 226.

truth of the accusation. The Reformer confesses, however, to a knowledge of Hebrew, and admits that he had debated with this Jew concerning the Messianic prophecies. It is interesting to observe that in the same tract he takes occasion to refute another charge, namely that in a sermon he had denied the divinity and atonement of Christ.[2] These facts are sufficient to indicate that there was some basis for the assertion by orthodox groups in German Switzerland that Zwingli not only inclined towards the Jewish Old Testament, but also had direct relations with local Jews. To estimate the extent and importance of the evidence thereon is our task in this study.

1. Two Important Causes of the Zurich Reformation

Among the causes of the Reformation in Zurich are two of particular interest in our study. The first is contemporary neglect of the Bible and contempt for the Hebrew tongue in which it was written. Swiss Catholicism no less than Catholicism throughout the Western world had fallen a victim to anti-Biblicism; the study of the Scriptures, not only by the people, from whom even the Vulgate had long been kept, but by the clergy as well, had fallen into desuetude. Bullinger, the historian of the Swiss Reformation, wrote of the clergy prior to 1519: "At one time during these years when all the deacons of the Confederation were assembled, there were found not over three who were well read in the Bible . . . For among the clergy there was almost no studying."[3] With the same hostile spirit as in other lands, the Swiss monks viewed the rise of Humanism as a menace to their power. He who understood Greek was to be carefully watched; he who knew Hebrew was all but a heretic; the combination of knowlege of both languages in one person was regarded as an indication of

[2] *Huldreich Zwingli's Werke.* Erste vollstaendige Ausgabe durch Melchior Schuler und Joh. Schulthess. Zurich, 1828-61. Eight vols. in German and Latin. Egli and Finsler have edited several of Zwingli's works in *Corpus Reformatorum;* the series began in 1905; vol. lxxxviii ff. For this reference see *Werke,* ii (2), 322-26; the episode between Zwingli and Moses of Winterthur will be discussed in detail below.

[3] Bullinger, H., *Reformationsgeschichte,* published by Hottinger and Voegeli, Frauenfeld, 1838-40; xxxx, i, 3.

Satanic influence;[4] it was a common proverb: "good grammarian, bad theologian."[5]

Added to the prevalent ignorance of the Bible, the irritation of independent religious thinkers was aroused by the excessive ritualism and dogma which burdened Swiss Catholicism. Protestant historians, not only with reference to the ceremonialism of the Roman Church, but even in connection with the abundant regulations surrounding Sabbath observance by many Protestant groups, delight in calling this ritualistic legalism "Pharisaic," "Judaic."[6] Thus Collinger remarks: "The service was loaded with an infinite number of Jewish and Pagan ceremonies, and was carried on in a language unknown to the people." He goes on to enumerate those practices which in his eyes savored of Judaism: the invocation of images, the purchases of indulgences, the belief in charms and amulets, and the worship of relics.[7] Bullinger gives the best description of conditions in Swiss Catholicism before the rise of Zwingli:

> The singing in parishes and monasteries was for the most part superstitious, and the monasteries had fallen into all sorts of scandals and idolatries where no one of them observed so much as the first of its own rules, not to speak of God's word. Every day new altars, endowments and endless numbers of idolatrous pilgrimages were established to the great pleasure of the clergy . . . Whereupon there was great complaint on all sides.[8]

The breakdown of Church morality, the abuse of Church discipline, together with the rising spirit of protest against Papal domination hastened the approach of the Swiss Reformation as it did similar movements in other countries. On the surface, however, the desire to return to the essential purity of the Biblical word was

[4] Cf. Claude Espence: *Commentary to the First Epistle of Timothy*, Paris, 1561, c. iii.

[5] See the "Preliminary Discourse" by J. Collinson, p. vii in the English translation from the French of Abraham Ruchat: *History of the Reformation in Switzerland*, London, 1845. Ruchat himself (1678-1750) had been taught Greek and Hebrew by Constant and Bergier; at the age of twenty-one, he was a candidate for a professor's chair in these languages. See the *Essay on the Life and Writings of Ruchat*, by M. L. Vulliemin, annexed to the edition of his works, published at Nyon, Switzerland, 1838.

[6] Cf. Hessey, J. A., *Sunday*, London, 1860, p. 74 *et passim.*

[7] P. iv. of "Preliminary Discourse." "Religious worship, the rites and ceremonies of which were of extreme simplicity in the primitive ages, had been so altered, that even in the fifth century, St. Augustine had complained that the condition of the Christian Church was in this respect worse than that of the Jewish Church." (Ep. 119 ad Januarium.)

[8] Bullinger, *op. cit.*, i, 3.

one of the most potent factors: "even the texts were not taken from the Bible, but from Scot, Aquinas, and Aristotle." Hence the insistence which we will observe Ulrich Zwingli placed upon the study of the Bible, not in its orthodox Latin form, the Vulgate, but in its Greek version, the Septuagint, in the vernacular Swiss-German, and above all in its original Hebrew, wins for the Swiss Reformer a high position among Christian lovers of the Bible, who by that very token, were pioneers in religious reform.[9]

2. Zwingli and the Bible

A fundamental principle of the Zwingli Reformation was that the Scriptures constituted the supreme authority of belief and conduct. Zwingli accepted this doctrine early in life; he demanded adherence to it from followers and opponents as well.[10] He had acquired it first from Thomas Wyttenbach, the Reformer of Biel, with whom as a youth he had studied, in company with Leo Judah, Wolfgang Capito, and Conrad Pellican, men destined to play important parts in the Swiss Reformation. Through Erasmus also, he was stimulated to turn away from scholastic theology in favor of Biblical studies; Zwingli speaks of his own emancipation from the Schoolmen and his devotion to Scripture as follows:

> In my young days I was as much devoted to worldly knowledge as any of my age, and when seven or eight years ago, I gave myself up to the study of the Bible, I was completely under the power of the jarring philosophy and theology. But led by the Scriptures and the Word of God, I was

[9] Collinson, p. xviii justifies the validity of the Reformation in its establishment by Christian magistrates instead of by the Pope and prelates: "I would ask such disputants: When the Kings of Judah, Jehosaphat, Hezekiah, and Josiah, reformed the religion of their kingdom, did these good kings act well or ill?" We will note that Christian rulers who favored the Reformation made use of this Biblical illustration in support of their own religious views . . Collinson, p. xix again emphasizes the role of the Bible in the rise of Reform movements: "We may venture to affirm that if no force were used on account of religion, and if every one was at liberty to study the Scriptures, and to express his opinions, in the course of twenty years all Europe would be reformed. The Popes knew this well, and therefore have they introduced the Inquisition and forbidden people, as a mortal sin to read the Bible."

[10] Nagel, E., *Zwingli's Stellung zur Schrift*, Freiburg, 1896, pp. 21 ff. Egli, E., "Zur Einfuehrung des Schriftprinzips in der Schweiz," in *Zwingliana*. Mittheilungen zur Geschichte Zwinglis und der Reformation. Hrsgbn. von der Vereinigung fuer d. Zwinglimuseum in Zurich, 1897 et seq. See for this article, pp. 332-339.

forced to the conclusion: you must leave them all alone and learn the meaning out of the Word itself. So I asked God to give me His light, [11] and then the Scriptures began to be much more intelligible when I read themselves alone, than when I read much commentary and exposition of them. Do you not see that was a sign God was leading me? For I never could have come to such a conclusion by my own small understanding.

The result of this devotion to Scripture was that he attained a knowledge thereof remarkable not only for his own, but for any age. His writings abound with apt quotations from all parts of the Bible; his addresses and public debates are studded with allusions to Scripture which betray a mind saturated with Biblical information. Not only did Zwingli and his comrades fall under the spell of the Bible; it began to impregnate the entire life of the city of Zurich and its environs; it was reflected even in the artistic pursuits of the day.[12] It was natural that Zwingli should exemplify the pro-Biblical tendency of the times most clearly. His preaching, as we have said, unified in harmonious fashion humanistic and Biblical culture, with greater stress, however, upon the latter.[13] Caspar Hedio, subsequently the Reformer of Strassburg, wrote from Basel to Zwingli on November 6, 1519, complimenting his friend on the Biblical quality of his preaching.[14]

The central position of Scripture in all current religious discussion is manifested by its role in the great Disputations at Zurich.

[11] Cf. Egli, "Gebet um den rechten Verstand der Schrift" in *Zwingliana*, pp. 90-1.

[12] See Rahn, J. R., "Konfessionell Polemisches auf Glasgemaelden," in *Zwingliana*, pp. 355-61. One scene portrays Noah and his sons; the other Elijah and the priests of Baal. Egli, "Das Bild Gott-Vaters" in *Zwingliana*, pp. 56-7, identifies the picture in the 1525 Catechism as that of God done in medieval fashion. But Geffcken's statement that the picture represents Moses appears to be correct, despite Egli's arguments to the contrary. The use of the Hebrew letters יהוה refer to "Jahweh," but the fact that the posture of the figure is a familiar one, showing Moses with the two tablets on which are inscribed the Ten Commandments, the immediate subject of the printed material surrounding the picture—and in addition, the presence of rays of light emanating from the temples of the figure—in conformance with the passage in Exod. 34:29, "And the face of Moses shone,"—indicate that the face is that of the prophet Moses. Michael Angelo's representation of Moses shows horns on his forehead, due to a wrong reading of the Hebrew word *Karan* in the Vulgate; the picture in the Catechism compromises by showing the rays of light in the shape of horns, but unmistakably as light rays.

[13] Egli, "Zwingli als Redner," *Zwingliana*, pp. 61-3.

[14] *Opera Omnia*, vii, 89.

When Zwingli was inducted into office as People's Priest, January 1st, 1519, he announced that he would begin to expound Scripture the following day, not in accordance with the Church Fathers, but in conformance with Scripture itself; this deviation from the usual practice of following the pericopes and interpreting them Patristically, symbolized Zwingli's entire course in the future. For the benefit of the country folk, he preached every Friday, market-day, in the market-place, taking themes suggested by the Psalms.[15] On September 8, 1520, we find Zwingli advocating as one test of the "worthiness" of applicants for outdoor relief from the city, their ability to repeat the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria and the Ten Commandments. As the Reformer's tendencies towards heterodoxy became more and more explicit, his break with the Church Fathers and the Schoolmen became progressively clearer, and his attachment to Scripture more profound. Scripture did not demand the payment of tithes, fasting in Lent, adoration of images of the Virgin Mary and the Saints, or any other oppressive ceremonies enjoined by the Church; hence, said Zwingli, it was necessary to abolish them in order to obey the pure word of the Bible. In our discussion of the Old Testament and "Judaic" elements in Zwingli's theology, we will have occasion to treat these points in greater detail.

a. ZWINGLI'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE VULGATE

An acceptance of Scripture as the supreme guide for Christian life and thought necessitated a thorough acquaintance therewith by Zwingli and his colleagues. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that Biblical studies flourished as never before in Zurich and its environs. Interest in Latin, Greek and Hebrew for purely Humanistic reasons does not characterize the Swiss Reformers or their predecessors; it was a theological motive entirely which impelled them to an examination, not only of the Latin Vulgate, but of the Septuagint Greek and the Hebrew text of the Bible.

[15] That Scriptural knowledge was gradually being disseminated among the people is seen by the fact that in a letter to Oswald Myconius, May 17, 1521, Zwingli mentions an argumentative satirical poem, entitled the "Mill," sent him by a certain Rhaetian, an inhabitant of the Swiss canton, Grisons, "a layman very learned in the Scriptures for one unacquainted with Latin. He is Martin Saenger . . I showed him many places in Scripture which he diligently studied."

Though Zwingli, like other Reformers of the day, sought to symbolize his break with the Roman Church by the issuance of a Bible translation in the vernacular, yet for the traditional text of Catholic Christendom, the Vulgate, he cherished a deep affection. In the Zwingli Museum at Zurich, there is a copy of the Vulgate which belonged to the Reformer, and from which he preached while on his journeys and on the march; there are indications that it was with him at the time of his death on the battlefield of Cappel. It is interesting to observe that the volume contains only the Old Testament; in a few passages, particularly of the Prophets, Hebrew words have been inscribed on the margin. The Bible was a gift to Zwingli from Nicholaus Peier, a staunch Humanist and friend of the Reformation, in the year 1522.[16] The Latin Bible had its place by the side of the Hebrew and the Greek in all the disputations and colloquies in which Zwingli and his fellow-Reformers participated. At the first Zurich Disputation (January 29, 1523), Bibles in the three languages were employed;[17] in the Second Zurich Disputation, and at the Colloquy with Luther at Marburg, copies of the Bible in the three classical languages and in the vernacular were used: at Marburg, Zwingli read a passage from the Greek Testament, whereupon Luther requested that the readings be from Latin or German. Not only in sermons, disputations, and addresses did Zwingli employ the Latin text; in his commentaries, it served as a basis for comparison with the Septuagint and the Hebrew. It is important now to note that though Zwingli made use of the Vulgate, he did not hesitate to contradict Jerome whenever he found need. The Swiss Reformer

[16] Egli, E., "Zwingli's Lateinische Bibel," in *Zwingliana*, pp. 116-120. This Vulgate was printed in Lyons, 1519, by Jacob Mareschall. Zwingli wrote in notes to Ex. 39, Lev. 26, Is. 1, 46, 17; Jer. 3, 41; Ezek. 24, 41; Habbakuk, 1. For a discussion as to whether Zwingli had the Bible with him at the second battle of Cappel, see *Zwingliana*, pp. 119-120.

[17] Zwingli has occasion to say after advising the priests to purchase the New Testament in Latin, or in German if the priest "does not understand the Latin or is unable to interpret it:" "After that let him work in the Old Testament, in the Prophets and other books of the Bible, which I understand are soon to appear in print in Latin and German." See Jackson, S. M., *Selected Works of Huldreich Zwingli*, Philadelphia, 1901; translation of the First Zurich Disputation by L. A. McLouth, from *Opera*, i, 114-168; the quotation here given occurs on p. 107. On p. 63 Zwingli says: "If I have erred, and err now, I may be better instructed, since there are here present Bibles in the Hebrew, Greek and Latin languages."

was a cautious and peaceful pioneer in new undertakings, yet quietly and unostentatiously, he made important contributions to the gradual breakdown of the authority of the hallowed Vulgate text, upon which the Roman Church had reared the structure of its theology and institutions. In the First Zurich Disputation, Zwingli says:

> How Jerome twists the Gospel in regard to invocation or intercession of the saints, as he does often in other places, that all know who read Jerome with good judgment.[18]

Again in his *Commentary on Genesis*, Zwingli has occasion to inform us that "Jerome is deluded "(est halucinatus) in his interpretation of Genesis 14:5. (*Opera*, v, 55.) Instances where Zwingli dares to take positive issue with the readings of the Vulgate appear frequently in his works; they indicate that Zwingli was prepared by reason of an initial assault on the authority of the Latin Bible of the Church, to oppose its teachings and practice, regardless of the consequences to himself and his adherents.

b. ZWINGLI AND THE SEPTUAGINT

Zwingli's break with the Vulgate was prompted in large measure by his study of the Septuagint. Writing to Vadian, February 23, 1513, he says: "I do not know who has stirred me up to the study of Greek unless it be God; I do not do it on account of glory, for which I do not look, but solely for the sake of Sacred Literature." In 1523, in his exposition of the Articles of the First Zurich Disputation, he remarks: "Ten years ago, I began the study of Greek in order that I might learn the teaching of Christ from the original sources." The Reformer became more and more fond of Greek learning as he progressed. His friendship with Erasmus gave him impetus; he did not possess a copy of Erasmus' Greek Bible, published by Froben at Basel, in 1516, but he copied in his own hand the Pauline Epistles, in order to be able to carry them about with him; Zwingli owned, however, a Greek Bible published at Aldine in 1518. He preferred the Septuagint text of the Scriptures by far to the often erroneous Vulgate: a copy of it was used at the important Disputations wherein Zwingli took part: at Marburg, whither Zwingli went in company with the Greek professor, Rudolph Collin, he read from the Septuagint until, as we have re-

[18] *Selections*, pp. 86-7.

marked, Luther requested that the Latin or German be used. In his so-called "Prophecy," or theological seminary, Zwingli read passages from the Greek text and translated them into Latin. He esteemed the text of the Septuagint highly, and employed it in his various Commentaries. In his Preface to the Commentary on Isaiah, Zwingli devotes two pages to an estimate of the importance of the Greek text.[19] In some cases, he states, it is superior to all other versions; oftentimes, however, its text is dubious and cannot be relied upon; it is, however, an indispensable aid to Bible study.[20] In his commentaries on the books of the Old Testament, Zwingli brings to bear whenever possible the reading of the Septuagint.[21] Not only did Zwingli prize the Septuagint as a key to the interpretation of Scripture: he drew upon classical authors as well. In the preface to an edition of Pindar, edited by Ceporinus, Zwingli remarks:

> In my opinion there is no Greek author so well-fitted to throw light on Scripture as Pindar, especially on the most difficult of the Hebrew songs and hymns, as for example, the Psalms and Job. For we have songs from these men of God that not only surpass all others in depth of thought and piety of feeling, but which are second to none, not even to Pindar's poems, in art, dignity and grace . . . I am not recommending every poet but him from the perusal of whose works we cannot possibly sustain loss, but may draw infinite profit and advantage, and who, in the investigation of the Hebrew writings, may be of more service to us than all the other Greek and Roman poets put together . . . May God grant that we learn from the heathen poet to understand the truth promulgated by the Hebrews, and to set her gracefully before the minds of men.

In his use of Greek and Latin classical comparisons to Hebrew literature, Zwingli anticipated the voluminous works of later scholars, notably Drusius, Grotius, Wettstein and others.

[19] "De Septuaginta Interpretibus Iudicium;" *Opera*, v, 554-6.

[20] "Contra vero infinit sunt loci, quibus manifeste deprehenditur Septuaginta et aliter et melius tum legisse tum distinxisse, quam Rabbini postea vel legerint vel distinxerint. Quae omnia probe norunt, qui integro iudicio ipsorum interpretationem cum Hebraeis conferunt. Haec de Septuaginta in hoc adduximus, ut neque nimis vilipendantur, qua in re peccasse videri poterit Hieronymus, nisi quod adversariorum indocta importunitas doctum virum excusare potest; neque eis par autoritas tribuatur, atque ipsis Hebraeorum fontibus. Quum autem sine ipsis non possunt recte proficere sacrae linguae studiosi, ut in illis versandum sit iam ostendemus, quum de modo studendi in Hebraicis loquemur. *Opera*, v, 555-6.

[21] Thus on Exodus, *Opera*, v, 215, 223, 255, 284 *et passim;* on Genesis, *Opera*, v, 49, 57, 99, 116, 135, 139, 168, 184, *et passim.* So often in his Commentaries on Isaiah, Jeremiah and Lamentations.

3. Zwingli as a Hebraist

But a thorough knowledge of the Vulgate and the Septuagint did not satisfy the searching mind of Zwingli: he was consumed with a desire to draw truth alone from the fountain-head. Hence he turned to the text, beyond which no student could go further in a study of the Scriptures, namely the Hebrew. Zwingli as Hebraist takes his place by the side of the most distinguished students of Hebrew during the period of the Reformation.[22] When he began his studies therein is uncertain. He may have commenced during his early days at Zurich, or at Einsiedeln. Between the years 1517-19, he secured a copy of Reuchlin's *Rudimenta Hebraica*, the grammar which had introduced many a contemporary Hebraist into a knowledge of the Scriptural tongue.[23] In a letter to Myconius, July 24th, 1520 (*Opera*, vii, 142 ff.), Zwingli says to his friend: "I have decided within the next few days to resume the study of Hebrew." (vii, 145.) It appears that Zwingli after the acquisition of Reuchlin's *Rudimenta*[24] had laid it aside; in 1520, he loaned it to his friend Xylotectus (Johann Zimmerman) of Lucerne, but when he began to read the Psalms in Hebrew, he could spare Reuchlin's grammar no longer, and hence asked Myconius to procure it from his friend at Lucerne. Zwingli appears to have had no instructor in Hebrew until the year 1519 or perhaps even later. In the fall of 1520, Jacob Cepor-

[22] A study of "Zwingli als Hebraeer," written by Emil Egli appeared in *Zwingliana* (1900), pp. 153-158; it is very inadequate. Diestel, L., *Geschichte des Alten Testamentes in der christlichen Kirche*, Jena, 1869, pp. 265-7, contains a few notes of interest, particularly concerning Zwingli's methods of exegesis. In biographies of the Reformer, scattered references to his Hebraic studies appear, to which in passing we will refer; no satisfactory account of this phase of his activity has yet been published.

[23] Jackson, S. M., *Huldreich Zwingli*, New York, 1901, has the following remarks on Zwingli's commencement of Hebrew lessons, p. 135; "He had begun the study of Hebrew at Einsiedeln (between 1516 and 1518), but soon dropped it. Now he took it up again under Andreas Boeschenstein (in Zurich, 1519)." On pp. 149-150: "In the conclusion of this interesting letter he tells his friend (Myconius) of his intention to resume the study of Hebrew—which he had begun at Einsiedeln,—and so he had ordered from Basel, the *Rudimenta* of Capnio as he styles him who is better known as Reuchlin, the famous Humanist. But he had made a similar start in 1519 (at Zurich), and this time, he probably did not make much progress . . . "

[24] This copy of the *Rudimenta* is now in the Zwingli Museum at Zurich; on the first and second pages, it contains the words: "I belong to Zwingli." Under the Greek, he repeats his name, between the years 1517-19. Egli, p. 153.

inus, a brilliant young linguist, who was studying Hebrew at Ingolstadt, visited Zurich; from him Zwingli received many interesting points of information concerning Ceporinus' teacher, the great Hebraist, Reuchlin. Whether Ceporinus gave Zwingli the impetus to resume his studies in Hebrew is uncertain: the young student remained at Zurich only a short time, and then returned to Ingolstadt. Zwingli kept Ceporinus in mind, and at the first opportunity called him to Zurich as teacher of Hebrew.

Prior to the advent of Ceporinus, Zwingli's instructor seems to have been a certain Andrew Boeschenstein. Bullinger tells the story of this Boeschenstein as follows (*op. cit.*, i, 30):

> During these years there came to Zurich, Andreas Boeschenstein, a man well-learned in the Hebrew tongue, since he had made a grammar for it, one of the first aids to learning the language, and openly profited by it. Zwingli and other students at Zurich accepted Boeschenstein as their teacher; Felix Manz in particular often practiced the language with Zwingli. In a short time, Zwingli had learned so much that he could read the Bible in Hebrew, and made himself very familar with the Old Testament. He translated the Psalter into German, and preached it in the Frauenminster on Fridays.

Who was this Boeschenstein from whom Zwingli learned Hebrew? Egli speaks of him (p. 154), as "the same scholar who as Professor at Wittenberg, had introduced Melanchthon to the Hebrew." This surmise is undoubtedly correct, inasmuch as Boeschenstein, in agreement with Bullinger's statement, was the author of a Hebrew grammar: *Rudimenta Hebraica Mosche Kimchi a J. Boeschensteinio revisa*, Augsburg, 1520.[25] Boeschenstein went under the name of "Johannes"; why he permitted himself to be known as "Andrew" in Zurich is doubtful. He had been a pupil of Moses Moelln in Germany, and a teacher of Hebrew at Ingolstadt in 1505, Augsburg 1513, and Wittenberg, 1518. Among his students were Sebastian Muenster, Caspar Amman, Sebastian Sperantius and many others. In 1518, at Wittenberg, he taught Melanchthon Hebrew, but soon after, Luther dismissed him under the stigma of being an "Arch-Jew." Much has been written on the theme whether Boeschenstein was of Jewish parentage; though the Hebraist himself denied it, and no mention is made

[25] Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, iii, 810. Boeschenstein produced an elementary grammar at Augsburg in 1514, another at Wittenberg, 1518 (second edition, Cologne, 1521), and the third, as we have mentioned in 1520 at Augsburg.

thereof in connection with "Andrew Boeschenstein," considerable evidence points to the truth of the charge. During his wandering life, he taught Hebrew at Nuremberg, Antwerp and Zurich, where, as we have remarked, Zwingli and others became his pupils: Myconius goes so far as to say, he "opened up a school" for Hebrew studies.[26] "Zwingli was his first and probably his most enthusiastic scholar."[27]

Boeschenstein apparently did not remain in Zurich for any length of time; perhaps the ill fortune which had haunted him in his positions at other university and religious centers pursued him to Zurich. "Concerning his later fate, information is lacking; he died at the age of 60, 1532."[28] After his departure, Jacob Ceporinus (Wisendanger) became Zwingli's teacher. This scholar who under Reuchlin's direction had made great progress in the classical languages, particularly Hebrew, was a native of Dynhard; in his early youth he had studied at the Latin School in Winterthur, where he distinguished himself by his linguistic skill; he may have studied Hebrew at Winterthur with the Jew, Moses, whom we meet in 1524 as a friend of Zwingli.[29] Ever since Ceporinus' visit to Zurich in 1520, the latter had intended to call him to fill a chair in Hebrew as soon as the opportunity offered. In 1522, the chance came, and Ceporinus was installed at Zurich as teacher of Hebrew and Greek (vii, 218). Werner Steiner says in *Diarium*: "He (Zwingli) studied Hebrew under Jacob Ceporinus." In addition to the private instruction which Zwingli may have received from him, it is said that he attended Ceporinus' lectures in order to encourage the other pupils.[30] Ceporinus assisted Zwingli considerably in his translation of the Hebrew into Latin, and

[26] Jackson, *Works*, 1912, par. VIII.

[27] Christoffel, R., *Zwingli, or the Rise of the Reformation in Switzerland*, Translated from the German by John Cochran, Edinburgh, 1858, p. 384.

[28] Geiger, L., *Das Studium der Hebraeischen Sprache in Deutschland*, Breslau, 1870, pp. 48-54; 135; *Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, iii (1876) 185 mentions that Boeschenstein taught Zwingli at Zurich. For further information concerning the Hebraist, see Koehler, *Beytraege zur deutschen Kunst-und-Literaturgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1794, 2 Theil, pp. 1-23; J. Perles: *Beitraege zur Gesch. der Hebraeischen und Aramaeischen Studien*, pp. 27 ff. 212; *Zeitschrift fuer Hebraeische Bibliographie*, ii, 54 gives a full bibliography. Boeschenstein came to Zurich not as Jackson (p. 135) implies in 1519, but certainly after 1520.

[29] On Ceporinus, see Egli, "Ceporinus und Torinus," *Zwingliana*, pp. 271-4; also Egli, *Analecta Reformatoria*, Zurich, 1901, ii, "Ceporins Leben und Schriften."

[30] Scott, John, *Calvin and the Swiss Reformation*, London, 1833, p. 23.

many a knotty point was unravelled through the aid of Reuchlin's pupil.[31] It was a few months before the advent of Ceporinus that Zwingli had written to his friend, Beatus Rhenanus in Basel: "Greet Pellican for me, and inform him that we have begun to study Hebrew. Ye Gods, how distasteful and melancholy a study it is. Yet I will not desist from it until I have achieved some results." (vii, 194.) With the stimulus given by Ceporinus, Zwingli made satisfactory progress, yet it was not granted him to enjoy this instruction long. Ceporinus died a little over a year after he had assumed his duties, and for the time Zwingli was without a teacher in Hebrew. In 1524, we find Zwingli forced to deny any debt to the Jew, Moses of Winterthur, for instruction in the Scriptures, and the latter publicly announced that he had not influenced the Reformer in any way. This repudiation of friendly relationship with the Jews, Zwingli felt to be necessary out of deference to the prejudices of the time; the public looked with suspicious glance upon any student who associated with Jews, a fact to which Reuchlin could amply testify. In order to absolve the Reformation he had inaugurated from any Jewish taint or infiltration of Jewish influence, Zwingli took this decisive action. His confession, however, that he knew Hebrew, and that he had debated with the Jew, Moses, concerning the Messianic prophecies, lends weight to the supposition that during the discourse or discourses between Zwingli and himself, Moses of Winterthur had offered the Reformer his own interpretations of Scriptural passages, and even suggested to him solutions of doubtful portions.

a. ZWINGLI'S HEBRAIST COLLEAGUES

Zwingli took pains to surround himself with men of standing in the world of Hebrew scholarship. After the death of Ceporinus the need was felt for a regular professor of Hebrew. Zwingli had established in the summer of 1525 a theological seminary; he had issued a call for a teacher of Greek and Hebrew, and himself took part in the work. The text-book was, of course, the Bible. Instruction began at eight o'clock in the morning; one teacher read the Hebrew text, Ceporinus during his occupancy of the Hebrew chair, and translated it into Latin with a brief interpretation. Then Zwingli translated the same text from the Greek of the Sep-

[31] Hottinger, J. J., *Helvetische Kirchengeschichten*, iii Theil, Zurich, 1708, pp. 52, 99, 233.

tuagint into Latin. Leo Judah then commented in German upon what had been read, and explained in Latin. This theological seminary, called by Zwingli "The Prophecy," was attended not only by regular students, but by the clergy of the city; the lectures of Leo Judah were open to the general public. Instruction from the Greek New Testament was given in the afternoon at three o'clock by Myconius.[32]

Conrad Pellican, one of the most noted names in the history of Christian Hebrew scholarship, was Zwingli's choice for the vacant post of Hebrew professor at Zurich. Pellican, born at Ruffbach, Alsace, January 8, 1478, became a Cordelier monk, 1493, a student of Hebrew who had laboriously worked out his own method of learning the language from a passage in the works of Nicholas of Lyra before any aids to its study had been perfected, had been in communication with Reuchlin, and had issued at Basel in 1503, a little grammar entitled: *De Modo legendi et intelligendi Hebraea*; from 1523-6, he was Professor or Theology and Hebrew at Basel, and exerted himself zealously on behalf of Old Testament studies. Zwingli's friendship with Pellican dates from the time when in company with Capito and Judah, they had been pupils of Thomas Wyttenbach, later people's priest in Biel. In 1522, Zwingli's letter to Rhenanus bade the latter inform Pellican that he had resumed, though with considerable difficulty, the study of Hebrew. On January 12, 1526, the Reformer addressed a letter to Pellican in Basel, where the latter stood in close though not always friendly relations with Oecolampadius, promising him freedom from all cares and irritations, a satisfactory honorarium, and a life-long post, if he would accept the place of Hebrew professor in Zurich: "You are to read daily a certain section of the Hebrew text; we are now beginning the second book of Moses; beyond this no other burden will rest upon you."[33] "Leo Judah, Myconius, Johann Jacob Amman, Rudolph Collin, Megander, all urge that you do not hesitate. We know of course that the printers of books will try to hold you, but do not heed these people of money."[34] Pellican accepted the offer; on February 26, 1526, he

[32] Jackson, pp. 293-4. Johannes Kessler, *Sabbata*, St. Gall, 1870, i, 372; Bullinger, i, 290 ff; Zwingli, *Opera*, iv, 205; Egli, *Actensammlung zur Geschichte der Zuercher Reformation in den Jahren 1519-23*, Zurich, 1879, p. 866.

[33] Moerikofer, J. C., *Ulrich Zwingli*, Leipzig, 1867-9, Theil i, p. 321.

[34] *Zuercher Taschenbuch*, 1858. Extracts from Conrad Pellican's *Chronik* translated into German by S. Voegelin.

came to Zurich; on March 1st, he began his lectures. Like Muenster who remained until his death at the University of Basel, Pellican, as Zwingli prophesied, filled the post of Hebrew professor in Zurich until his demise in 1556. We will have occasion to speak of his literary productions later when we consider the Zurich Bible translation. It is in place, however, to mention here that Pellican proved extremely helpful to Zwingli in his religious labors and scholarly productions. At the Disputation in Bern, 1528, among the Hebraists present were Bullinger, Megander, and Pellican. The latter's suggestions and tangible aid in the translation of portions of the Old Testament and in commentaries thereon by Zwingli gave to these works a value they might otherwise perhaps not have possessed. Pellican and Zwingli remained close friends to the very last; when his beloved Master died in 1531 on the battlefield, Pellican dedicated to him a Hebrew epitaph, a poem which took as its text Psalm 112:6-7.[35]

Leo Judah, Megander and Bibliander were Hebraists who in the later years of Zwingli's life and after his death, distinguished themselves in the field of Old Testament learning; Bullinger, too, proved himself a worthy successor in his knowledge of Hebrew of the Reformer. A group of lesser figures associated with Zwingli were known for their Hebrew scholarship. Laurenz Bosshart (d. 1532) in his Chronicle (*Zwingliana*, p. 36), speaks of the "revelation of the Divine Word through the means of the Greek and Hebrew languages;" he had been a student at the University of Zurich, and doubtless studied both tongues. Jacob Salzmann, (Latinized in Jacob Salandronius or Aleander), a man of great cultural, gifts in addition to his knowledge of Latin and Greek possessed considerable acquaintance with Hebrew.[36] Walter Klarer (1499-1567), called the Reformer of Appenzell,[37] deplored the fact that on his return from Paris he was entirely without knowledge of the Bible; later, however, his eyes had been opened. His devotion to the Bible is borne out by the Scriptural names he gave his children: Abraham, Lucas, Zachariah, Noah and Maria.[38] Klarer touched the Zurich Reformation through association with

[35] Cf. *Oecolampadii et Zwinglii Epistolarum libri IV.*, 1536 in Fol. at the beginning.

[36] T. Schliess, "Jacob Salzmann, ein Freund Zwinglis aus aelterer Zeit," *Zwingliana*, pp. 167-174; particularly p. 171.

[37] Egli, "Walter Klarer," *Zwingliana*, pp. 363-375.

[38] Walser, G., *Appenzeller-chronik*, 1740, p. 391.

Amman, Bullinger, and others of its leaders after Zwingli. Not only to Appenzell did Zwingli's influence extend; we find present in the Bern Reformation the imprint of his doctrine concerning the authority vested in the unadulterated Scriptural word. He was in communication with Berthold Haller (1492-1536), leader of the anti-Catholic elements in Bern. At one time, in 1522, Haller wrote his friend in Zurich, professing great discouragement; he thought of retiring from Bern, and going to Basel in order to perfect himself in Greek, Latin and Hebrew. Zwingli sought to turn him from the project and persuaded him not to abandon his little flock; he exhorted him to try to gain hearers by mildness, after the example of Peter who spoke to the Jews: "I wot that ye did it through ignorance" (Acts 3:17). Following the triumph of the Reformation in Bern, Zwingli at the beginning of the year 1527 wrote to Haller: "You are the pilot and the saving Noah." Soon after it was resolved by the Council and citizens of Bern to institute a Religious Conference following the model of Zurich, "that a worship in conformity with the Holy Scriptures might be planted and observed."

With Oecolampadius in Basel, Zwingli maintained regular correspondence: the friendship between the two Reformers of Switzerland is comparable to the intimacy between Melanchthon and Luther. On July 31st, 1528, Oecolampadius wrote to Zwingli:

> We have remodelled the theological lectures after the pattern of your church. A Hebrew professor lectures on the Old Testament and a Greek on the New. I myself am to add a theological exposition in Latin on both to their more purely grammatical ones. Paul will conclude with a discourse in the vernacular. (vii, 629; cf. also ii, 209.)

Oecolampadius was an excellent Hebrew scholar, a pupil of Reuchlin, a friend of Caspar Hedio, also a Hebraist; he was in close contact with other Hebrew students, who also were in communication with Zwingli or met him at various times during his career: among these were Johann Brenz, Wolfgang Capito, Martin Bucer, Caspar Cruciger, Andreas Osiander and others. When Zwingli visited Marburg in 1529, he met among the German Reformers a large and important group of Hebraists for whom a knowledge of Scripture and even of the Jewish commentaries was fundamental to their whole movement. That Zwingli was conscious and proud of the Hebrew knowledge possessed, not so much by his friends outside of Zurich, but by his own immediate collabora-

tors, is indicated by his statement at the first Zurich Disputation: "There are in this hall probably men as learned in Greek, Latin and Hebrew, as at Tuebingen, Basel, Freiburg and elsewhere," or again: "Zurich has probably as many people learned in the three languages as he (Faber) and his Papists in a heap, and who understand the Scriptures better than those at Lyon and Paris." (See *Selections*, p. 105.) It was at this Disputation, too, that Sebastian Hofmeister, a Franciscan friar who had studied the classical tongues and Hebrew, asked the Vicar Faber to furnish the disputants with the texts in the Old Testament by which he claimed to have vindicated the practice of invoking the saints. Hofmeister had returned from Paris in 1520, a Doctor of the Sacred Scriptures, had embraced the Reformation, and introduced it in Lucerne and Schaffhausen in 1523. He preached in Zurich in 1526, and taught Hebrew in Bern, 1528, but died September 26, 1533, as preacher at Zofingen near Basel. It is interesting to note that Hofmeister combined in himself inclination for Hebraic studies and Reform tendencies, for which, of course, he was accused of being a heretic. Zwingli, with whom Hofmeister remained in constant communication, must have profited on occasion by the latter's Hebrew knowledge, even though he may never have placed himself directly under his tutelage.

b. HEBRAIST OPPONENTS OF ZWINGLI

Not only among his friends did Zwingli find Hebraists, but among his opponents as well. The Anabaptists who carried the pro-Biblical principle to extremes which Zwingli himself would not contemplate, numbered among their adherents important Hebrew scholars. Felix Manz who had studied in company with Zwingli under Boeschenstein, and who for a time was the Reformer's assistant, later joined the Anabaptist radicals; in 1527, he was drowned in the Lake of Zurich; Andrew Carlstadt, who visited Zurich in November, 1524, had employed his extensive Hebrew knowledge in the preparation of a striking pamphlet, written in 1520, entitled: *De canonicis Scripturae S. libris*.[39] Thomas Muenzer, the foremost Baptist leader of the Reformation, with whom Zurich radicals held a conference on his visit to Schaffhausen in September, 1524, was one of the most ardent champions of the

[39] Credner, K. A., *Zur Geschichte des Kanons*, Halle, 1847, pp. 316-412; Diestel, p. 251.

authority of the Old Testament in the history of the Christian Church. For him, as we shall have occasion to see in our section on the Judaizing aspects of the Anabaptist movement, the history of Israel constituted the normal standard of Christian life: the writings of Moses were the most ancient revelation and hence the highest authority: "The foundation and genuine epitome of all divine truth and will is in the Books of Moses." "Whatever else appears in the Scriptures, is only an explanation of Moses."[40] These Anabaptists whom Zwingli and his followers so vigorously assailed were accused of wild and peculiar practices: "They went through the streets with portentous uproar, crying: 'Woe! Woe! Woe! to Zurich'. Some imitated Jonah and gave a truce of forty days to the city." In his *Refutation of the Tricks of the Baptists*,[41] a summary of the Disputation held October 26, 1523, against the radical Baptists of Zurich, Zwingli takes occasion to controvert what he supposes to be a repudiation by the Baptists of Christian teachings. He quotes among those who held the view that there can be "no full satisfaction through Christ," Denk, Haetzer, and Kautz. These three men were Hebraists: Hans Denk and Ludwig Haetzer translated the Prophetical books from the Hebrew, the work being published by Peter Schoeffer at Worms, April 13, 1527. Balthasar Hubmaier, the theologian of the Swiss Baptists, has interest for us here because of his friendship with Zwingli during the early days of his activity, and because in 1516, as Cathedral preacher in Regensburg, he led the attack on the Jews, whose synagogue was destroyed; on its site a Christian chapel was erected, of which he was the first chaplain.[42]

Not only among Zwingli's Baptist, but among his Catholic opponents do we find Hebraists. In the person of Johann Eck (1486-1543), the German Catholic Church at the time of the Reformation, possessed one of its most distinguished Hebraists and most zealous apologists. Eck lost no opportunity to improve his Hebrew scholarship. During his student days at Freiburg, he had been a pupil of the Carthusian monk, Gregor Reisch, and later of Reuchlin; Johann Boeschenstein, the apostate Jew, Peter Staffelsteiner, and even Elias Levita were his instructors. For

[40] Schenkel, D., *Wesen des Protestantismus*, Schaffhausen, 1846, i, 80.

[41] iii, 354-437; translated from the Latin in *Selected Works*, by H. Preble and G. W. Gilmore, pp. 123-258.

[42] For a consideration of Hubmaier's attitude toward the Jews, see the biographies by Johann Loserth, Bruenn, 1893, and by H. C. Vetter.

twenty-six years he devoted himself to the study of Hebrew, and he takes occasion to pride himself on the knowledge thus acquired.[43] Though it is doubtful whether certain grammatical works ascribed to him came from his pen, it is well-known that he made use of Hebrew quotations in sermons and interpretations, and in disputations against his opponents, the Reformers.[44] Eck and Zwingli came into conflict several times, at first indirectly, later through direct communication. On August 13, 1524, Eck at Ingolstadt offered to the Swiss Diet at Baden to refute Zwingli's heresies in a public disputation. After much correspondence the Disputation finally opened at Baden, May 21st, 1526, though Zwingli refused to attend; on the side of the Zwinglian party were Oecolampadius of Basel, Haller of Bern, and Oechsli of Schaffhausen; Zwingli constantly aided his representatives by suggestions and in every other way he could. On August 31, 1526, we find him writing a letter (vii, 534-8) telling how Eck used at Baden the Complutensian Polyglot, which had the Latin version side by side with the Hebrew and the Greek, and so by apparently reading unaided from the two languages, secured a reputation for learning he did not deserve.[45] On December 27, 1527, Zwingli proposed in a letter to the Ulm City Council to meet Johann Eck in debate; this meeting, however, was never held. Eck in his criticism of the Bern Disputation in 1528, at which he was not present, accused Zwingli of complete ignorance of Hebrew; he did not know the simple elements of the language;[46] in his attack on Zwingli's Confession of Faith which the latter issued August 27,

[43] *Epistola de ratione studiorum*, Ingolstadt, 1543, B 1a.

[44] Wiedemann, T., *Johann Eck*, Regensburg, 1865, pp. 23-25; 615; see also for his views concerning the use of Hebrew in theological arguments, Eck, *Ains Juden buechlins verlegung*, Ingolstadt, 1541, P 4b to Q 2b; also Geiger, *Studium*, pp. 9, 10, 30, 133.

[45] Eck made frequent use of the Complutensian Polyglot published by Cardinal Ximenes de Cisneros on the basis of seven Hebrew manuscripts, at Alcala in New Castile, 1514-17, 1520. In the *Epistola de ratione studiorum*, Ingolstadt 1543, B 1a, he says: "Audivi tunc (when he was a pupil of Levita) Rhomae etiam Sancten Pagninum et Achacium professores Hebraismi; in Chaldaeo praeter versionem in Pentateuchon Complutensem sum Magistro Munstero, qui prae ceteris egregie emulatur et assequitur Heliam, trimestri quoque Judaeo Loto usus sum praelectore. Recte dixi me usum, quia cum utriusque grammaticae esset asymbolus, nihil praestare poterat praeter usum."

[46] "Man sicht, dae Zwingli nit kan die puerilia, der kinder ding in Hebreischen, das er sycht gelert ist im Hebreischen."

1530 (iv, 19-41), he implies that Zwingli lacked scholarship as well as correct religious insight.

c. THE SCOPE OF ZWINGLI'S HEBREW SCHOLARSHIP

What was the real extent of Zwingli's Hebrew knowledge? Was the Swiss Reformer so little versed in Jewish literature as Eck alleges? Even though we discount Eck's remarks because of his polemical prejudice, we are interested in proving how much of truth underlay the accusation. Among his contemporaries, Zwingli's Hebrew learning appears to have been esteemed. Cochlaeus (who it may be remarked was at one time on the side of Johann Reuchlin in his combat against the Cologne Dominicans on behalf of the Talmud), pays tribute to the Reformer's Hebrew and Greek scholarship. Luther on hearing Zwingli preach at Marburg expressed his dislike for sermons crowded with Greek and Hebrew quotations.[47] Bullinger, as we have seen, speaks favorably of his predecessor's acquaintance with the language.[48]

Modern judgments support those of Zwingli's contemporaries. Scott,[49] Geiger,[50] and Christoffel[51] speak of his zeal for the language and of his praiseworthy skill therein. Staehelin regards it as a shining proof of Zwingli's indefatigable energy and his undying affection for the Bible, that so late in life and in the very crisis of his struggles on behalf of the Reformation, he undertook and mastered the arduous task of learning Hebrew.[52] Diestel's decision is that Zwingli was the equal at least of both Luther and

[47] "How I hate people who lug in so many languages as Zwingli does; he spoke Greek and Hebrew in the pulpit at Marburg." Smith, P. "Conversations with Luther," in *Table Talks*, Boston, 1915, p. 249.

[48] In *Institutiones grammaticae de lingua hebraea*, Zurich, 1535, pp. 25 ff. Bibliander expresses his satisfaction that Zwingli was one of the first to understand the Hebrew word "Kippod" correctly. See also Egli, p. 158.

[49] Scott, J., *Calvin and the Swiss Reformation*, London, 1833, p. 23.

[50] Geiger, L., *Studium*, p. 113 says: "scheint er sich doch (in spite of Eck's criticism) eine ziemlich gediegene Kenntnis dieser Sprache erworben zu haben."

[51] Christoffel, in his section on "Zwingli's Search after Truth," in the English translation of his work by John Cochran, Edinburgh, 1858, p. 384, says: "The Reformer in the zenith of his fame and in the midst of his manifold reforming labours, formed the resolution to learn Hebrew . . . Impelled by his zeal, and favored by his great talent for languages, he was soon in a position to read the most difficult books of the Old Testament with ease, and to explain them in his own perspicuous and fundamental manner."

[52] Staehelin, R., *Huldreich Zwingli*, Basel, 1895-7, i, 254.

Melanchthon in his Hebrew knowledge, and that he makes use thereof in a far greater degree than they, supported in his exegesis by his excellent friend Pellican.[53] Thus the burden of opinion is in substantiation of the view that Zwingli was well grounded in Hebrew, in spite of any calumnies his foes, particularly Eck, directed against him.

d. ZWINGLI'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS HEBREW

Our own examination of Zwingli's works as translator of several books of the Old Testament and as commentator on both Old and New Testaments confirms this judgment. Before we turn to a consideration of his translations and commentaries, we wish to quote a passage from the Preface to the *Explanation of Isaiah*, wherein the Reformer voices his views on the importance of the study of Hebrew:[54]

> The ignorance of Hebrew forms of expression has led to an erroneous interpretation of many passages of Scripture, not only by those unlearned and reckless individuals, who pass sweeping judgments, with the more arrogance the greater their ignorance is, on all the subjects of antiquity, but even by truly pious and learned men themselves. Now certain figures of speech are so peculiar and native to the Hebrew that it is impossible to render them into any other language. Translators and commentators, however, have given us the Hebrew forms of expression without breaking down and reducing the figures they contain, which are untranslatable into any foreign language whatsoever, so as to present us with their real signification and sense. They have not changed these images into correspondent terms and figures in another language. Thus we have translations in which the words indeed are counted, but the thoughts carelessly and dubiously expressed. Hence obscurity, ignorance, uncertainty what to make of the meaning. The still worse consequences follow, of dissension, impudent declamations, upon things which one does not at all understand, and violent invectives against the opponent. For the words being understood according to the rudiments of grammar, but the thoughts not being at all comprehended, the interpreter of the sense, partly out of the

[53] Diestel, p. 265: "Er steht an Kenntniss der Hebraeischen den beiden genannten Reformatoren mindestens gleich, verwertet dieselbe aber in der Auslegung in einem viel groesseren Umfange, unterstuetzt von seinem trefflichen Freunde Pellicanus."

[54] "De Hebraicarum Literarum Studio" in *Opera*, v, 556-9. The following quotation is taken from the "Ad Pium Lectorem Praefatio in Apologiam Complanationis Isaiae, v, 547-554.

shame of confessing his ignorance, partly out of self-love, which makes us more confident than we ought to be, and attempt more than we can accomplish, gives way to assumptions, and to the fabrication of foolish allegories, while he ought to have turned his attention to the investigation of antiquity, and made himself thoroughly conversant with the customs and modes of thinking of each particular age in which the authors may have lived and written . . . Then we should have penetrated into the knowledge of the ideas and tropes, the images and figures of speech which meet us at every turn in the books of Scripture, so that there is scarcely a single sentence of the Bible that can be opened by any other keys but such as these; then we should have clearly known the thoughts of inspiration, and not rashly substituted our own for the thoughts of Scripture; then long ago, all uncertainty would have disappeared. I do not say this in a boastful spirit, as if my interpretation had completely opened up the sense, but because I find that my predecessors in interpretation have nowhere been more successful in the work than where they had these resources at hand.

e. HEBREW IN ZWINGLI'S NEW TESTAMENT COMMENTARIES

With a view, therefore, of improving on the works of his predecessors, Zwingli turned to the interpretation of the books of the Old and New Testaments. He believed that a correct knowledge of Hebrew was also requisite to the understanding of the Gospels "for the Lord Jesus," he says, "and the writers of the New Testament were Hebrews, and they transferred the peculiarities of their mother-tongue into the Greek, just as we find Latin works written in the German idiom, and German in the Latin idiom, by those who are not thoroughly conversant with both languages." We find in his commentaries on the Greek New Testament many quotations from the Hebrew, and many illustrations drawn directly from the Hebrew Biblical text. Words are written down several times in the Hebrew script;[55] there are references to Jew-

[55] "Commentary on Matthew," *Opera*, vi, 291, 295, 366, 393; "Commentary on Mark," vi, 509, 530, *et passim*. "Commentary on Luke," vi, 556, 604, 624, 656, 653. "Commentary on John," contains many references to Jewish customs and manners; the other Commentaries on New Testament writings contain similar references. See Zwingli's discussion of the Logos "Dabar apud Hebraeos," vi, 682. The "Commentary on Corinthians" contains Hebrew words, vi, (2), 135, and a discussion of the Tetragrammaton, p. 176; so too on "The Epistle of James," vi (2), 260, 270, there are words in Hebrew script. The Commentaries are filled with repeated references such as "Hebraismus" vi (1), 393, 484, *et passim;* "more Hebraico," "schemate Hebraico," "periphrasis est Hebraica," vi, 652; "hic enim nos est Hebraeorum," vi, 345, and several

ish religious practices and ideas; the books of the Old Testament are drawn upon for comparative purposes, and profuse use is made by Zwingli of Hebrew grammatical facts for the explanation of the "Hebraisms," as he correctly calls them, of the New Testament. His commentaries, therefore, have unique value among those of his day, not so much because of the presence therein of so many references from Jewish sources, but because Zwingli did not hesitate to bring to bear his entire apparatus of Hebrew knowledge upon the Gospels for the purpose of arriving at accurate philological and grammatical evidence whereby Christian doctrines might be "purified." This method no doubt underlay the frequent charge of heresy levelled against him; in our discussion of the incident centering about Moses, the Jew of Winterthur, we shall have further occasion to observe that a similar method of exegesis with reference to ideas concerning the nature of Jesus contributed largely to the accusation that "he fell away from the faith and went over to the Jews."

4. Zwingli as Old Testamant Translator and Commentator

Zwingli's Old Testament labors are important, not merely because of their extensiveness, but because of their strongly modern character. He translated into Latin the prophetical books of Isaiah and Jeremiah and the Book of Lamentations; he translated into German the Book of Psalms; he wrote commentaries upon Genesis, Exodus to Chapter 24, Isaiah and Jeremiah, including Lamentations; he occupied himself with other books of the Bible, and wrote a Latin translation of Job.[56] An examination of these

other types of reference which indicate the use Zwingli made of Hebrew linguistic material and Jewish historical data for the elucidation of the Gospels. For the use of Hebrew words in Disputations, see ii, 146, 203; 161, 191; see also a memorial sent to Bygel in Baden, 1529, the words עד האריאן פישלין and הוא עד ii (2), 108.

[56] Egli, *Zwingliana*, p. 158: "Ueber eine bisher unbekannte lateinische Uebersetzung des Buches Hiob, unterzeichnet 'Zwinglius 4 Fevru. 1530' werde ich anderweitig berichten." I have found no further article on this work. We have already mentioned that in the preface to the edition of Pindar, edited by Ceporinus, Zwingli remarked that the works of this Greek author throw light "on the most difficult of the Hebrew songs and hymns, as for example, the Psalms and Job." The translations with the exception of the Book of Job have been published by Schuler and Schulthess: *Opera*, v: "Exegetica Veteris Testamenti" Zurich, 1835, and vi: "Exegetica Veteris Testamenti Residua," (1), pp. 1-201.

translations and commentaries gives us excellent insight into Zwingli's scholarly methods. The Reformer began the exposition of Genesis to his students in the "Prophecy" on Sunday, July 8, 1526. It was reported that he did this because the general public had been well instructed in the New Testament through the attention Zwingli had given it for nearly eight years; therefore it seemed advisable that he now undertake the explanation of the Old Testament. Moerikofer[57] takes it as adequate proof that the ideas of the Old Testament did not have superior prominence in Zwingli's life over those of the New because of the Reformer's almost exclusive occupation with the Gospels during the early years of his career. In this respect, it is stated, the Swiss Reformer cannot be compared to his German contemporary, Luther. But may it not be the real explanation that Zwingli's postponement of his exposition of the Old Testament was due to his unwillingness, as a thorough and conscientious scholar, to assume the difficult task of explaining the Hebrew text without a knowledge of the language itself? Perhaps Zwingli was encouraged to launch into the field of Old Testament exegesis through the confidence that his Hebraic studies had sufficiently progressed to warrant this adventure. A letter of January 12, 1526, announces to Pellican that at the "Prophecy" the exposition of Genesis had begun. This leads us to accept the statement that the reading of Genesis began as Caspar Megander states, "in matutina lectione 19 Junii 1525." Though the date of Zwingli's first exposition of the Hebrew Bible is uncertain, it is known that in March, 1527, the notes to Genesis were published by Caspar Megander and Leo Judah, as they had been taken down orally during Zwingli's addresses; Froschauer was the printer. It was customary at the "Prophecy," as we have already stated, that the Hebrew professor, at first Ceporinus, later Pellican, read the Hebrew text; Megander then read the Greek and Leo Judah rendered it into German. In this way, Zwingli was able to make use of the Hebrew, Septuagint, Vulgate and vernacular versions for comparative purposes.

a. ZWINGLI'S COMMENTARY ON GENESIS

Zwingli's Commentary on Genesis antedates by about two years the comments of Luther, given also through public addresses. It is

[57] See section on "Zwinglis Auslegung der ersten Buecher Moses," in *Ulrich Zwingli*, Leipzig, 1867, ii, 48.

worth while to place the two works side by side with a view to their contrasts and identities. (cf. Moerikofer, i, 51.) Luther's work has interest more as an exegetical curiosity, whereas Zwingli's application of Hebrew grammatical and philological rules lends it a distinct modern value.[58] He makes frequent mention of the New Testament (v, 74, 94, 105, 153); he does not hesitate to condemn the Vulgate where Jerome palpably errs (v, 55); he gives attention to stylistic and rhetorical figures, such as synecdoche, ellipsis, metonymy, paranomasia, emphasis and hyperbole; he seeks to interpret as accurately as possible the Hebrew idioms; he places constant reliance upon the grammatical sense.[59] Zwingli seeks to soften the anthropomorphisms of Genesis, but does not refrain from finding therein many justifications for Christian beliefs. He makes no mention of the Rabbis or Rabbinical commentaries, nor are we informed what Hebrew text he employed for his translation. Naturally Zwingli took opportunity whenever presented, to express his views on the Jews (v, 130) on Jewish ceremonies (v, 72 ff.) and to apply passages to his opponents, either in the ranks of the Papists or Baptists.

b. COMMENTARY ON EXODUS

The *Farrago Annotationum in Exodum ex Ore Huld. Zuinglii Exceptarum per Leonem Iudae et Casparem Megandrum* was published by Froschauer, in September, 1527. (v, 202-296.) In method this Commentary differed little from the annotations on Genesis. There are several passages where the various names of God are discussed (v, 211, 216, 221, 251); excerpts from the New Testament are employed for cross references (v, 214, 223, 227, etc.,); the Septuagint is often mentioned, and its readings compare with those of the Latin or Hebrew (v, 215, 223, 255, 284); books of the Old Testament, particularly the Psalms, are quoted (v, 215, 267); Deuteronomy is referred to (v, 283); Joshua (v, 246); in fact, Zwingli shows close acquaintanceship with nearly all the Old Testament writings. He seeks of course to find support for Christian doctrines, attacks Jewish ceremonies, and in his discussion of the term "Ger," comments upon Jewish proselytism, circumcision, and its relation to baptism as advocated by the

[58] cf. *Opera*, v, 26, for a discussion of the "Hithpaal" and *passim*.

[59] For a full characterization of Zwingli's exegetical principles, see Diestel, pp. 265-6.

Catabaptists (v, 214-3, also v, 217); through the entire series of comments, it is natural, of course, to discover Christological applications. The annotations on Exodus have special interest because Zwingli begins to acknowledge his acquaintanceship with traditional exegetical aids employed by Jewish commentators. The Targum is mentioned;[60] in addition, for us a fact of importance, he refers to the "Rabbis of the Hebrews" for the first time;[61] in his explanation of Ex. 12:9; in his interpretation of Ex. 9:9, he mentions Rabbi David Kimchi by name[62], a fact of extreme rarity, for in his later commentaries, when he has occasion to quote the Rabbis often, he does not single out for especial mention any one of them.

c. COMMENTARY ON THE PSALMS

To his Translation and Commentary on the Psalms, Zwingli devoted himself with particular zeal and pleasure. The Psalter was one of his favorite Biblical books: in 1519, he took the Psalms as the basis for his sermons before the general public every Friday at market-time; in 1520, he interpreted them for gatherings of young people; later he made them the subject material for sermons in the Frauen-minster; in the "Prophecy," according to a note of Bullinger and Pellican, he interpreted them during 1529. In May of the same year, Zwingli announced that he had the entire Psalter ready for the press, translated from the Hebrew text. It was not published, however, until after his death; Leo Judah issued it in 1532 under the title: *Enchiridion Psalmorum quos sanctae memoriae clarissimus vir Huldricus Zuinglius ex Hebraica Veritate Latinitati donavit et mira claritate illustravit.*[63] This

[60] v, 251; in explanation of Ex. 15:2. Zwingli says: "Verbum Hebraicum נוה, navah, Onkelus Chaldaeus transtulit pro aedificare domum." Again v, 268; in explanation of Ex. 19:21, Zwingli remarks: "Chaldaeus פגר pagar, utitur, quod significant transgressus est."

[61] v, 235: "Dicunt Hebraeorum Rabbini, dictionem נא quam crudem vertit Latinus, Arabica lingua, quicquid assum non est, significare."

[62] v, 226: "Derivatur autem vox posterior a בעה bien, quod bullas in aquis proiicere aut conflare significat, quod a fervore fieri scribit Rabbi, David Kimhi." This reference concerns a Hebrew phrase in Exodus 9:9.

[63] In the "Exhortation to Christian Readers," Judah says: "Ex cineribus ergo eius colligens psalmos, quos nuper ex Hebraica veritatis mira claritate ac brevitate transtulit, enchiridio hoc legendos vobis propono, ut quem vivum amastis, mortuum imo vivum sempter vobiscum habeatis." v, 297. The Psalms in their Latin form with German translation and comments in parallel columns are found in *Opera*, v, 297-482. Zwingli's comments are in the form of summaries of the contents of each Psalm.

translation of the Psalms into Latin and German does not furnish us with evidence concerning the point whether Zwingli made use of any Jewish commentaries or was assisted by any of his friends.[64] Pellican who undoubtedly had assisted him in the preparation of the Commentary on Exodus—for in Zwingli's mention of the Targum and the Rabbis, including Kimchi, Pellican's influence is discernible—may have aided him in the translation of the Psalms; the work on the other hand, may have been almost entirely Zwingli's own, because of the long-continued interest he had displayed in the Psalter, and because of his desire to produce a work stamped with his own individual spirit. The only use of Hebrew words throughout the translation is in the printing in Hebrew script of "Selah" and "Hallelujah"; Psalm 9 has Hebrew expressions in its title; Psalms 24, 33, 36 and 118 have the Hebrew numerals to mark verses and sections; Psalm 88 concludes with the Hebrew words: "Sepher Revi'i." These expressions may have been inserted by Zwingli, merely through a wish to demonstrate his acquaintanceship with the original text.[65]

d. COMMENTARY AND TRANSLATION OF ISAIAH

Zwingli's translation of Isaiah with commentary is one of his best exegetical works. From the spring of 1528 until its conclusion, Zwingli occupied himself, both in the theological institute and in the Church, with an exposition of the prophet Isaiah. He found great stimulus in the denunciatory passages of the Jewish seer whose voice rang out so clearly against the enemies of the Lord. Pellican, Zwingli's faithful coadjutor, wrote in great distress of mind to Joachim Vadian, March 22nd: "Our Zwingli is

[64] Egli, in "Zwingli als Hebraeer," gives us in *Zwingliana*, pp. 156-7, the German translation of the 23rd Psalm in parallel columns: in the first, that of Luther, 1524; in the second, of Zwingli, 1529; in the third, that of the Zurich Bible, 1531. Egli quotes the comments made by Professor V. Ryssel on the relative merits of these three translations: "The translation of Zwingli in 1529 is a faultless translation of the Hebrew, as close as possible to the original, but does not do sufficient justice to the German forms of expression." He goes on then to compare the three versions, verse by verse. See the metric translation of the 69th Psalm ascribed to Zwingli, ii, 277-80; it is German and contains 7 strophes of 18 verses each.

[65] At the end of the 159th Psalm, a part of the manuscript is missing; on the back of the torn page, there are several words in Hebrew with Latin explanation. See v, 482, note 1.

speaking out truly, seriously, and without cease, and zealously attacks established evils, but without much success. He has begun Isaiah with the power of the Holy Spirit in him. I am afraid that after Isaiah, he will take up Jeremiah, and that we are doomed to servitude under the prophets." Later he writes to Capito: "Zwingli is preaching to the people on Isaiah; is interpreting Ezekiel to the clergy, answering Luther and keeping in touch with his friends through daily letters; he is so busy that he has no time to read your own writings, or those of other colleagues. Moreover, when he was recently reminded by me of the return of the Jews, he wondered how any Christian could consider it worth while,—any Christian who called upon the Lord in his spirit, and recognized himself as a member of the broad empire of Christ."

After his lectures and sermons on Isaiah, Zwingli prepared the material for the press: the "Apology" to the translation of Isaiah is dated July 15th, 1529.[66] A translation of the prophetical book into Latin then follows. (v, 420-546.) The "Apology" preceding the translation is a discussion concerning the best form of government: Monarchy, Aristocracy or Democracy. After a consideration of the evidence furnished by the histories of Greece, Rome and Israel[67], he decides that Aristocracy is most suitable, provided it is founded upon the principles of Religion and Justice. It is essential that there be preachers who will constantly remind the peoples and rulers of their obligations. At the conclusion of his epistle, Zwingli says:

Although through the grace of God you have sufficient (religion and justice), nevertheless, I had considered it advisable to dedicate to you this work on Isaiah; partly that the prince of all prophets with your approval may raise his voice among kings, cities and peoples, and prepare the way of the Lord; partly in order that you may see that it is not petulance or audacity, but duty which moves our own prophets to condemn somewhat sharply and pointedly our habits, the neglect of religion and justice, indifference to the laws, calumnious actions or judgments. For who among

[66] "Complanationis Isaiae Prophetae Foetura Prima cum Apologia cur quidque sic versum sit per Huldricum Zuinglium, Christianae civitati, Tiguri, Bernae, Constantiae, Basilae, Sanctogalli, Mylhusii et Bielae Urbium, Huldricus Zuinglius Gratiam et Pacem a Domino. In *Opera*, v, 483-489.

[67] v, 484: "An non Moses rempublicam non regnum constituebat, quum chilarchos, hecatontarchos reliquosque constitueret rei gerendae socios?. Ipsa quoque Dei difficultas, que tam indignanter permittebat Iudaeis regem, satis probat Mosis ministerium non fuisse regnum aut monarchim."

the entire circle of the prophets closes his eyes so little, combats so lustily and wisely all evils as this one. Therefore let Isaiah be for us and our prophets the leader and guardian of prophecy. May he be the wise watcher who neither slumbers nor deceives, that we may not practice anything audacious in the hope of what is secret; in order that we may know, that if our prophets sleep, he will unfold our misdeeds on the Day of Judgment before the Lord, if we do not receive him when he comes to us. O happy are the princes, the cities and the peoples among whom the Lord speaks through his servants, the prophets! For thus will religion prosper, innocence return, justice be able to rule, without which robbery and violence prevail, and we will consider it to be empire and power; where, however, the former flourish, they bring their fullness in all goodness with them. May the Lord therefore favor every pious act, that his honor may increase more and more with our deeds of justice. Amen.[68]

The attempt of Zwingli to awaken the cities of Switzerland and their rulers to a consciousness of the ethical demands of the Hebrew prophets is not only a tribute to the Reformer's moral consciousness, but an indication of his desire to spread the influence of the prophets wherever his own name carried authority.

Zwingli's commentary on Isaiah is preceded by a Preface of considerable length and importance.[69] "Inasmuch," he says, "as I have busied myself for several years to master the knowledge that is called holy, I have had many teachers, Hebrews, Greeks and Latins."[70] He pays a high compliment to Oecolampadius of Basel as his forerunner and predecessor; though he does not mention the work by name, Zwingli has in mind the work of Oecolampadius: *In Jesaiam prophetam hypomneumatum, hoc est commentariorum libri VI.*, Basel, 1524.[71] The Basel Reformer based his translation directly upon the Hebrew text, made use of the Targum and quoted Kimchi considerably; from him, no

[68] Cf. in Moerikofer, the section on "Erklaerung des Jesaias," ii, 279-83, for a discussion of this Epistle; *Opera*, vii, 489.

[69] *Opera*, v, 547-559. "Huldrici Zuinglii Ad Pium Lectorem Praefatio in Apologiam Complanationis Isaiae."

[70] v, 548: "magistros multos habui, Hebraeos, Graecos et Latinos." Zwingli may mean here by "Hebraeos," either Boeschenstein, Moses of Winterthur and those Jews whose opinion on Christ as a prophet he has occasion to mention in one of his disputations; it is more likely, however, that he refers to the classical Hebrew writings, and the Jewish Commentaries he called upon at intervals.

[71] Herzog, S., *Das Leben Johannes Oekolampads und die Reformation der Kirche zu Basel*, Basel, 1843, ii, 255 ff.

doubt, Zwingli secured information on the "Rabbis," to whom he so frequently refers in his own commentary. Zwingli also acknowledges the assistance rendered by him by Leo Judah and Pellican.[72] He includes in the Preface, as we have already observed, a section on the value of the Interpretations afforded by the Septuagint.[73] He takes occasion also to mention the Jewish historian Josephus, and the Biblical versions of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion. Finally he has a section on the study of Hebrew literature,[74] wherein he mentions Pico de Mirandola, the famous Italian Hebraist, whose influence on Zwingli we shall discuss later. The Reformer considers at some length the vowel system of the Rabbis, though he does not call it by its customary name: the Masoretic vowel system, and compares its effect with that of vowel changes in Greek, Latin and German. Perhaps the most noteworthy portion of this Preface is the praise Zwingli showers upon the Hebrew language, the study of which he had formerly called a sorry and dismal task:

> After I had begun not merely to understand Hebrew, but to cherish it, I found the Holy Tongue beyond all belief, cultivated, graceful and dignified. Although it is poor in the number of its words, yet its lack is not felt because it makes use of its store in so manifold a fashion, and indeed in a worthy, careful and skilful way. Indeed I may dare to say that if one conceives its dignity and grace, no other language expresses so much with so few words and so powerful expressions; no language is so rich in many-sided and meaningful forms of expressions and modes of imagery. For no language so delights and quickens the human heart as this, which abounds in beautiful adornment of figures and symbols.

With reference to the difficulty of understanding the Hebrew, he says that faith, whose holy tongue it is, will always understand the language of the spirit: "with faith proceed to an examination of the divine prophecies;" then everything will become clear to the student. Zwingli lauds Isaiah as a prophet greater even than David and Elijah; he did not quail before princes or tyrants; no one has so sharply chastized the human race for its misdeeds; yet he performed his task as spokesman of God in times which, Zwin-

[72] v, 552: "Assuetam est enim collegium nostrum ad admonitionem fratrum audiendam. Quoties enim factum est ut Pellicani et Leonis commilitonum nostrorum, adomitione allata, sententiam mutaverimus? · Quoties ut et isti suam, reclamantibus licet Rabbinus omnibus? Nos veritatem id humanis mentibus esse putamus, quod sol mundo est."

[73] v, 554-69 "De Septuaginta Interpretibus Iudicium."

gli remarks, were as stormy as his own, with piety and wisdom, with firmness and benevolence.

The Preface to the Commentary is dated May 22nd, 1529; on December 9, 1529, Zwingli announced that his Commentary was in the press. (viii, 244.) The Commentary, called "Apologia Complanationis Isaiae" (v, 560-787), is a notable work. As in his other commentaries, he makes repeated use of the Septuagint (v, 565, 567, 569, 572 and often); and of the Vulgate; he quotes New Testament books constantly; he seeks on all possible occasions to draw proof for Christian doctrines from Old Testament sources (v, 616, 650, 668, 684, 700, 731, 752 and often); he discusses the Logos (v, 723, 725), the Messiah (v, 578), the Virgin Birth (v, 616 ff.); he makes use of prophetical texts to combat the Catabaptists (v, 644, 687, 787). His grammatical notes are of interest (see the repeated discussions of the "Waf", v, 616, 617, 666, 668, 702, 703, 783, etc.,); he appears to be well acquainted with the Masoretic accentual system (v, 625, 659, 684, 691); he is always on the alert for stylistic methods (see reference to paranomasia, v, 647, 672, 692, 777). Of particular interest is his use of quotations from the Old Testament: Deuteronomy (v, 764), Exodus (v, 587), Kings (v, 564, 639, 577, 641, 664, 694), Judges (v, 641), Psalms (v, 567, 594, 598, 719, 786 *et passim*), Jeremiah (673, 699, 766, 772), Ezekiel (593, 674, 747), Job (600), Ezra (757), and other Biblical books. Zwingli acknowledges the influence of Oecolampadius in numerous instances (v, 585, 589, 606, 616, 656, 676, 707, 749, 773, 783); he mentions Budaeus (619), and on one occasion Melanchthon, Erasmus and other contemporaries. He refers to the "Chaldaic," Arabic and Syriac languages in an explanation of Isaiah 44.[75] To the "Rabbis" he refers on many points, though for the most part, only in order to determine the correct reading of the vowels.[76] Zwingli is loath to acknowledge any indebtedness to the "Rabbis," even when they support his opinion; in a few instances, however, we find the words: "Nobiscum sentiunt Rabini." (v, 743, 758, 774, *et passim*.) In no case, however, does he mention any one of the "Rabbis" by name.[77]

[74] v, 556-559: "De Hebraicarum Literarum Studio."

[75] v, 738: "De Chaldaeorum et Arabum, Syrorum, et omnium orientalium linguis, nulli dubium est, qui vel apices eorum modo adspicit."

[76] v, 581, 599, 621, 630, 632, 634, 654, 655, 656, 657, 659, 683, 695, 691, 697, 698, 700, 701, 706, 707, 720, 721, 730, 738, 741, 743, 758, 768, 777, 780, 782.

[77] Conrad Pellican adds a note at the end of the Commentary on Isaiah, v, 788; in praise of the work he says: "iudaeorum vero si quando hos opus in man-

e. ZWINGLI'S COMMENTARY ON JEREMIAH

In the year 1528 Zwingli had begun his interpretation of the prophet Jeremiah both in the "Prophecy" and in the Great Minister; at the urgent solicitation of friends, he prepared it for the press. The dedication of the work is dated March 11, 1531;[78] in it he discourses to the Senate and the people of Strassburg on the great purpose of the prophet's life; "in the Church, the first example and model is the prophet, after whose image, not only the people, but the elders, must guide themselves." The dedication is followed by a Latin translation of Jeremiah (vi, 7-70), and by a similar translation of the Book of Lamentations (vi, 70-76). Then annotations to Jeremiah[79], and Lamentations[80] complete the commentary. Zwingli in a concluding note acknowledges the assistance rendered him by Leo Judah, Carlstadt and Pellican. (vi, 201.) The exegetical method employed by the Reformer in this work differs little from that of his previous commentaries, except that his quotations from the Old Testament include books not mentioned before; his statement of agreement with the "Rabbis" does not appear so frequently. The Vulgate is repeatedly referred to; the Septuagint, the wide divergence of which from the Hebrew text, Zwingli often notes; books of the New Testament are brought in as reference; Josephus is mentioned (vi, 122), the Targum is quoted (vi, 80, 105, 141, 171), the Syriac version is mentioned (vi, 92, 155). Genesis (vi, 124), Exodus (vi, 81, 135), the Pentateuch as a whole (vi, 116), Kings (vi, 125, 159, 168), Psalms (vi, 92, 130, 136, 169, 189), Canticles (vi, 86), Ruth (vi, 162), Job (vi, 124), Isaiah (vi, 82, 84, 88, 101, 132, 173 *et passim*),

us et capacitatem invenerit, miror quod cogitaturi sint, quum videbunt regnum dei, vineam domini Sabbaoth, gloriam Synagogae omnem, et spiritus prophetarum familiaritatem, translatam in omnes Gentes, et Christi promissi et exhibiti gloriam. Velint, nolint, obstupescent, et vana se spe lactatos a Rabinis suis, indolebunt quam maxime . ." Did Zwingli and Pellican expect that the work would fall into the hands of Jews, or is this merely a rhetorical hypothesis?

[78] "Complanationis Ieremiae Prophetae, Foetura Prima, Cum Apologi cur quidque sic versum sit, per Huldricum Zuinglium. Illustrissimo Senatui Populoque Argentoracensi Huldricus Zuinglius, Gratiam et Pacem a Domino." *Opera*, vi, 1-7.

[79] "Annotationes et Satisfactiones Complanationis Huldrici Zwingli in Jeremiam Prophetam, cur quique quomodoque versum sit." vi, 77-192.

[80] vi, 192-201.

Micah (vi, 138), are quoted. Zwingli makes prophetical passages the clue for expressing his views on Christian doctrine: the Messiah (vi, 199), the Eucharist (vi, 122, 146), the nature of Christ (vi, 129, 139), the Restoration of Israel (vi, 129, 133, 148 ff). He loses no opportunity to attack his opponents: the monks (vi, 98, 123), the Papists (vi, 115), the Catabaptists (vi, 100, 117, 142, 158). His stylistic comments are of interest: on paranomasia (vi, 83), he gives care to grammatical points, thus on the use of the "Waf" (vi, 79, 82, 87, 19, 178). Not only to Leo Judah, Pellican and Carlstadt does he make acknowledgments; he mentions Budaeus (vi, 153), Bullinger (vi, 158), and Erasmus (vi, 85). He refers to the Rabbis, for the most part, in order to disagree with them, though there are times when he obviously borrows from them without so admitting.[81]

The Commentary on Jeremiah completes the list of Zwingli's Old Testament works on hand. Egli mentions a translation of the Book of Job into Latin; as yet it has not been made available. Zwingli occupied himself with other Biblical works, for example, the Book of Ezekiel, but these comments were not written down or published. He employed his Old Testament and Biblical knowledge for other purposes than translation and commentary: at the end of the year 1527, Zwingli authorized the issuance of a calendar for the year, in which the names of Church Saints were supplanted by Biblical saints, each with a Scriptural reference.[82] In his various disputations, the Reformer quoted at times directly from the Hebrew text, and in the accounts he published, the quotations were written down in Hebrew script.[83] Thus it may be said that Zwingli deserves high rank among the Hebraist Reformers of the sixteenth century in the extent and frequency with which he called into play his knowledge of the Bible tongue.

[81] Zwingli quotes the Rabbis, particularly in their vocalization of the Masoretic text: vi, 82, 92, 94, 108, 111, 128, 132, 133, 143, 144, 152, 164, 176, 177, 181, 188.

[82] Reprinted by Ernest Goetzinger, *Zwei Kalender vom Jahre 1527*, Schaffhausen, 1865. The assignment of the saints to dates was purely arbitrary. The author of this work was an alleged Dr. Johannes Copp, but as this man is otherwise entirely unknown, the conjecture lies near that the real author was Zwingli himself. Jackson, p. 292.

[83] See for example in the "Refutation of Baptist Tricks," in *Selections*, p. 256; in the First Zurich Disputation, *Selections*, p. 102; ii, 146, 203, 107, 161, 191.

f. HEBREW TEXT USED BY ZWINGLI

It is of interest to consider what Hebrew text Zwingli used as the basis of his translations. He may have used the Soncino edition of the Old Testament in 1488, the Brescia edition of 1494, from which Luther translated the Old Testament, or the large Complutensian Polyglot, published by Cardinal Franz Ximenes, 1517-20.[84] Daniel Bomberg had issued Bibles in 1518, 1521, and 1525 which helped determine the correct textual reading. It is certain that Zwingli made use of the Complutensian Polyglot; whether he was acquainted with any of the other versions mentioned is not known. We have already referred to Zwingli's letter, dated August 31, 1526, wherein he tells how Eck used at the Baden Disputation the Polyglot version, which has the Latin version side by side with the Hebrew and Greek, and thereby won a reputation for learning he did not possess. The implication is that Zwingli himself had occupied himself with versions other than the Complutensian. All of Zwingli's translations were issued after 1526; though the scornful remark concerning Eck indicates that on his own account additional versions were employed, we have no means of determining which they were. Conrad Pellican who came to Zurich in March, 1526, brought with him an extensive apparatus for Hebrew studies: his collection of books, gathered for over twenty-seven years, must have included works on Hebrew grammar, dictionaries, Jewish commentaries and other valuable material which he placed at Zwingli's disposal. Though for the commentary on Isaiah, the Reformer borrowed the bulk of the references to the Rabbis from the work of Oecolampadius, Pellican must have aided him greatly in his study of the Masoretic text, his understanding of the Jewish commentators, and his free use of their works in later writings. David Kimchi is the only Jewish exegete mentioned by name; if Zwingli had been familiar with Rashi, Maimonides and other commentators whose works were popular in Germany during the Reformation, he would no doubt have quoted them, even by

[84] This work in addition to containing the Septuagint with Latin interlinear version, the Vulgate and the Targum with a Latin translation, also contained a special work on *Introductiones Artis grammaticae hebraicae*, a "Chaldaic" and Hebrew vocabulary to the Old Testament, and interpretations of the Hebrew, "Chaldaic" and Greek names of the Bible, written by Alfphonse of Zamora (1506), a learned convert from Judaism who was one of the most active collaborators in the preparation of the Polyglot.

name. In extenuation of his failure to do so, it may be said that Zwingli's experience with Moses of Winterthur opened his eyes to the fact that too great reliance upon Jewish sources might again place him under the suspicion of Judaizing.

5. Zwingli and the Kabbalah

Was Zwingli acquainted with the Kabbalah? There are indications that he was familiar with certain Jewish legends, or *Haggadah*[85]; these, however, he may have gleaned from secondary sources. In his use of allegory, and his search for Christian types in Biblical personages,[86] and in his repeated discovery of "mysteries" in Old Testament texts,[87] there is evidence of a desire on the part of Zwingli to apply esoteric principles to his exegesis of the Bible. This, however, it must be said, is typical of almost all Biblical commentaries and does not necessarily betray a knowledge of the Kabbalah. But in his explanation of the "Ineffable Name," the Reformer appears to have borrowed from the mystical works of both Pico de Mirandola and Johann Reuchlin.[88] It is known that Zwingli made use of Reuchlin's *Rudimenta Hebraica* and also followed with interest the progress of his controversy with the Dominican monks; he no doubt knew of Reuchlin's *De Verbo Mirifico* (1494), and *De Arte Cabbalistica* (1517), the latter particularly having awakened great interest in Christendom. Zwin-

[85] Thus in his explanation of Gen. 10:8 9 he says: "Nimrodus audax latro erat et grassabatur ne Deum quidem veritus."

[86] "omnia in figura et typo contingebant illis", v, 37, 109, et passim.

[87] v, 17, in the explanation of Gen. 3:15, Zwingli says: "Mysterium dixi hic latere altissimum," with reference to the application of the pronoun הוא to the Virgin Mary. The benediction of Japhet in v, 41, by Noah is a "mysterium non vulgare." See also v, 76: "Ecce mysterium! Tres sunt et tantum unum alloquitur." See also v, 114: "De Allegoria Fontium," and "Mysteria" in explanation of Gen. xxiv, 64. Also v, 165, explanation of Gen. 38, where Paul, Christ, the Gospels and other Christological material are assembled to elucidate the "mysterium." The Commentary on Exodus contains references to "mysteries," v, 238 ff.

[88] v, 67-8, 74, 254, in his commentary on Genesis; v, 211, 216, 221, 152, in his commentary on Exodus. v, 74, comment on Gen. 17:15, has the following: "Est autem ה litera essentialis et praecipua nominis ineffabilis dei יהוה, quae nominibus Abrahami et Sarae addita est, quod ex eis nasciturus erat Christus filius dei, in quo omnes gentes, quorum pater Abraham, benedicendae essent. Item aspirationis nota est Hebraeis; spirando autem viviums. Aspiratione ergo vita singificatur; quae Christus est qui ex Abrahamo secundum carnem erat nasciturus."

gli may not have read either book, yet he employs Reuchlin's essential principle, namely, the deduction from the "Tetragrammaton" of arguments in defense of Jesus, in fact, the discovery in the Ineffable Name itself, of the name of Christ.

From Pico de Mirandola it is certain that Zwingli borrowed considerably. The Reformer while a teacher in Basel approved of several of the theses—which, however, is unknown—that Pico de Mirandola had proposed to maintain against all comers in the winter of 1486-7. Pope Innocent VIII prohibited the discussion and thirteen of the 900 theses were selected for condemnation. Among these are three which have especial interest for us in the light of Zwingli's doctrines:[89]

. . . 3. That neither the cross of Christ, nor any image ought to be adored in the way of worship.

4. That God cannot assume a nature of any kind whatsoever, but only a rational nature.

5. That no science affords a better assurance of the divinity of Christ than magical or cabalistic science.

Because of his interest in the theses of Pico, Zwingli had been called in certain quarters a heretic.[90] In 1510, Glareanus wrote to Zwingli, alluding to some remark made by the latter concerning Pico,—a sign of the Reformer's interest in the Italian Kabbalist (*Opera*, vii, 2.) Several of Pico's works are now in the collection of Zwingli's books in Zurich.[91] The Preface to his Commentary on Isaiah in 1529 contains a reference by Zwingli to Pico. (v, 556.)

An attempt has been made to trace resemblances between the doctrines of Pico and Zwingli on the Eucharist, Providence, and Predestination.[92] Moerikofer (ii, 302), remarks that Zwingli transposed into Biblical form much that he learned from the philosophers, among them Seneca and Plato. But in a note (ii, 508) he criticises with directness the theory upheld by Sigwart,

[89] For a discussion of the thirteen obnoxious theses, see Rigg, J. N., in his preface to the translation of Sir Thomas More's *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola*, London, 1890, pp. viii-ix.

[90] Cf. Myconius, pp. 56; Bullinger, *Reformationsgeschichte*, i, 7.

[91] Cf. Catalogue of Zwingli Exhibition of 1884, p. 9.

[92] Sigwart, C., *Ulrich Zwingli: der Character seiner Theologie mit besonderer Ruecksicht auf Picus von Mirandula.* Stuttgart, 1855. Sigwart later modified his views. In regard to the Eucharist, Melanchthon states explicitly that Zwingli confessed to him Erasmus had first suggested the theory. *Corpus Reformatorum*, iv, 970. See Jackson, pp. 84-5.

that Pico, a youth immersed in thoughts on magic and Kabbalah, could influence so cosmopolitan and cultured a scholar as Zwingli. The reference to Pico in the Preface to Isaiah concerns merely the Italian's Hebrew knowledge and not his doctrines.[93] Nevertheless, it seems unquestionable that Zwingli was affected by Pico's works. In how far he borrowed from the Italian Hebraist cannot be determined; whether Zwingli's mystical ideas concerning the Trinity, the Ineffable Name, the discovery of esoteric views in the Old Testament were derived from Pico's Kabbalah is a point which must be left in abeyance.

6. Zwingli and the Reuchlin Affair

We have suggested that Zwingli may have known Reuchlin's Kabbalistic works. It is certain that he knew of the great Humanist's defense of the Talmud and other Jewish books against the attacks of the Cologne Inquisition, and the Obscurantists throughout Europe. The conflict between the forces of liberalism arrayed on the side of Jewish literature, and of reaction determined that Judaism should not be studied even for the purpose of seeking therein proof for Christianity, found an echo in German Switzerland, and hence deserves our attention here. Zwingli came into contact with this revolutionary upheaval precedent to the German Reformation through both direct and indirect means. In the person of Joachim von Watt, or Vadianus, both Zwingli and Reuchlin found a friend. Vadian, the Reformer of St. Gall (1484-1551), was a student at the University of Vienna at the time the Reuchlin-Dominican affair was at its height. Full of enthusiasm for the cause of the Humanist, he wrote to Reuchlin, April 5, 1512:

If I had an original of your Gutachten, I would like a Notary to write beneath it: I, Vadian, esteem and praise and declare to be victorious the

[93] Moerikofer repudiates with considerable vehemence the notion advanced by Sigwart that Zwingli took his idea of God propounded in the chapter "De Providentia," word for word from Pico's "Ente et Uno;" he sees only a superficial likeness between Zwingli's fourth chapter of "De Providentia," and Pico's "Oratio de hominis dignitate." It is true Moerikofer admits, that Zwingli like Pico begins with a quotation from the Saracen Abdala, and like him speaks of the differentiation between the heavenly and earthly man. But stylistically and even in ideas, there are radical dissimilarites. "Since Zwingli could stand so completely on his own feet by the side of Luther and Erasmus, how can it be magined that he imitated the abstruse Pico de Mirandola?"

cause of Reuchlin. But what need have you of signatures; truth triumphs for you . . . Just as Cicero's enemies prepare destruction for themselves, and fame for Cicero, so also it will be with your opponent, a converted Jew, with whom you do battle as a Christian. In truth, it does not become a sage man, one who has trust in the impeccable truths of the Christian faith, to dedicate the books of the Jews to the flames instead of overcoming them with reasons.

Later Vadian wrote to Reuchlin, extending him his friendship: during the trial at Rome, it was a comfort to know that so many learned and excellent men had rallied to the side of Reuchlin; whatever lay in his feeble power to do, he stood ready to offer. Reuchlin thanked him for his genuine sympathy and would have written him regularly had not many duties intervened.[94] During the very time that Vadian interested himself in the activities of the German Humanists, Zwingli was in correspondence with him at Vienna. On October 4, 1512, a few months after Vadian's first epistle to Reuchlin, Zwingli sent his brother James to Vadian with a letter of introduction, commending him to the latter's care. (vii, 7.) Vadian and Zwingli remained in constant communication throughout the Reformer's career; he must have told his friend in Zurich many interesting things concerning the controversy over the Jewish books, for Zwingli, as we have noted in the case of Ceporinus, was always eager for information concerning Reuchlin.[95]

Through Erasmus also, Zwingli came into contact with the Reuchlin affair. It is instructive to note that just as Erasmus turned away from the support of the Hebraist when he saw that the storm resulting from the conflict over the burning of the Talmud, through the publication of the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum* had led to a crisis in German Christendom, so too, when Zwingli carried to a logical conclusion the teachings of Erasmus and proposed to abolish the evils of the Roman Church as manifested in Zurich, Erasmus became alarmed, and asserted that the time was not yet ripe.[96] Moreover, Zwingli was on friendly

[94] Vadian wrote Reuchlin before Oct. 24, 1516; Reuchlin answered on that date. See Geiger, *Johannes Reuchlin*, Leipzig, 1871, pp. 326-7.

[95] For Zwingli's letter to Vadian and *vice versa*, see vii, 9, 333, 334; also *Die Vadianische Briefsammlung*, St. Gall, 1897.

[96] vii, 251. As Strauss says: "Humanism was large-minded, but faint-hearted." *Ulrich von Hutten*, English translation, London, 1874, p. 346.

terms with Ulrich von Hutten, the leading supporter of Reuchlin in his battle against the Obscurantists. During his flight through Zurich in 1523, Zwingli defended Hutten. Erasmus later dedicated to Zwingli his *Sponge to wipe off the Aspersions of Hutten*, though an estrangement had arisen between the two because of Zwingli's friendship for Hutten, despite the latter's attacks on the Humanist for his failure to espouse the cause of the Reformation. The Reuchlin affair doubtless came up in conversation between Zwingli and Hutten. In a letter by Froben to Zwingli in 1520, we have direct reference to the Reuchlin controversy: there is nothing new, writes the correspondent, except that Franz von Sickingen (with whom Oecolampadius was on very intimate terms), had befriended Reuchlin, and it appeared that the Hebraist would eventually come into his own against the monks. Hoogstraten, the Inquisitor, had for a long time been silent, and Reuchlin's cause was in the ascendant. Thus it is certain that Zwingli not only knew of the controversy over the Jewish books indirectly, but that he was kept informed concerning its progress by interested friends, who played a part in the Zurich Reformation.

7. Zwingli and Servetus

Another movement of distinct Jewish associations which touched the fringe of the Zwingli Reformation was anti-Trinitarianism, led by Michael Servetus. On July 20, 1531, Oecolampadius, the cherished friend of Zwingli, wrote from Basel that Servetus' *De Trinitatis Erroribus* was being circulated in the city; he considered it thoroughly blasphemous, but several Strassburgers had openly praised it. Oecolampadius offered to send Zwingli a copy of the work in case he had not already seen it. Zwingli's reply to this letter concerning Servetus is unknown, nor do we know his opinion respecting the book. In view of the charge raised against Zwingli that he had "Jewish" or Arian views regarding the nature of Christ, a mention of this work concerning the Trinity is of interest. A discussion of this point in connection with the alleged influence exerted upon the Reformer by Moses of Winterthur deserves place in our consideration of the "Judaic" elements in Zwingli's theology.

8. Judaic Elements in Zwingli's Theology

The theological system of Ulrich Zwingli was essentially and fundamentally Christological. Yet in the words of a Christian writer on *Zwingli's Theology, Philosophy and Ethics*, "it had its roots in the Hebrew religion. It was held by those writers in the Old Testament who attributed all agency, even that producing evil, to God."[97] We are willing to go even further and to affirm that Zwingli's theology was inpregnated not merely by Old Testament Hebraic influences, but by Jewish and Rabbinical ideas. We are of the opinion that the Reformer's belief and practices were dominated by a Christian impulse: they centered about the personality of Christ; they traced their origin through the Roman back to the primitive Christian Church. Nevertheless in several important particulars, especially where Zwingli dissented from orthodox Catholicism, a strong Judaic note is present. We have examined the role of the Hebrew language and Scriptures in the Reformer's scholarly activities; we have found them, especially during the later years of his life, profoundly significant in the formulation of his views. We wish now to carry forward this investigation into the realms of Zwingli's doctrines, in order that we may be able to differentiate between those changes effected through the rising spirit of Christian rationalism, and those stimulated by Jewish factors.

a. his attitude toward the old testament

The Old Testament was regarded by Zwingli in the light of the New Testament, and in conventional fashion, the Reformer sought to justify Christian doctrines by means of Old Testament prophecies. But the latter had merit in its own right. Zwingli speaks of the Old and New Testaments as "two lights to prevent us from being deceived." He is outspoken in his criticism of the Catabaptists whom he accused of denying the Old Testament. In the Second Zurich Disputation he confronted his radical opponents with the charge of open atheism because they had written to the Senate: "The Old Testament is antiquated, and testimony adduced from it is void, and so can prove nothing." At Grueningen, said Zwingli, they trampled upon the Old Testament, just as at Worms, they sullied the New.

[97] Foster, F. H. Supplementary Chapter, Jackson, pp. 367-8.

Since you then disparage part of the Old and part of the New, you only show that you are the very worst and most fickle of men, indeed atheists.[98]

Again Zwingli remarks (*Selections*, pp. 179-180):

Do you not despise the Old Testament? And yet Christ submitted himself and his teaching to it, and the Apostles used no other Scripture, indeed they could not, since until after the beginning of their preaching, there was no Scripture as yet other than that drawn from (the Old Testament.)

In the conclusion of his argument with the Baptists:

What difference is there between the Old and New Testament? Very much and very little, I reply. Very little if you regard those chief points which concern God and us: very much if you regard what concerns us alone. (p. 234.)

b. ZWINGLI'S ATTITUDE TOWARD JEWS AND THEIR ELECTION

In respect to the Jews and their election, Zwingli favored the current notion that they were a chosen people: "God embraced Abraham and selected him out of all for this purpose, that from him might come the posterity that would save not only the Jews, but the whole human race;" in support of this belief, he quotes several texts from the Old Testament, among them Ex. 19:5, and Isaiah 19:25. He then goes on to remark:

The same covenant which he entered into with Israel he has in these latter days entered into with us, that we may be one people with them, one church, and may have also one covenant. I suppose that some one will vainly cry out: See how that fellow *would make Jews of us*, though we have always been told of two peoples, two churches and two covenants.

Therefore in order to escape this imputation of Judaizing, Zwingli quickly proceeds to point out that:

Whenever there is held in Scripture that there are two distinct and diverse peoples, necessarily one of these is not the people of God. For both when the Jews were God's people and we who are Gentiles were not, and now when we who are Gentiles are God's people, and the Jews are cut off, there is only one people of God, not two.

[98] *Selections*, p. 152 et passim. The truth of the matter was that the Anabaptists, led by Muenzer, cherished the Old Testament, particularly the Pentaetuch, even more highly than Zwingli himself; their arguments here are merely for disputation purposes.

In other words, "the people of the Gentiles or the impious are (now) the people of Israel." The concept of the "chosen people" has therefore passed from the Jews, and lodged with the Gentiles, or the right-believing Christians.

> Since therefore, there is one immutable God and one testament only, we who trust in Christ are under the same testament, consequently God is as much our God as he was Abraham's and we are as much his people as was Israel. (*Selections*, p. 235.)

We cite these excerpts not merely to indicate Zwingli's attitude towards the Jews, but also to point out that the belief in election by God which is characterized as distinctive of the Jewish people, has been cherished, not only by the early Church Fathers and in the Roman Church, but among Protestant groups of the Reformation. In the Puritan movement, the sense of affinity with God as His chosen race was one of the most vital concepts among English Protestants.

c. ZWINGLI'S PROTEST AGAINST "OLD TESTAMENT RITUALISM"

Though Zwingli championed the Old Testament in general, he protested against the use made thereof by the established Church in vindication of its intricate ritualistic and ceremonial system. In the conflict over the sale of indulgences by the Franciscan monk, Bernhardin Samson, we read in a letter written by Beatus Rhenanus, to Zwingli, December 6, 1518:

> I see no cause for it except that the priests, deceived by those mule-driving, sophistical theologians, teach heathen and Jewish doctrines. (vii, 57.)

Rhenanus uses the term "Jewish" in a broad sense, applying it to the hair-splitting arguments which characterized Scholasticism and contemporary Catholicism. Zwingli extends the use of the phrase to objectionable ceremonies and observances. In the controversy over the abstention from eating meat during Lent, we find him saying:

> How trifling will the fasts of the Jews become which they ordained at times for those in great sorrow, if you will compare them with these stated forty days' fasts of ours . . . Furthermore if you compare the selection of foods, its observation is more onerous among the Christians than among the Jews . . . In the enforced leisure of feast days, we surpass the Jews very greatly.

In his work: *Concerning Choice and Liberty Respecting Food*, published in 1522, we discover repeated efforts to force the Catholic Church into a "Judaic" position by describing rules concerning food as derived from Jewish sources:

> According to Jewish law, they took great account of the choice of food and abstinence, all of which regulations Christ desired to do away with in the New Testament . . . and although certain foods are forbidden in the Old Testament, they are on the contrary made free in the New . . . . Zwingli quotes Paul's words to Titus and remarks: "Here you see again he did not desire Jewish wiles heeded; this is plainly shown by the words next precedent, where he says: 'Wherefore rebuke and punish them sharply (of course with words) that they may be sound in the faith, not listening to Jewish fables and human commandments that pervert the truth.'" (Jackson, Appendix, p. 412.)[99]

d. ZWINGLI'S "JUDAIC" PROTEST AGAINST IMAGES

Zwingli's protest against the veneration of images won from his Catholic foes the opinion that he was inclining towards Jewish notions. An *Elenchus* of heresies published in the seventeenth century traces the course of Jewish ideas in the Christian Church and remarks: "The Jews do not carry images, neither do the Zwinglians or the Calvinists."[100] Though in the eyes of the Reformers, minute observances suggested Judaism, the opposition to the adoration of the images of the Virgin Mary and of the

[99] "Now the Jews and heathen have always clung closely to the letter of the law, which oppresses much, indeed kills, as Paul says. Not only in the Old Testament, but also in the New, it oppresses much." p. 419. "We are also in baptism, that is in belief, freed from all Jewish or human ceremonies, and chosen works, which he calls the rudiments." Zwingli sums up his case on "Whether Anyone has power to forbid foods," with arguments among which are: "II. For God says: Deut, 5: 2: 'Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish aught from it. And 12: 32: 'What thing soever I command you, observe to do it: thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it.' III. If one could not and should not add to the Old Testament, then much less to the New. IV. For the Old Testament has passed away in its time; but the New is everlasting, and can never be done away with."

[100] *Elenchus* of Du Preau: "Imagines Judaei non ferunt, uti non Zwingliani sive Calviniani, quemadmodum synagoga Genevae loquitur, nullam omnino habens Turcico more ullius rei imaginem. Haec Lindanus Dubitantu sui dialogo." Elenchus, c. 225. And again: "*Elenchus*, Epist, Ded. 7: "Lutherani qui ac Martinistae, Zwingliani, ac Calvinisti quos Sacramentarios nuncupamus, ac Melanchthonici, qui confessionistae appellantur, atque demum omnium pestilentissimum Anabaptistae prodiere."

Saints, appeared, and quite rightly to the Romanists, as a recrudescence in Christendom of Jewish iconoclasm.[101] After several radicals had carried into execution Zwingli's belief in the removal of images from churches as idols, a committee was appointed to study Scriptural passages bearing on the theme: a great debate was held October 26, 1523, where it was decided, largely on the basis of Old Testament texts, that Church images were forbidden by God and Holy Scripture, and hence should be eliminated from houses of worship. Zwingli thus speaks of the veneration of images:

> It is clear that the images and other representations which we have in the houses of worship have caused the risk of idolatry. Therefore they should not be allowed to remain there, nor in your chambers, nor in the market-place, nor anywhere else where one does them honour. Chiefly they are not to be tolerated in the churches, for all that is in them should be worthy of our respect. If anyone desires to put historical representations on the outside of the churches, that may be allowed, so long as they do not incite to their worship. But when one begins to bow before these images and to worship them, then they are not to be tolerated anywhere in the wide world, for that is the beginning of idolatry, nay, is idolatry itself. (i, 561 ff.)

The Reformer proceeds to remark that he believed the absence of images in churches would tend to increase the hunger for the Word of God.[102]

We do not hesitate to say that in the Reformation's hostility to the worship of images and relics, Christianity was returning more clearly than in any other one feature—except perhaps in its denial of the Trinity—to its Jewish elements. The passages quoted in vindication of the iconoclastic position were drawn almost entirely from the Old Testament; the orthodox groups were quick to stigmatize the anti-image platform as "Judaic." We do not imply that either Zwingli, Calvin, Luther or their fellow-Iconoclasts were influenced directly by individual Jews in assuming this stand, or that Jews wrote this doctrine into the theological

[101] Schaff, vii, 59, remarks: "The Swiss Reformers proceeded on a strict construction of the second commandment as understood by Jews and Moslems. They regarded all kinds of worship paid to images and relics as a species of idolatry. They opposed chiefly the paganism of popery; while Luther attacked its *legalistic Judaism*, and allowed the pictures to remain as works of art and helps to devotion."

[102] ii, 17-59. cf. Moerikofer, i, 269-274.

system of the Reformers; moreover, the natural hostility to image worship which grew out of nascent Christian rationalism and the desire to simplify Christian practice contributed strongly to their protest. Yet the gradual elimination of statuary and paintings from houses of Christian devotion cannot be viewed as anything else than a steady approximation to a long-championed Jewish attitude, from which Christianity in its historical development had diverged, and to which after centuries of activity, it slowly reverted. It did not require the presence of individual Jews to accomplish this; the mere presence of Jewish literature wherein Jewish views were vigorously propounded, sufficed to win Christianity away from tenets not in keeping with progressive religious thought.

e. ZWINGLI AND THE OLD TESTAMENT THEOCRACY

Zwingli's reliance upon the Old Testament can be further seen from his advocacy of Old Testament theocratic and anti-monarchical principles. He aimed at the reformation of political and social life through the medium of Scripture; like Calvin at Geneva, he sought, though in lesser degree, to creat a model commonwealth founded upon the laws and spirit of the Bible.[103] Zwingli did not favor the so-called republican form of government, but chose in preference to it and to monarchy the aristocratic.[104] In this respect, he agreed with the Puritan Fathers of a century later, who in the person of John Cotton, John Winthrop and others, elevated the aristocratic above the republican and monarchical systems; it must in this connection be remembered that this rejection of "republican" government did not imply anti-democratic concepts in the modern sense, for republicanism was interpreted differently then from today. Zwingli was fundamentally a free republican, particularly in contrast to Luther who was a loyal monarchist. Like Cromwell, the Swiss Reformer appealed to the examples of Joshua and Gideon, as he went forth to battle in both the first and second Cappel wars; the admirable discipline which prevailed in the camp of Zurich reminds one of

[103] Bluntschli, J. K., *Geschichte des schweizerischen Bundesrechtes*, Stuttgart, 1875, 2d ed., i, 293 ff. Cf. also Schaff, vii, 66.

[104] See Preface to Translation of Isaiah, v, 483-89.

the Puritan system of Cromwell. The contrast between Luther and Zwingli has been described by Hottinger:[105]

> Zwingli entertained far more liberal views concerning the rights of the people in their collective capacity against their rulers, and here supported by passages from the Old Testament, whilst Luther relied exclusively on the New, he developed a theory (an assemblage of propositions), which must have no doubt appeared suspicious to the German Reformers.

The Mosaic tendencies in Zwingli's theory of government have been noted by several scholars.[106] Zwingli supported his concept of government as divinely ordained by means of illustrations derived from Jewish history (iii, 302, Kreutzer, p. 10); the foundation of all positive law is the Bible; all decisions which affect the life of the State, found in Old Testament codes are to be recognized as binding upon every Christian government:[107] he quotes as authority for laws on adultery, Lev. 20:10; on perjury, Deut. 17:5; he regards the Decalogue as the fountain source of ethical legislation. He wishes to reform the economic life of the state, and includes as one of the necessary steps in this process: "no government should be so dishonest with its citizens that it tolerate Jews or other usurers"—an indication that the Reformer was by no means free from current prejudices or misconceptions regarding the Jews. In outline and details, however, Zwingli's model commonwealth had its roots in the Mosaic theocracy: it was naturally overlaid with Christian ideas and forms; New Testament passages stood side by side with selections borrowed from the Old Testament. Yet its essential spirit was borrowed from the Pentateuch, by no means so strongly as in the case of the Calvinists, Anabaptists, the Puritans in England, in Massa-

[105] Hottinger, J. J., *Life and Times of Ulrich Zwingli*, translated from the German, by G. C. Porter, Harrisburg, 1857, p. 34.

[106] Kreutzer, J., *Zwingli's Lehre von der Obrigkeit*, Stuttgart, 1908, p. 14, note 1. Kreutzer remarks that the statement of G. Mueller in *Luther's Stellung zum Rechte*, Leipzig, 1906, p. 16, with reference to Muenster and Carlstadt, the Anabaptists, holds good also of Zwingli: "The theocratizing of law which they fought in the Roman Church, they wished to fulfil in another direction and in another form. Therefore they turned back not merely to the Gospel, but above all to the Mosaic Law, which through the form of a summary of social and legal enactments, appeared applicable."

[107] i, 436: Egli and Finsler, *Zwingli's Werke*, 1905, et seq., ii, 487.

chusetts, New Haven and Connecticut, yet sufficiently noticeable to give it an Old Testament character and mould.[108]

f. ZWINGLI'S VIEWS ON THE NATURE OF CHRIST; HIS ASSOCIATION WITH MOSES OF WINTERTHUR

A discussion of Zwingli's notions concerning the nature of Christ brings us again to a mention of Merle D'Aubigné's statement that Zwingli at Marburg in 1529 was compelled first of all to deny any tendency towards humanitarian or "Jewish" views of the nature of Christ. Luther did not scruple to accuse him of being comparable to "Arius," the heretic. The Swiss Reformer in his turn, however, levels against his Baptist opponents the charge that they professed heretical views on the nature of Christ:[109]

> With folly does he boast the baptism of Christ who denies Christ. It is no purpose that they say *after the manner of the Jews* (*some of whom we know do this*,) that Christ was a great prophet, or a man of God, but not the Son of God, for he can be neither a prophet nor a man of God who brings a lie to wretched mortals—in which (lies), they abound to more than a sufficiency. But Christ asserted that he was the Son of God; on account of this he died; he therefore could not have lied when he said he was God's Son if he was a true prophet or a man of God. [110]

This statement has interest for us because in it Zwingli admits not only that he knew the Jewish view of Christ, but that he had learned it from Jews. What Jews did Zwingli know? We may be certain that Boeschenstein did not pass himself off as a Jew, or even that he let it be known that he was supposed by many to be of Jewish birth. We have no evidence as to whether, with the exception of Moses of Winterthur, Zwingli had relations with any other Jewish persons in Switzerland.[111] But we are informed

[108] Zwingli makes use of customary Biblical texts in support of his republican ideas: thus in his "Solemn Warning against the Control of Foreign Lords," he quotes from Ex. 15: 1, 2, and I. Sam. 8:10-27, against the introduction of a King into Switzerland, a passage which performed yeoman service in the American Revolution. Cf. Jackson, *Works*, New York, 1912, passim.

[109] "Refutation of Baptist Tricks," *Selections*, p. 128. Dated July 31, 1527.

[110] For a statement of the Jewish argument on Christ as a "man of God," see the *Wikkuach* of David Kimchi, in the *Milchemeth Chobhah*, Constantinople, 1710.

[111] On the Jews in Swiss cities, see Ulrichs, J. C., *Sammlung Juedischer Geschichten in der Schweiz*, Basel, 1748; Baer, *Die Juden Zuerichs im Mittelalter, in*

by the Reformer himself that he had had relationships with the Jew, Moses of Winterthur, as we have had occasion heretofore to mention. This incident, though seemingly trivial in the light of the manifold intellectual influences which played upon Zwingli, deserves a closer analysis. In a pamphlet, printed by Hansen Hager, and issued by Zwingli dated June 25th, 1524, under the title: *Ein flyssige und kurze underrichtung wie man sich vor luegen (dero dise zyt nit on gefaerd volloufend) hueten und bewaren soll*,[112] Zwingli tells the Christian public to whom he dedicated it, that his enemies are spreading broadcast calumnies and lies concerning him, a fact which is sure to bring destruction upon their head, as Prov. 19:9 states. After an appropriate introduction to his theme, Zwingli proceeds to proclaim the accusation against him:

Now, dear brothers, you shall know that certain monks, supported by certain prominent people, are saying that we have learned at Zurich all our knowledge of the Divine Word from the Jews; we would be little concerned with the gossiping of this or that person, were it not that thereby the Word of God they hope to bring into disrepute—the Word of God which above all things must remain undisturbed. Therefore I mention it, since this report is considered everywhere as truth.

It has been said that the Jew, Moses of Winterthur, has openly boasted that he comes to us and teaches us, and that we have repeatedly gone to him in secret, and that I have received him through a third person. I have received from him in response to my letter, the following reply, written on his own initiative:

"Therefore, my dear sir, I wish to tell you that the report which has been spread concerning me, and also has been referred to you, is untrue; such words never came forth from my lips; moreover, I would like very much to see the person, whoever he may be, who uttered this thing concerning me; I will convince him that I have never spoken thus, for it contains not an iota of truth, to which God in heaven can testify."

Thus speaks the Jew. It is true that a short time ago in the presence of more than ten learned and pious men of Zurich, I had converse with him concerning certain prophecies in the Old Testament; but all concerning their error, that they are in misery, since they refuse to accept the Lord Jesus Christ. Moreover, he has come to Zurich twice to attend our He-

Zuericher Taschenbuch auf das Jahr 1896; Steinberg, A., *Studien zur Geschichte der Juden in der Schweiz waehrend des Mittelalters*, Zurich, 1903.

[112] Another edition of this letter by Christopher Froschauer was printed. A third by Chr. Froschauer in Latin, *Opera*, ii, 605a-607a. It has been translated into modern German, in Fuesslin, *Beytraegen* v, 120-130. The quotations here given are taken from Schuler and Schulthess, ii, 322-326.

brew lessons (lezgen), not however, to teach, but to listen, and to hear whether we can make correct use of the Hebrew writings; afterwards he admitted to us, we can use Hebrew correctly, and wished that he could treat it in such a way.

In addition, to such slanderers who misuse their ignorance in these things, it may be said: Do you not know that in your own laws (Di. xi), it is fixed that one should go to the Hebrews (man zu den Hebraeerern loufen soelle), if one encounters anything doubtful in the Old Testament. But you run to the heathens; and the word of Aristotle is more important to you than the word of God and of His Son Jesus Christ; for you modify the word of Christ according to his words and understanding. There is just as much to complain of in your case as in the case of the stubborn Jews, for God's word means little among you. ("Doct ist mit inen als vil ze handeln als mit den verstopften Juden; denn gottes wort gilt wenig by inen.")

The words of Zwingli speak for themselves, and little comment is necessary; we need only emphasize the fact that like Reuchlin in his controversy with the Dominicans, Zwingli asserts that the Canonical law permits Christians to go to Jews in order to secure the correct reading of dubious Biblical texts; moreover, he considers the paganism of the Church as pernicious as the stubbornness of the Jews. It is interesting to observe that Zwingli is charged with secret association with the Jews; in other words, the monks not only were ready to accept any rumor of conversation by a Reformer with Jews as evidence of "Judaic" inclinations, but suspected their opponents of deriving both their Hebraic knowledge and their opinions from Jews. We have no further evidence from Zwingli concerning Moses, the Jew of Winterthur; little is known of the Jewish community in this town; we are apprized, however, of a certain physician, Lazarus by name, who practiced medicine in Winterthur as late as 1518.[113] It may

[113] Ulrich, *op. cit.*, p. 67 in his chapter on "Jewish Physicians" has a note concerning this Lazarus. "That there were in the city of Winterthur, both before and about the time of the Reformation, famous Jewish physicians can be clearly perceived from a notice which appears in the biography of the famous Zurich 'Professoris Ling. Graec. Rodolphi Collini,' as he calls himself. This Collin about the year 1522 was highly thought of in the Cloister of St. Urban, and was 'Ludimagister' there; moreover he was a particular favorite of the Abbot. This Abbot was Erhard Castler von Keyserstuhl, 'nobili genere natus.' It seems, however, that he was a sickly man, for Collin says of him: 'D. Abbas graviter aegrotans Medicos sectatus Vitodurum apud Judaeum haerens.' This gentleman must have had great confidence in the Jewish physician, because he visited him in person at Winterthur, and took up his quarters with this

perhaps be that Lazarus, or his son, and Moses, the friend of Zwingli, are one and the same person.[114] It would be interesting to know whether Zwingli and his ten learned companions from Zurich and Winterthur visited Moses with the express purpose of engaging him in a disputation concerning the Messianic prophecies. This seems more plausible than an accidental meeting. Zwingli like Luther cherished the hope of an ultimate conversion of the Jews; his commentary on the eleventh chapter of Romans speaks of his confidence that ultimately the Gentiles yet unconverted and the people of Israel will be brought to Christ.[115]

In his *Defense* against the lies of his opponents, Zwingli after vindicating his associate, Franz Kolb of Bern, goes on to refute the charge that he openly preaches Jesus Christ is not the Son of God, and that he did not suffer for mankind's sins. Therefore his enemies accuse him of falling away from the faith and of going over to the Jews. ("dass sy mich verluemdind, sam ich vom

very Jew, undoubtedly in order to be closer at hand. See *Huldrici Miscellanea Tigurina*, Tom. I, Ausgab, I, p. 12." Lazarus the Jew paid several visits to Zurich, where Zwingli may have met or seen him. In the year 1518, the town of Winterthur granted to the physician Lazarus and his son Moses an extension in time of their right of domicile; a restriction, however, was made that their wives should not touch any wares in the marketplace; "sie wellenz den kaufen." Troll, *Geschichte der Stadt Winterthur*, 1848, 7 Teil, p. 25, and Meyer-Ahrens, p. 472; Steinberg, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

[114] Ulrich, p. 129, refers to the paragraph in Fuesslin, i, 221: "Zwingli reports in his defense against certain untruths disseminated against him in the year 1524, that there was a Jew by the name Moses of Winterthur, his enemies said that he took lessons from this Jew. This calumny he thoroughly destroyed, but he did not tell who this Jew was nor how he had come to Winterthur, for the citizens of Winterthur had long before expelled the Jews from their city, and would not tolerate any more therein. From Erasmus' letters, I learn that physicians at this time were very rare, and that the Jews practiced medicine most; I am therefore of the opinion that the city of Winterthur summoned this Jew in order that he might practice medicine there." In addition to learning Hebrew from Moses, and engaging him in discussions concerning the Messiah, could not Zwingli who at times—for example March 30, 1526,—was afflicted with attacks of illness have made use of the services of Moses as a physician?" It is interesting to note that Johann Caspar Ulrich was Pastor of the Frauen-Minster in Zurich where Zwingli often preached.

[115] Compare also his hope of meeting in heaven not only the saints of the Old and New Testaments, from Adam down to the Apostles, but all good and true men of every nation and generation. By the side of this place the remarks of the Jewish sages: "The righteous of all nations have a share in the world to come." *Tos. Sanh.* xxii, 2. *Opera*, iv, 65.

glouben und zue den Juden gefallen sye," ii, 324.) The Reformer protests ardently against this assertion and summons as evidence of his belief in the Divinity and Atonement of Christ, his many writings on these themes. He points out that Christ has in himself two natures, divine and human, and yet is one Christ.[116] "The Jews," he says, "do not recognize this, and when he speaks of his divine nature, and as a Son of God, they protest that he attributes too much to himself; for they consider him to be a man, indeed that he was born of Joseph, according to Luke 4:22. And to such of their errors, Christ gives them often answers for their instruction." Again he mentions that Christ is not a mere man "according to the wrong understanding of the Jews;" he is but one Christ; "This the Jews will not understand." The word of Christ himself, which Zwingli quotes from several passages in the Gospel of John, is "directly against the Jews." He concludes his demonstration by saying that his opponents have twisted the arguments of the Jews to make them appear as his own; in reality, however, he is a strong advocate of the divinity of Jesus. We have already mentioned that in his Disputation against the Baptists, published under date of July 31, 1527, Zwingli admits he knows the views of "some Jews" on the nature of Christ. It is quite certain that he acquired a knowledge of the Jewish attitude towards Jesus from Moses of Winterthur; whether he discoursed with other Jews later is unknown; after the charge of Judaizing had been raised against him, we can picture Zwingli as being more wary of association with them. Yet the growth of his interest in Hebrew, his constantly broadening acquaintance with Jewish literature may have unfolded to him many items of interest in Jewish doctrine and Jewish life.

With a description of the Moses of Winterthur episode, and its probable effect upon Zwingli's concepts of the nature of Christ, we bring our study of the Jewish associations in the life of the Reformer to a conclusion. We have traced the story of his Hebrew studies; we have analyzed his translations and commentaries on Old Testament books; we have examined his theological system; we have sought to discover the extent of his contact with individual Jews. We believe we have uncovered sufficient evidence to demonstrate that though the Old Testament and Jewish

[116] Compare the view of the Passagii: "Dicunt etiam quod Christus Dei Filius non sit aequalis Patri, et quod Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, istae tres Personae non sint unus Deus, et una substantia." d'Achery, i, f. 211.

influences in Zwingli's life were not so profound as in the career of other Reformers, they were of distinct potency and force in the rise and development of the Reformation he fostered.

9. Hebraic Aspects of the Zwinglian Movement after the Death of Zwingli

a. zwingli's hebraist friends and successors

The Hebraic and Jewish interests of the Zurich Reformation did not cease with the death of its leader, Zwingli. Conrad Pellican continued to occupy the chair of Hebrew at the theological seminary until his death, April 6, 1556. In addition to his work on the method of reading and understanding Hebrew, Pellican wrote commentaries on the entire Bible; the exegesis of the Old Testament appeared in 1532 in six folio volumes. He makes use of a wide range of Hebrew sources; he wishes to accept from the Jews, not their "Talmudical fables," but their grammatical observations. In the Prophets and Psalms he adheres to the historical character of the references to David and the Kings, as well as to Christian Messianic interpretations, not often however, with satisfactory results. For his Lexicon, Pellican is said to have made use of the services of a gifted youth, Marcus Heiland; his Grammar which appeared in 1540 is often quoted. Pellican assisted in all the undertakings at Zurich during his career there, within the field of Hebrew literature, particularly in the preparation of the Zurich translation of the Bible.[117] Pellican's successor after 1556 was Peter Martyr, who as Prior in Lucca, Italy, had studied Hebrew under the Jew, Emmanuel Tremellius; he had been led to take up the study of Hebrew through his interest in theology; his first teacher had been a Jew. When the Reformation broke out, he allied himself with the Reformers; his position became untenable in Italy; he therefore went to Strassburg, and on receiving a call from Zurich, went to Switzerland, where he remained until his death, December 12, 1561. During his life-

[117] For a discussion of Pellican's works, see Diestel, p. 272 *et passim;* Geiger, *Studium*, pp. 113-114: Hottinger, *Helvetische Kirchengeschichten*, iii Theil, Zurich, 1708, pp. 121, 289, ff, 824. Pellican greeted the Lutheran translation of the Bible with the remark: He had compared it with the Hebrew text; it pleased him exceedingly, for now on the teachers would find it necessary to refer to the original text. See also on Pellican, Hagenbach, in Herzogs, *Real-encyclopedie*, xi, 289.

time he published a Commentary on Judges; after his death there appeared Commentaries on the books of Samuel (Zurich, 1564), Genesis (to Chapter 42:1569); Kings (1566), and short pieces on Lamentations, 1629; in all of these works, Martyr made good use of Jewish exegetical works.[118]

Theodore Bibliander (d. 1564), the pupil of Zwingli, friend of Gessner, Myconius, Pellican, and Bullinger, and collaborator in the preparation of the Zurich Bible, is noted for the excellent appreciation he displayed of Jewish commentaries and exegetical writings. His *Oratio ad enarrationem Esaiae*, published in Zurich, 1531, is an admirable essay on the prophets and the spirit of prophecy in the Old Testament; the same may be said of his commentary on the prophet Nahum. Many of his works have come down in manuscript and await a publisher.[119] Bibliander is one of the first to attempt a Latin translation of the Koran, and to launch into the field of comparative Semitic languages.[120]

Heinrich Bullinger (1504-1575), the successor of Zwingli, effectively maintained the Hebraic tradition his distinguished Master had inaugurated. He was a fluent commentator on the Bible, and made abundant references to Rabbinical works.[121] Bullinger had many friends in England, and Lady Jane Grey wrote him often concerning questions in the Hebrew text. We will have occasion to consider Bullinger's career at length in connection with our chapter on the Calvinist Reformation.

b. THE ZURICH BIBLE TRANSLATION; LEO JUDAH

A word must be said concerning the Zurich translation of the Bible, a crowning achievement of the Zwingli Reformation. The translation was the work of a group of Zurich scholars, led by

[118] Schmidt, C, *Peter Martyr Vermigli*, Elberfeld, 1858, p. 294 ff.

[119] Christinger, J. J., *Theodor Bibliander. Ein bibliographisches Denkmal*, Frauenfeld, 1867, p. 17 ff. Cf. also Egli, *Analecta Reformatoria*, Zurich, 1901, ii, *passim*.

[120] See his *Institutiones grammaticae de lingua hebraea*, Zurich, 1535. *De optimo genere grammaticorum hebr. commentarius*, Basel, 1542.

[121] See Egli "Bullinger's Beziehungen zu Zwingli," in *Zwingliana*, p. 441, and the group of other essays on Bullinger in this series. See also "Eine Handbibel Bullingers," *ibid*, p. 17-18. This Bible is the Hebrew-Latin version of Sebastian Muenster in two folio-volumes, 1534, 1535. The work is filled with Bullinger's comments, particularly on the Prophets and poetical books of the Old Testament; the prophet Isaiah receives most attention; the margins of chapters 1-51 are almost entirely covered by notes.

Bibliander, Pellican and Leo Judah.[122] It appeared in six parts (1525-29), and was based upon Luther's translation insofar as the latter was available. The Prophets and the Apocrypha (with the exception of the Prayer of Azariah, the Song of the Three Children, the Prayer of Manasses, and the Additions to Esther) were prepared by a group, of which Leo Judah was the leader. The Complete Bible was printed in 1530 (four years before Luther finished his version), without preface and glosses; the Apocrypha appeared at the end. The edition of 1531, in two volumes, contained a short introduction and admonition "for the Christian reader of the Biblical books" no doubt the work of Zwingli who shared in the preparation of the Translation with his colleagues; in this edition, also, appeared a new version of the Poetical books.[123] The edition of 1548 in two volumes professes to have been compared word for word with the Hebrew, but differs only little from the editions of 1542 and 1545; it became the basis for later editions.[124]

The contribution of Leo Judah (1482-1542) to the Zurich Bible places him in the front rank of important translators of the Old Testament. His much esteemed Latin version of the Old Testament, considered his best work, was prepared in consultation with his colleagues, Pellican, Bibliander and others; he did not live to see its completion, but through the efforts of his two friends, it was issued in 1543, in handsome folio, with a preface by Pellican; it was several times reprinted.[125] Judah always avoided his family name, partly because his full name, "Leo Judah," suggested a Jewish origin. His parents, however, were indisputably Christian, and no Jewish strain in the family is known to have existed.

[122] Zwingli placed great reliance on the Hebrew scholarship of Leo Judah; on one occasion at least, however, he dissented from his judgment: *Opera*, ii, 29, in his "Answer to Valentin Compar," April 17, 1525, Zwingli gives an interpretation of a passage in one of the Ten Commandments, wherein he discusses also "Concerning the Adoration and Veneration of Images or Idols."

[123] For a comparison of the Lutheran, Zwinglian, and Zurich translations, of Psalm 23, see Egli, *Zwingliana*, pp. 155 ff.

[124] Metzger, *Geschichte der deutschen Bibeluebersetzung der schweizerischen reformirten Kirche*, Basel, 1876, pp. 109 ff. gives an account of the various editions of which the dates are 1589, 1629, 1665, 1724, 1755, 1772. 1817, 1860 and 1868. A revision of the New Testament and the Psalms appeared in 1893. See Riggenbach, *Die schweizerische revidierte Uebersetzung des Neuen Testamenst und der Psalmen*, Basel, 1895.

[125] Pestalozzi, C., *Leo Judae*, Elberfeld, 1860.

Though it is a matter of interest to learn whence the name "Judah" originated as his family name, any attempt to include "Master Leo" among either the Jews or Jewish converts who influenced the Swiss Reformation is fruitless.[126] But as a balancing fact, we may adduce this point: in the preparation of his Latin Bible which dealt yet another blow to the authority of the Vulgate and gave further impetus to the creation of a theology based upon a Biblical text more closely in accordance with the Hebrew original, Judah was assisted by a certain Michael Adam, a converted Jew who had found his way to Zurich. This Adam takes his place in the Swiss Reformation by the side of Boeschenstein and Moses of Winterthur, and in the Reformation as a whole, he ranks with Emmanuel Tremellius, Francis Junius, Matthew Adrian, and a score of bona-fide and apostate Jews who hastened the triumph of Protestant movements.

c. INFLUENCE OF THE ZWINGLIAN MOVEMENT OUTSIDE ZURICH

If Zwingli was influenced, perhaps only indirectly by contemporary currents which had within them a strain of Judaism, he in turn exerted upon movements in lands outside of Switzerland an influence which turned them to interest in Hebraic studies. We have already perceived that in every great center of the Reformation in Germany and Switzerland, Hebrew scholarship was cultivated, sometimes by the direct stimulus of Zwingli and his associates. A side light on the widespread influence of the Zurich

[126] Ulrich, p. 128, tells of an old tax-list which a friend in Winterthur showed him. In the year 1468, there is mentioned a certain "Schmoll Jud," concerning whom Ulrich's friend remarks: "It is in all probability true that this man not only had the name Jud, but really was a Hebrew, for in the year 1470 there is mentioned in the same place a Lazarus, the Jew." Ulrich supports his friend's opinion in a note (p. 129): "To be sure this Schmoll Jud was a Hebrew. His name betrays him. He is called 'Schmoll' or Schmuel, that is, Samuel. No 'Schmoll' or 'Smuel' can be found among the Christians. In addition, in order to characterize him correctly, he is called: 'Schmoll Jud'." Ulrich is undoubtedly correct in his analysis of this name. Were we to apply the same chain of reasoning, however, to Leo Judah, we might assert that in Leo Jud, there was a trace of Jewish descent. "Jud", may be either the name derived from "Jehudah," or a designation of his family as "Jewish." "Leo" itself is a form of "Loew" or "Lev," a name often found in connection with "Jehudah," the lion being the symbol of the tribe of Judah. But Leo Judah's father was a priest in Alsace, and there is little trace of a Jewish physiognomy in the portraits of Judah which have come down to us.

Reformation is seen in the story of the English Reformers who visited Switzerland. After the death of Zwingli, a group of English scholars came to Zurich in order to study at the University.[127] Conrad Pellican received several of these Englishmen as pupils in his own family. He taught John Hooper, Hebrew and Old Testament exegesis, for Hooper, according to John Foxe, "through God's secret vocation was stirred with fervent desire to the love and knowledge of the Scriptures." He emphasized consistently the authority of the Biblical word, and on his return to England in 1550, preached before the King and the Council, saying: "I shall make choice, I think, of a very suitable subject, namely the prophet Jonah, which will enable me freely to touch upon the duties of individuals." Again, to an English Bishop, he said: "Those who establish the mass as ye do, my Lord, and defend idolatry, must prove the thing ye speak by the Scripture, and plainly satisfy the places of the Scripture brought against you." To Hooper, the learned Theodore Bibliander dedicated his treatise on the Ten Commandments.[128] Hooper's daughters, Rachel and Anna, were equally under the influence of the Biblical word: we find them speaking of "an English coin on which are the effigies of Ahab and Jezebel, that is, of King Philip and Queen Mary". John Rogers and Thomas Harding, the former translator in 1537 of the Bible into English under the name of Thomas Matthew, the latter a distinguished Hebraist, were also students at Zurich.

d. ZWINGLI'S FAMILY; CONCLUSION

Of interest not only for the influence of the Swiss Reformation in England, but as a sign of its strong Hebraic tendencies even after the death of Zwingli, is the career of several members of the Zwingli family. Ulrich Zwingli (1528-1571), the second son of the Reformer, studied at Basel, became a clergyman, deacon at the Great Minster in Zurich, and professor of Hebrew in 1556. The two grandsons of Zwingli, Rudolph Zwingli and Rudolph Gualter, both became students of theology, and enjoyed the instruction at Heidelberg of Johann Emmanuel Tremellius, who gave them substantial impetus in their study of Hebrew and the

[127] Vetter, Th., *Relation between England and Zurich during the Reformation*, London, 1904. English translation.

[128] *Semi divinae maiestatis voce pronunciatus in monte Sinai*, Basel, 1552.

Old Testament.[129] In 1571, the two youths went to England where they came into association with Bishop Parkhurst, Edwin Sandys, a friend of Bullinger and Bishop of London; Nicholas Shepherd, Henry Butler, Richard Hilles, Richard Cox, Bishop of Ely; and Doctors Turner and Penny, men destined to play important roles in the English Reformation. Rudolph Gualter received a Master's degree at Oxford; in 1574, he returned to Switzerland, where he died in 1577; Rudolph Zwingli died in 1572. While in England, the young men had continued their Hebraic studies:"the pursuit of Hebrew lay, as it seems, closest to their heart, and in Antoine Rodolphe Chevalier, a French Protestant, who had a short time before come to Cambridge, they found an excellent teacher." (Vetter, p. 256.) Thus the Hebraic interests of the Zurich Reformation, introduced by Zwingli the pioneer, perpetuated themselves in his successors, and extending beyond the confines of Switzerland joined with the Hebraism of the English Reformation, and assisted in the spread of Reform ideas into new lands.

[129] Vetter, Th., "Rudolf Zwingli and Rudolf Gwalter, die Enkel des Reformators und ihre Schicksale in England, 1571-2", in *Zwingliana*, pp. 254-61.

III. MICHAEL SERVETUS,

THE ANTI-TRINITARIAN JUDAIZER.

1. Introduction.

The career of Michael Servetus, the foremost figure in the early years of the modern anti-Trinitarian or Unitarian movement, affords a vivid instance of the imprint of so-called "Jewish influence" upon the Reform movements in the Christian Church. In the life of few Reformers is the evidence of indebtedness to Jewish sources and individuals so specific. Servetus owed much to the literary influence of the Old Testament, viewed not in the light of traditional Christian exegesis, but through the eyes of leading Rabbinical commentators; he was acquainted with important works of contemporary Jewish scholars. Moreover, he came into personal contact with Jewish teachers in Spain, the land of his birth, and in other countries where he resided. A multitude of indirect tendencies, emanating from literature, movements and men also touched by Jewish influences, played upon Servetus. Combined with the direct impressions gained by the Reformer himself from his Jewish friends and his study of Jewish literature in the original language, these indirect influences served to create both the atmosphere and the special background wherefrom the revolutionary doctrinal system of Servetus emerged. In our analysis of his life and theology, we will not endeavour to separate the immediate from the intermediate, the primary from the secondary Jewish influences upon Servetus. We will describe his career from the standpoint of its Jewish associations—both literary and personal; we shall seek to portray the Jewish aspects of his theology, on its own merit, and in relation to contemporary Protestant thought. The result, as we shall see, is a composite picture of Servetus, the anti-Trinitarian Judaizer.

2. Jewish Elements in Servetus' Early Career

a. his alleged jewish birth

Michael Servetus was born at Villa-nueva or Villanova in Aragon, Spain, in the year 1509, the year of the nativity of Calvin,

his great antagonist.[1] Assertions have been made repeatedly that Servetus was of Jewish birth. Thus at his trial in Geneva, he was asked: "Was his father or any one of his ancestors Jews or of any other religion than Christian?"[2] To this interrogation, Servetus replied: "No, they were of an ancient race of noble stock."[3] Schaff remarks: "The hypothesis that he was of Jewish or Moorish extraction is an unwarranted inference from his knowledge of Hebrew and the Koran."[4] Willis (*op. cit.*, p. 5) points out that his father, a Notary by profession, was closely related to Andrea Serveto d'Aninon, sometime Professor of Civil Law in the University of Bologna, subsequently member of the Cortes of Aragon, and at one time, of the Council of the Indies. "So much makes it clear that Michael Servetus was of gentle blood, of Christian parentage, and neither of Jewish nor Moorish descent, as has been said, on no better ground apparently than that he shows he was acquainted with Hebrew, had read the Koran, and in his writings, is not intolerant towards Jews and Mahomedans, like his countrymen." Henry[5] disposes of the report which prompted the question placed to Servetus at the trial, by saying that "his father was a jurist and advocate, not of Jewish descent, as the judges (sought to bring out) in their desire to ac-

[1] The place and date of Servetus' birth are uncertain. In his trial at Vienne, he stated that he was born at Tudela (the city where the famous Jewish traveler Benjamin of Tudela was born in the 12th century), in the old Spanish kingdom of Navarre, and that he was then 42 years old; this would place his birth in 1511. David de Sola Pool, "The Influence of Some Apostates on the Protestant Reformation" in the *Jewish Review, ii* (1911), 329 accepts the year 1509 as correct. In his trial at Geneva, Servetus declared himself to be "Espagnol Arragonese de Villeneufve," and to be 44 years old. Willis, Robert, *Servetus and Calvin*, London, 1877, p. 3, decides for Villanova: "When he spoke of himself as a Navarrese at Vienne, it may have been done to conciliate his French judges." "It was a moment when he had paramount motives for seeking to conceal his identity." Henri Tollin decides for the year 1511 and Tudela: "Servet's Kindheit und Jugend" in Kahnis, *Zeitschrift fuer hist. Theol.*, 1875. See also Auguste Dide, *Michel Servet et Calvin*, Paris, 1907, p. 5. An important source of information on Servetus is Tollin, H., *Das Lehrsystem Michael Servet's*, Guetersloh, 1876.

[2] *Opera*, viii, 764: "Item si son pere ou aultres ses predecesseurs ont poinct este Iuifz et daultre religion que chrestienne." Articles du procureur general.

[3] *Opera*, viii, 767: "Que non, et quilz sont crestiens dancienne race, vivans noblement."

[4] *History of the Christian Church*, vii (1910), 713.

[5] *John Calvin*, English translation by Henry Stebbing, New York, 1851, ii, 166.

count for the supposed hatred of Servetus to Christianity by tracing it to his birth."[6] We shall see that on numerous occasions Servetus is compelled to repudiate the charge both of Jewish birth and particularly of Jewish sympathies. Despite his denials, the accusation of Jewish origin haunted him, even until the moment of his death at the stake.[7]

Whether Servetus, however, was of Marrano or Crypto-Jewish lineage cannot be determined. Servetus' mother was a Frenchwoman, "Reves" by name, which the Reformer later assumed as an "alias." It is unlikely that she was of Jewish blood, although marriages between Spanish and French families were frequent. It must be noted, however, that Servetus' repudiation during his trial at Geneva of Jewish affiliations must be as carefully examined as other statements made by the accused: on several occasions, the Reformer seems to have made incorrect assertions in order to avoid the consequences of his heterodoxy. The fact that his parents were of independent means and associated with the nobility does not imply that they could not have had Jewish affiliations, since many concealed Jews or Neo-Christians of Spain had married into important Christian families, retaining in secret the Jewish or anti-Christian tradition, though before the world they posed as bona-fide Catholics in order to escape the wrath of the Inquisition. The expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 may have prompted the Servetus family, like numerous others, to hide with great care any tradition of Judaism in its record; moreover, the knowledge that any imputation of Jewish birth or Judaic inclination would hinder and becloud the progress of his ideas may have stimulated Servetus on every occasion to repel this accusation.

It is, however, a matter of little moment whether Servetus was of Jewish or Gentile birth. It is futile to argue that the "Judaic" anti-Trinitarian views of Servetus arose from a Jewish strain in his ancestry; any attempt to prove that the "Judaic" tendencies of the Puritan movement originated in those localities of England

[6] With reference to Procurator-General Rigot's question concerning Servetus' birth, see Barith, F., *Calvin und Servetus*, 1909, p. 15; Dide, *op. cit.*, pp. 202 and 208.

[7] Compare the case of Johann Boeschenstein, the teacher in Hebrew of Muenster, Eck, Caspar, Amman, Sebastian Sperantius, Melanchthon, Zwingli and other Reformers; despite repeated affirmations to the contrary, Boeschenstein was regarded by both Christians and Jews as a Jew. See Geiger, L., *Das Studium der hebraeischen Sprache in Deutschland*, Breslau, 1870, pp. 48 ff.

where before the Expulsion in 1290 large Jewish communities resided, and where a remnant of Crypto-Jews remained after the banishment, must likewise fail of its purpose. The "Judaizing" tendencies in individuals such as Servetus, and in movements such as the Puritan, the Unitarian and others, by no means depended upon deeply hidden traces of Jewish blood-heritage; birth does not exercise so strong and potent an influence that it can shape an individual's ideas without a conscious effort on his part. We are, therefore, not interested in establishing whether Servetus was of Jewish or Christian race; we are, however, vitally concerned with the tangible and perceptible influences in the form of Jewish studies, under Jewish instructors, which gave to the thought of Servetus its strong Hebraic *motif*.

b. JEWISH INFLUENCES IN HIS EARLY ENVIRONMENT.

Servetus was reared in Spain, a country where Jews for centuries had exerted a powerful influence in moulding the national character; even after their exile in 1492 their influence was not effaced, for as Neo-Christians they were received into Christian fellowship; they entered into all walks of Christian society, while at the same time they surreptitiously maintained Jewish beliefs and practices. As a youth, Servetus must have learned of the great Expulsion; he saw the Inquisition at work in its task of purging Spanish Christendom of all Mohammedan and Jewish ingredients. That Servetus was aware of Jewish and Moorish conversions to Christianity is seen from his remark in *Christianismi Restitutio*: "We see today many Jews and Mohammedans becoming baptised."[8] He was also probably acquainted with instances where these converts relapsed to their former faith, for we find him saying (*ibid.* 531):

> If now a man can become a complete man after the heart of God only in Christianity, then, according to Hebrews 6:4-6, he, who after he has become a Christian, reverts to heathenism or Judaism sins against the Holy Spirit.

1. Servetus' Early Instructors

Servetus seems to have received his early education in a Dominican convent, before leaving which he "must have been not

[8] 530: "Ut hodie Judaeos et Muhamedanos pluries seipsos baptizantes videmus."

only a tolerable Latin scholar, but, it may have been, also grounded in Greek and the rudiments of Hebrew." Who were his instructors or tutors in Hebrew? Pool bluntly asserts that they were Marrano Jews, from whom Servetus learned both the Hebrew tongue and the doctrines which later proved his undoing:

> The influence of the Jewish apostates on the Church was exerted both directly through their active work within the Church, and indirectly through the social, intellectual and religious leaven of the Marranos. It is a task of great delicacy and difficulty to trace out the ramification of this indirect influence. But one characteristic example, that of Michael Servetus, will suffice to show its importance.
>
> It has not been generally recognized that when Calvin burned Michael Servetus at Geneva, in 1553, he was trying to burn away the influence exercised by Marrano Judaism on the dogmas of Christianity . . . At an early age, very probably owing to Marrano teachings, he became a Christian Karaite, basing his belief on the New Testament alone, [?] and utterly rejecting the traditional system of the Roman Catholic Church . .
>
> It is beyond all reasonable doubt that this Spaniard derived his unusual Hebrew knowledge, and perhaps also his advanced medical lore, from Marranos in the Spanish Peninsula; and we are surely justified in assuming that his vigorous anti-Trinitarian views, which in the course of time have developed so fruitfully, were also absorbed from these Jewish teachers.[9]

We have no direct evidence to support the assertion that Marrano Jews were Servetus' instructors in Hebrew and Jewish literature. Nevertheless, we know that converted Jews taught Hebrew to Christians in monasteries. Thus Alphonso of Zamora (c. 1506), a learned proselyte, assisted in the preparation of the Complutensian Polyglot of Cardinal Ximenes. Christian churchmen in Spain became Jews, or practiced Judaism secretly: thus a canon named Pedro Fernandez of Alcaudete, treasurer of the Cathedral of Cordova, was condemned February 28, 1481, by the Inquisition for Judaizing.[10] It is probable that after the Expulsion,

[9] Pool, David de Sola, *op. cit.*, pp. 330-31. Pool devotes pp. 329-31 of his article to Servetus and makes several excellent characterizations of his work. For a discussion of Servetus and his reliance on the New Testament, *v. i.*

[10] "Un canonigo judaizante quemada en Cordova." Fita, Fidel, *Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia de Madrid*, tome vi, fasc. ii, February, 1885, p. 130. This canon was accused of bearing a Christian name in public but of secretly being a Jew; he observed the festivals of the Mosaic Law, saying that it was the true Law and that of Christ false; he frequented the society of Judaizers or Marrano Jews and other heretics, preaching to them the Law of Moses; he observed the festival of Sukkoth (Cabanes), of Passover, and of Rosh ha-

Marrano teachers in monasteries were less bold; nevertheless one of these, of whom many still remained in Spain, may have served as tutor to the young Servetus at the Dominican Convent; we know, too, that the Dominicans were interested in the study of Hebrew for controversial purposes and did not scruple to employ the services of converted Jews. When the extensive documentary material concerning the Marranos in Spain is made available to the student, we may expect to discover information which will throw considerable light on the career of many Neo-Christians who served as teachers for Christian scholars, among whom Servetus must be reckoned.[11] We shall see in our discussion of the relationship of Servetus to Jewish literature that he speaks of "many converts from Judaism to Christianity" whose works he had read: among these were Peter Alphonso and Paul of Burgos neither of whom were his contemporaries, but knowledge of whom may have come to Servetus through the agency of his Jewish friends.[12]

2. Servetus at Saragossa and Toulouse

When twelve or fourteen years of age, Servetus entered as a student the University of Saragossa, then the most celebrated institution in Spain; if he reckoned Peter Martyr d'Angheria among his teachers, as we are assured,[13] then he was under the guidance of one of the most cultured and liberal-minded men of the age—a scholar, diplomat, teacher and writer, tutor and general supervisor of the numerous young noblemen at the Court of Isabella and Ferdinand. "Angleria was in fact a man in advance of his age, morally, as we must believe, religiously also—although Spain was not always the devoted slave of Rome we have been accustomed to think of her in these our days." (Willis, pp. 8-9.)

Shanah; he neglected Christian holydays; he did not reverence the Church, and when he was ill or in danger, he sought relief from the Old Testament. The Inquisition therefore condemned him to death at the stake, with confiscation of his goods.

[11] For a discussion of the work yet to be done in Spanish Judaica, see Nordau, Max and Gottheil, R. J. H., "An Opportunity for American Students," *Menorah Journal*, ii (1916) pp. 51-3.

[12] *Christ. restit.* De trinit. III, 102-103: "Visibilem in Deo ipso apparuisse imaginem ex apertissimis scriptis tenuerunt veteres Hebraei, ut docet Philo, Eusebius, Hieronymus, Petrus Alphonsus, Paulus Burgensis et plerique alii ex Judaeis ad Christum conversi."

[13] Tollin, *Kindheit*, p. 557; Willis, p. 8.

"He had seen enough in his campaigning and its consequences to disgust him with conversions to Christianity at the point of the sword, and the wholesale deportation from their native country of a great civilized community because of its adhesion to the religion of its fathers. An Italian by birth, it was no part of Angleria's religion to hate Jews and Saracens with such a hatred as made baptizing, torturing and putting them to death the virtue it appeared in the eyes of the Spaniards." From Angleria, Servetus may have received encouragement for the pro-Jewish liberalism which became characteristic of his work.

After four or five years at Saragossa, Servetus in 1528 went to the University of Toulouse, the city where, three and a half centuries before, Jews had played an important role in the first great assault upon the Church, namely the Albigensian heresy. At Toulouse, Servetus remained for two or three years, gaining knowledge of the law, which later he applied in his discussions of the statutes and ordinances of the Old Testament.[14] It was at Toulouse, too, according to the testimony of several investigators, that Servetus saw a complete copy of the Bible. If by this statement it is meant that Servetus saw a copy of the Old and New Testaments combined in one volume, we concur in the surmise; but if it is implied that hitherto Servetus had not seen a copy of the Old Testament, we wish to point out that his Hebrew studies as a lad must have given him a knowledge of at least portions of the Bible in its original tongue. It is certain, however, that at Toulouse, Servetus' enthusiasm for the Scriptures was accentuated. We cannot agree with Willis (p. 11) in his assertion that Servetus was imbued with scholastic philosophy, "and we must presume, with patristic theology also, before he had read a word of the Bible."[15] His studies at Toulouse in the Scriptures must have been only a reinforcement of his previous Biblical interests.[16] During this period, also, he became acquainted with the

[14] Thus in discussing the covenant between God and Abraham, Servetus observes that we have the first case on record of one of the four forms of unindentured contracts, still spoken of as the form: "Facio ut facias."

[15] See also *Opera*, viii, 764: "A Tholose il prit connoissance avec quelques ecoliers de lire a la S. Ecriture et evangile, ce qu'il n'avait jamais fait auparavant."

[16] Tollin, "Toulouser Studenten-Leben im Anfang des 16ten Jahrhunderts" in Riehl: *Historisches Taschenbuch*, 1874, p. 76, gives a picture of the academic background of Servetus during this period.

writings of Luther, several of which had been translated into Spanish soon after their appearance.[17] A question now arises: Did Servetus employ the translations which according to the statement of the Papal Nuncio, Aleander, had been made by Jews and disseminated industriously by them in Spain from their headquarters at Antwerp?[18] Moreover, when at Paris later, did Servetus see the French translations of Luther's works which the orthodox Noel Beda affirmed had been written and printed by Jews?[19]

A work which during his years at Toulouse had a profound influence upon Servetus was the *Theologia Rationalis sive Liber de Creaturis* of Raymond of Sabunda (fl. 1434), wherein the author asserts that two books are given to men for guidance, one a universal book of created things, or the book of nature, the other the book of the sacred Scriptures. "The Book of the Creatures lies open to all; but the book of the Scriptures can only be read aright by the clergy. The book of Nature cannot be falsified, neither can it be readily interpreted amiss, even by heretics; but the book of the Scriptures they can misconstrue and falsify at their pleasure."[20] Erasmus, too, had an influence on Servetus during his

[17] McCrie, Thomas, *History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain*, 1829, *passim.*

[18] Brieger, Theodor, *Aleander und Luther 1521*, 1 Abt. (Quellen u. Forschungen z. Gesch. d. Reformation. I). Gotha, 1884, pp. 25, 81, 264. See also Kalkoff, Paul, *Die Depeschen des Nuntius Aleander vom Wormser Reichstage, 1521* uebersetzt und erlauetert. 2 Aufl. Halle a. S. 1897, p. 39 and 106, Note 1. Aleander himself was pursued by that all-popular term of opprobrium during the period of the Reformation: "Judaizer," and was accused openly of being a Jew.

[19] "Et quant a l'Hebrieu plusiers Juifs qui font imprimer leurs livres hébraiques sont Luthériens, par quoy on craint qu'ils n'ayent variés les livres; par quoy ne soit suffisant argument: ita habent Hebraea." Extrait des registres du Parlement, Du Boulay, vi. 239-243. See Doumergue, Emile, *Jean Calvin*, Lausanne, 1899-1917, i, 208.

[20] Raymond of Sabunda or Sabienda was a Spanish scholar and teacher of medicine and philosophy, who finally became Regius Professor of Theology at Toulouse. His "Liber" though written in 1434-6 did not appear until 1484. In 1595, the "Prologus" to the work was placed on the Index for its declaration that the Bible is the only source of revealed truth. Montaigne, *Essays*, book ii, chap. xii, comments upon it. See Beulet, D. *Un inconnu célèbre, recherches historiques et critiques sur Raymond de Sabunde*, Paris, 1875. Several interesting questions arise in connection with the life of Raymond: did he as a physician have any associations with Jews or Moors in Spain? Were there any Kabbalistic ideas in his system of beliefs? Did Spinoza later know of his work?

sojourn at Toulouse. In the *Scholia*, which Erasmus added to the Greek New Testament, "we fancy we see heralds of the far bolder and more original exegetical annotations with which Servetus, under his assumed name of Villanovanus, accompanied his reprint of the Pagnini Bible."

3. In the Cortège of Juan Quintana

We find Servetus after his days of study in Toulouse, a member of the cortège of the Franciscan Friar, Juan Quintana, Confessor of the Emperor Charles V.[21] The hypothesis has been advanced that Servetus accepted the offer to act as private secretary of the Friar in order to avoid any future complications with the Spanish Inquisition. Inasmuch as Quintana was not entirely opposed to the ideas of the Reformation, Quintana's friendship with Servetus did not diminish the latter's interest in liberal opinions. In his company, Servetus attended the coronation of Charles V by Pope Clement VII in Bologne, 1529; he was present also at the Diet of Augsburg in the summer of 1530. At this notable assemblage, Melanchthon and other distinguished Reformers—Hebrew scholars and religious progressives—were included; during its sessions important issues, among them the Jewish question, were discussed; at Augsburg in 1533, a Jewish printing establishment began its publication of a series of Hebrew books.[22] In the autumn of 1530, Servetus was dismissed from the service of Quintana; the exact reason is not known[23], but it was "probably on suspicion of heresy." (Schaff, vii, 714.) A copy of *De Trinitatis Erroribus* had been found by Joannes Cochlaeus, an ecclesiastic

[21] Tollin, "Die Beichtvaeter Kaiser Karls V", in *Magazin fuer die Literatur des Auslandes*, April, May, 1874.

[22] Tollin, "Servet auf dem Reichstag zu Augsburg" in Theleman: *Evang. Reform. Kirchenzeitung*, 1876, No. 17-24. See also Tollin, *Luther und Servet, eine Quellenstudie*, Berlin, 1875: in this work Servetus is described as having visited Luther at Coburg in company with Bucer. Willis, p. 28, is skeptical of this assertion. See also Tollin, *Philip Melancthon und M. Servet*, Berlin, 1876; and "Michael Servet und Martin Butzer" in *Magazin fuer die Literatur des Auslandes*, 45 Jahrg. Berlin, 1876 pp. 333-336.

[23] Servetus gives an obviously incorrect account of the reasons for quitting Quintana; this in keeping with other misstatements, lends additional weight to the belief that he may have refrained from giving correct evidence concerning his association with Jews.

in the suite of the Emperor, in a bookshop at Regensburg; it was shown to Quintana who expressed his displeasure that a fellow-countryman should have written so heretical a book.[24] Indications of Servetus' growing unbelief must have escaped him in the presence of the Franciscan churchman; previous even to the month of October, 1530, Oecolampadius, the Swiss Reformer, complained that Servetus was making himself obnoxious by virtue of his views in Basel.

The contact of Servetus with the Swiss Reformer marks a distinct epoch in his career: he is now recognized by both orthodox and Reform parties as a radical extremist, a person to be watched and carefully guarded against. Zwingli sums up the fears of Bucer, Bullinger and Oecolampadius in the words:

> There did seem good ground for them to be on their guard; for the false and wicked doctrine of the troublesome Spaniard goes far to do away with the whole of our Christian religion . . Therefore do everything possible that such dreadful blasphemy get no further wind to the detriment of Christianity.[25]

The correspondence between Oecolampadius and Servetus at this time is of special interest because we find therein a definite charge to the effect that Servetus was a Judaizer. We shall discuss this charge in detail when we sum up the various accusations made by his opponents against the Spanish Reformer.

c. CONCERNING TRINITARIAN ERRORS: 1531.

Soon after his correspondence with Oecolampadius, Servetus issued his first notable work: *Concerning Trinitarian Errors*, or *Seven Books on Mistaken Conceptions of the Trinity*.[26] The author had placed the treatise in the hands of Conrad Koenig, or Rous, a publisher having establishments both at Basel and Strassburg; he in turn sent it to Joannes Secerius of Hagenau in Alsace, the center of the Reuchlin-Dominican controversy (whence had gone forth the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum* in 1516)[27] and the home

[24] Cochlaeus, J. D., *De Actis et Scriptis Martini Lutheri*, Mainz, 1549 p. 233 fol.

[25] *Jo. Oecolampadii et Huldrici Epist.*, Lib. iv. Basel, 1536, fol.

[26] *De Trinitatis Erroribus, Libri Septem*, Per Michaelem Serveto, alias Reves, Ab Aragonia Hispanum, Hagenau, 1531.

[27] Steiff, K., *Centralblatt fuer Bibliothekswesen*, ix (1892), 296-317; also "Joannes Setzer (Secerius), der gelehrte Buchdrucker in Hagenau"—*All. Deut. Biographie*, xxxiv (1892), article *q. v.*

of Thomas Anshelm, Reuchlin's famous printer. It is in entire accord with the customary relationship between Hebraic and Reform religious interests, that one of the first assaults upon the traditional concept of the Trinity should have been published in the city where the first attack by German Humanists upon entrenched Dominicanism, stimulated by the debate on the burning of the Jewish books, had been launched, and from which came the first significant works on Jewish themes by Christian Hebraists.

Shortly before the appearance of his book on the Trinity, Servetus had interviewed at Strassburg the Hebraist-Reformers, Wolfgang Capito and Martin Bucer.[28] Though Capito is reported to have influenced Servetus in the direction of Hebrew studies, to "have made him cherish the Rabbis" (Tollin, iii, 112), and to have taught him Kabbalah (*ibid.*, iii, p. x.), complementing thus the influence of Paul of Burgos and Champier—nothing that either he or Bucer was able now to say could dissuade the Spaniard from publishing his attack on the Trinity: before July, 1531, the little volume was made available. For twenty years, the place of its printing was unknown; Basel was suspected of being the guilty city, though Oecolampadius repudiated the charge with vehemence.[29]

The attempt of Servetus to uncover Christian errors concerning the Trinity awakened almost universal opposition in the camp of both Catholics and Reformers. Oecolampadius was scandalized and "beyond measure offended with it;" Bucer declared that its writer deserved to be torn in pieces; Luther called it a "fearfully wicked book;" Melanchthon wrote: "Servetus plainly raves when, misinterpreting the text of the Old and New Testament, he denies to the Prophets the Holy Spirit . . . He manifestly talks foolishness when he speaks on Justification." An attempt has been made to demonstrate that nearly all the great Reformers contemporary with Servetus had a "fellow-feeling" for his doctrines concerning the Trinity; Melanchthon by his *Loci Theologi* (1521)

[28] Sand, Christoph, *Bibliotheca Antitrinitariorum*, Freistadt, 1684, places Capito among those who rejected the concept of the orthodox tripartite Deity; later, however, the Strassburg theologian was very bitter against Servetus.

[29] Doumergue, ii, 603, discusses the reasons for its printing by Secerius. Oecolampadius wrote to Bucer, July 18, 1531: "Secerius has glorified the work as excellent because it displeased our preachers." Secerius died at the commencement of 1532, and Oecolampadius remarked that Christ had demanded from the printer of the impious and blasphemous book the penalty of sudden and horrible death.

had placed himself "outside the pale of orthodox Trinitarianism;" Luther himself had doubts concerning the doctrine; the private opinions of the Reformers on this as on other points, oftentimes differed widely from their publicly expressed views. But it remained for Servetus, going beyond even current Socinianism, to show courage enough for the definite expression of heterodox ideas which his contemporaries dimly felt, yet hesitated to develop. Anti-Trinitarianism was a logical outcome of tendencies set under way by the Reformation; the pioneers of Reform, however, were unwilling to go beyond their early pretensions; hence the extreme position of Servetus aroused their bitter enmity.

Servetus' work when first spread abroad from Strassburg and Basel as the centers of distribution was read by nearly everyone of liberal education; later, however, it was almost impossible to secure one of the copies rescued from the flames to which it had been consigned by its many opponents. The book was disseminated widely in Italy where Laelius and Faustus Socinus doubtless perused it; Emperor Charles V ordered it suppressed when it was brought to his attention at Regensburg by Cochlaeus and Quintana. In connection with his letter to Oecolampadius wherein he asked him not to interfere with sending books to France, Servetus stated his disapproval of capital punishment for heretics:

> If I have spoken at any time on the subject (the punishment proper for heresy), it was because I saw it as a most serious matter to put men to death on the ground of mistake in interpreting the Scriptures; for do we not read that even the elect may err?[30]

Soon after the appearance of *De Trinitatis Erroribus*, Servetus appears to have assured Oecolampadius at Basel that he would retract the errors contained in his first book, by the publication of a second; the latter appeared in 1532 under the title: *Dialogi de Trinitate* in the same form as the earlier volume; no mention is made of the place of publication, though we later learn it was printed by Joannes Secerius, also at Hagenau. We shall have occasion to discuss Servetus' views in both works; we shall see that despite a seemingly apologetic preface, he strikes his controversial note even more firmly and decisively than heretofore.

[30] Tollin, "Die Toleranz im Zeitalter der Reformation" in Riehl, *Historisches Taschenbuch*, Leipzig, 1875, pp. 107-137.

d. SERVETUS AT PARIS, AVIGNON AND LYONS

After a brief sojourn at Paris, where he adopted the name of Michael Villanovanus in order to escape identification as the author of the two anti-Trinitarian treatises, Servetus betook himself to Avignon and Orleans, and thence to Lyons. At Paris, he found employment with typographers as reader and corrector, a profession he followed for several years thereafter. During this first residence in Paris (1532-4), Servetus made the acquaintance of Calvin; the public disputation they planned did not, however, take place, through the failure, it is said, of Servetus to keep his appointment. (Doumergue, i, 441-2.) At Lyons, the Spaniard was engaged as reader and corrector by the Brothers Trechsel; in this occupation he found ample opportunity, like so many contemporary correctors, to deepen his scholarship, and to extend his knowledge to the best literature of the times. As proof-corrector in Paris, Servetus may have seen August Justiniani's Latin translation of Maimonides' *Guide to the Perplexed* (Paris, 1520) which he quotes in his works. At Lyons he doubtlessly perused in the library of the publishers works written in Hebrew, for each new book must have passed through his hands. Thus during this time, he found opportunity to improve his knowledge of the Biblical tongue, which even before this time had been sufficient to enable him to quote from the text of the Bible and from Rabbinical literature. The numerous Hebrew citations in the later writings of Servetus testify to his unceasing study and reading in the realm of Jewish learning.

e. SERVETUS AS GEOGRAPHER; 1535

Servetus had an opportunity to exhibit this knowledge in his edition of the *Geography of Ptolemy* in 1535[31] which was based upon that of Willibald Pirckheimer, one of the sympathizers of the Hebraist Reuchlin in his controversy against the Obscurantists.[32] Servetus owed to Peter of Angleria much of the information presented in this work, while its background was the result in part of the previous geographical researches of the Hebraists

[31] *Claudii Ptolemaei Alexandrini Geographicae Enarrationis Libri Octo;* ex Bilibaldi Pirckhemeri Tralatione, sed ad Graeca et prisca exemplaria a Michaele Villanovano jam primum recogniti. Adjecta insuper ab eodem Scholia, etc. Lugduni, ex Officina Melch. et Gasp. Trechsel, 1535, fol.

[32] Geiger, L., *Johann Reuchlin*, Leipzig, 1871, pp. 369 ff.; 468 ff.

Simon Grynaeus and Sebastian Muenster.[33] After discussing the characteristics of the countries and peoples of Scotland, England, Ireland, Spain, France, Germany and Babylonia,[34] Servetus describes the climate and natural resources of Palestine, a map of which he presents. He disagrees with the praise of Judea by the Bible and by Josephus. Inasmuch as the climate of Palestine, remarks Servetus in his commentaries, is temperate, immune from the extremes of heat and cold, the Israelites may have been led to imagine that this must be the land promised to their forefathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, a land metaphorically said to be flowing with milk and honey, but he then continues:

> The Israelites lived at length under the laws received from Moses, although they had gone on piously and prosperously enough through countless ages before his day, without any written law, having had regard to the oracles of divine or natural truth alone, gifted as they were with aptitude and greatness of mind. Moses, however, that distinguished theologian, thinking that no state could exist without a written code of law and equity, gave them one reduced to ten principal heads, engraved on two tables of stone, with the addition of a great number of minor commandments for the regulation of their lives and dealings with one another. But any more particular notice of these, they being so numerous—great birds not sitting in little nests—must here be passed by. Know, however, most worthy reader, that it is mere boasting and untruth when so much of excellence is ascribed to this land; the experience of merchants and others, travellers who have visited it, proving it to be inhospitable, barren and altogether without amenity. Wherefore you may say that the land was promised, indeed, but is of little promise when spoken of in everyday terms.

These strictures by Servetus upon the qualities of Palestine, the Holy Land, were destined to evoke the wrath of his foe, Calvin, and to play no inconsiderable role in the trial at Geneva.

f. SERVETUS AS PHYSICIAN

The versatility of Servetus is shown in the fact that his interests were those not merely of the lawyer, scholar, and geographer, but

[33] Muenster in the Dedication of his *Geographia universalis*, 1541, to the Bishop of Basel, Philip von Gundelsheim, pays a tribute to the work of Servetus; Petrus Montanus in the preface to the Frankfort, 1605, edition of *Ptolemy* also praised it. See Tollin, "Michael Servet als Geograph" in *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft fuer Erdkunde*, 1875, pp. 182 ff.

[34] Servetus refers to the custom of the "Kedeshoth" in connection with Babylonia and the Temple. *Christ. Restit.* 447 applies the term to monks.

of the physician as well.[35] His study in the Dominican School, at Saragossa and Toulouse, and his engagement with Quintana had resulted in the publication of his works on Trinitarian errors; the reading room of the Trechsel Brothers at Lyons transformed him into the astrologer, Biblical critic, physiologist and physician we meet in his subsequent life and writings; also, according to the testimony of some, it was through contact with Doctor Symphorien Champier, or Campeggius, that Servetus was led to undertake the study of medicine; he had apparently not thought of it until now, because "it was a science much looked down on by Spaniards in general, its practice being mostly in the hands of Jews and Moors," says Willis (p. 101), "whom to condemn where not to persecute was a religion with all who boasted of their blue blood." We are inclined to believe that the failure of Servetus to devote himself to the study of medicine at an earlier date was not due to the fact that the profession in Spain was misprized; Servetus had paid no heed to the denunciation of the Reformers as blasphemers and heretics, terms he had frequently heard when a member of the cortège of Friar Quintana; by the same token, it may be surmised he was unmoved by the disdain shown the medical art in his native land because of its virtual monopoly by Jews and Moors. Indeed, Servetus was sufficiently bold to have interested himself therein by very reason of its unpopularity, and in his early association with Marrano Jews in Spain, his initial interest in medicine may have been aroused; Pool, it was shown above, believes that he derived "his advanced medical lore from Marranos in the Spanish Peninsula."[36] However that may be, Champier appears to have affected the course of Servetus' thought markedly; Tollin (iii, 112) affirms that the physician, no doubt himself friendly with Jewish and Moorish doctors and their medical works, cultivated the affection of his pupil for the writings of many of the Rabbis.[37] Servetus later rallied to the defence of Champier when the latter was attacked by Leonhard Fuchs, professor of medicine at Heidelberg.[38]

[35] Tollin, "Wie Michael Servet ein Mediciner wurde." Mit Nachtrag von A. Goeschen in *Deutsche Klinik*, hrsgb. von Al. Goeschen, 1875, Stuttgart, pp. 57-59; 65-68.

[36] *Jewish Review*, ii (1911), p. 331.

[37] "Capito, Champier und Paul Burgensis haben die Rabbinen dem Servetus lieb gemacht."

[38] Cf. Servetus: *Defence of Symphorien Champier*, addressed to Leonhard Fuchs, and an Apologetic Dissertation on Astrology. The work from Cham-

After association with Champier, Servetus went to Paris to study medicine, first at the college of Calvi, and then at the College of the Lombards, under the instruction of Joannes Guinterus of Andernach, Jacobus Sylvius, Joannes Fernelius and others. Servetus sought to emancipate himself from the tenets of the two dominant schools of medicine—the Greek and the Arabian; ostensibly he joined the Greek school, but he "had an open eye to the truth of the Arabians." He quotes from the works of Arabian authors, among them Averroes and Avicenna, both in his lectures on the Geography of Ptolemy and the science of astrology, and in his work, issued in 1537, on Syrups and their use in medicine.[39] We shall later see that Servetus discovered the pulmonary circulation of the blood, publishing his results in his work on the *Restitution of Christianity*, as a section of his theological speculation on the vital spirits. He sought therein to vindicate by passages from the Bible his theory of the circulation of the blood: he asserts that in the light of the proofs furnished by physiology and anatomy, Moses was correct when he states that the soul was in the blood. (Gen. 9:4; Lev. 17:11.). He also sought to show the relationship of circumcision to the nature of the procreative process.[40]

Servetus was summoned soon after the appearance of his medical book before the authorities, on the ground that he had slandered the medical faculty of the University of Paris, that he had caused the people to forsake the true philosophy of Pico de Mirandola (in this instance the orthodox party is the defender of the works of the Hebraist for their own ends, however) and that he declared divination to be the most pestilential of frauds, degrading philosophy, invalidating religion, and so forth. His work entitled: *Apologetic Dissertation on Astrology*, wherein he had defended Champier, decided his fate: on March 18, 1538, he was forbidden to appear in public either as a professor or as a practitioner of "judicial astrology."

pier's pen which influenced Servetus most was: *The Guide of the Astrologer, Physician and Prophet in their Prognostications and Forecasts.*

[39] Willis, pp. 111 ff; for full title, and discussion.

[40] *Restit.* bk. V. p. 170. See Tollin, *Die Entdeckung des Blutkreislaufs durch Michael Servet*, Jena, 1876, cap. i. Cf. also his *Kritische Bemerkungen ueber Harvey und seine Vorgaenger*, 1882. Harvey's discovery nearly a hundred years later was made independently of Servetus. Cf. G. Sigmond, *The unnoticed Theories of Servetus*, London, 1826.

2. SERVETUS AT CHARLIEU; HIS BAPTISM

Immediately after the conclusion of the suit, Servetus left Paris to practice medicine at Charlieu, near Lyons; here in 1539, at the age of thirty, he was baptized. In justification of his baptism, Servetus remarks:

> Just as Adam (according to the Rabbinical tradition) was born at the age of thirty, so are we reborn in our thirtieth year with the Second Adam.[41]

He quotes in discussion of his act, Numbers 4:3; 2 Sam. 5:4; Gen. 41:46; I Chr. 23:3, 24, 27. He denied that circumcision is a "type" of baptism: the Jews, he says, circumcised infants, but baptised only adults. Yet the deeper he immersed himself in Biblical studies, the more Servetus protested against Anabaptism (Tollin, iii, 126). The Jews were accustomed to baptize themselves often, just as we see today, he remarks, that many Jews and Mohammedans are baptized.[42] They were accustomed also often to bring sacrifices and bloody offerings. And therefore, they believed that Christian baptism ought to be repeated often, just as Mohammed had believed; yet they were deceived by the repetition of the Law and by the baptism of John. He did not understand that the Law in any way still was valid.[43]

At Charlieu, through the influence of Archbishop Pierre Paumier, who had been a student in his course on Geography and Astrology at Paris, Servetus was installed in apartments within the precincts of the Palace at Vienne and under the immediate patronage of the Archbishop. There he prepared the second edition of the *Ptolemy*, which he published in 1541 with a dedication to the Archbishop. Out of deference to the latter, he remarks that everything he had written with reference to Palestine and contradictory to the Biblical account of Judea as a land flowing with milk and honey or as of signal beauty and fertility, is entirely

[41] *Restit.* 412. cf. Tollin, iii, 107 ff; see also pp. 112-113.

[42] "Ut hodie Judaeos et Muhamedanos pluries seipsos baptizantes videmus." *Restit.* 530.

[43] With reference to the custom of a Godfather (*Sandek?;* cf. Schechter: *Studies in Judaism*: "The Child in Jewish literature"), Servetus remarks: perhaps they assert that the belief of the Godfather suffices for the children, as if we stood under the control of guardians and stewards, like the Jews. Cf. *Restit.* 534. Tollin, iii, 128 quotes: "among all the obligations which we entered into with God, baptism is the only one which Christendom retains. All other promises were abolished with Judaism."

expunged from the new edition. We shall see however, that Calvin resurrected his earlier opinions, and used them to great effect against the "heretic."

3. Servetus as Old Testament and Hebrew Student

a. servetus at vienne: his biblical annotations to the pagninus bible

During his stay at Vienne, Servetus came forward as an editor and Biblical commentator. His leisure time was spent in reading and research, Trechsel's printing establishment supplying him with books; among these may have been the Hebrew works which figured in his later writings. Hardly had the second edition of the *Ptolemy* been issued, than (1542) another handsome folio volume was offered to the public,—a new and splendid edition of the Latin Bible first published by the scholarly Hebraist, Sanctes Pagninus, at Lyons in 1528.[44]

In a letter written by John Franciscus Pico, which precedes the text of the Pagninus Bible, its editor is said to have worked thereon twenty-five years; it is accompanied by two commendatory epistles from Popes Adrian VI and Clement VII, and is believed to be the first edition of the Bible divided into chapters. The influence of the Pagninus Bible was considerable. Though the work of a Dominican monk, a pupil of Savonarola, it was much used by Protestant scholars, among them Robert Olivetan in his French version; Olivetan prized it because of its accurate translation of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament.[45] Martin Luther deplored the reliance which Pagninus, in a style similar to that of Sebastian Muenster and like-minded contemporaries, placed upon the Rabbinical commentaries: "Oh the Hebraists—I say this also of our own—judaize (judenzen) greatly; hence in this book which I have written against the Jews, I have had them also in mind."[46] On another

[44] "Habes in hoc Libro, prudens Lector, utriusque instrumenti novam Tralationem editam a Reverendo sacrae theologiae Doctore Sancte Pagnini." Lugduni, 1527-8 fol.

[45] Willis, p. 139 disavows Richard Simon's slur upon the Pagninus version, saying: "To us it appears a very admirable version, our own English Bible being generally so like it, that we fancy it must have been used by our translators."

[46] Kroker E., *Martin Luther, Tischreden in der Mathesischen Sammlung*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 588.

occasion he addressed a plea to one of the school of "Younger Hebraists," Bernard Ziegler, the Leipzig Professor of Hebrew, begging him to avoid the pitfalls of Rabbinical interpretation into which Muenster and Pagninus had fallen. This very fact, however, contributed to the popularity of the 1528 version. It stimulated the appearance of other Latin translations, among them that of Sebastian Castellio at Basel (1551, 1555, 1556 and many times thereafter); of the ex-Jew, Emmanuel Tremellius, assisted by his son-in-law, Francis Junius (1575-9). Hugo de la Porte and Robert Estienne were open in their praises of the Pagninus version for the same reason as Olivetan, its fidelity to the original Hebrew. Nevertheless the work did not attain the prominence due it, inasmuch as in April, 1546, the Tridentine Council pronounced the Vulgate the authentic Biblical version, to be used in all disputations and theological controversies.

Hugo de la Porte, an admirer of the Pagninus Bible, suggested to Servetus that he prepare an edition thereof; the proposal was evidently received with enthusiasm. In 1541, an edition of this Bible had been issued at Cologne by Melchior Novesianus, which seems to have served as the foundation text for the edition of Servetus; indeed, the Spaniard has been accused of plagiarism, since his edition was said to be a literal reprint of the edition of Novesianus (Willis, p. 142). Servetus, however, declares that he corrected the text in many places; and we shall have occasion to offer our own view as to the charge after an examination of the work itself.

1. His Affection for Bible Studies

Servetus was attracted to the role of Biblical critic and editor by virtue of a long-standing affection for the study of the Scriptures. In his earliest work *De Trinitatis Erroribus*, he had spoken of the Bible as a "book handed down from heaven, to be read a thousand times over,"[47] the source of all philosophy and all science;[48] he sought as we have seen, to support his hypothesis

[47] "Dates est de caelo liber ut in eo Deum investigemus, adjuvante ad hoc fide quae non est ille crudus sophistarum assensus, sed motus cordis, sicut dicit Scriptura, corde creditur." *Erroribus*, fol. 107 b. cf. "Figmenta sunt imaginaria quae Scripturae limites transgrediuntur" *ibid.* f. 81b.

[48] "Omnem philosophiam et scientiam ego in Biblio reperio . . Lege obsecro millies Bibliam." *Erroribus*, fol. 78b and 79.

of the circulation of the blood by Scriptural passages;[49] for his doctrines, particularly concerning the Trinity, he drew arguments directly from evidence in the Bible: thus he repudiates the "Aristtolelian teaching of the Trinity" by indicating that nothing in proof thereof can be found in Scripture.[50] In brief, Servetus was a Bibliolater, without however renouncing his spirit of critical judgment as to its contents.[51]

2. *His Exegetical Interpretations*

The independent, restless mood characteristic of Servetus throughout his whole career did not desert him in his Biblical studies. Impelled by this daring, stimulated by his own studies particularly of the Jewish commentaries, he was enabled to discern more readily the fallacies of the Vulgate and to perceive that many interpretations of Scriptural texts could be upheld only by a denial of reason and experience, and by doing violence to history and the plain textual meaning. He came to the conclusion that it was essential for him to turn his back upon long-established Christain exegetical methods, in order that he might arrive at the pristine sense of the Biblical word. He undertook this task with courage and skill, promulgating views far in advance of his age and recognized as valid only by liberal Christian scholars today. His interpretations of debatable passages in the Psalms and Prophets, his use of historical knowledge in studying David, Cyrus and Hezekiah, were, as we shall see, responsible in no small measure for the accusations of heresy levelled against him; his exegetical methods contributed also to the rise of the view, held by several biographers, and noted before, that he was of Jewish descent, that he had visited Africa, that he had had Mohammedan teachers as well as Jewish instructors from whom he had imbibed notions hostile to the common orthodox interpretation of the Prophets and the traditional conception of a Triune God. Servetus adopted as the keynote of his exegesis the fact that while the customary im-

[49] Tollin, *Die Entdeckung des Blutkreisumlaufs*, Jena, 1876, cap.i.

[50] "Nec in tota Biblia una litera quae ad has imaginationes tendat." *Erroribus.* 42b. "Nec est in tota Biblia una litera quae suam illam imaginariam verbi significationem comprobet." *ibid.*, 47b. "Nec unquam in Scriptura filius vocatur." *ibid.*, 110a.

[51] Tollin, "Servet und die Bibel," *Zeitschrift fuer wissenschaftliche Theologie*, hrsgb. von A. Hilgenfeld, 18 Jahrg. Leipzig, 1875, pp. 75-116. Also, *Lehrsystem*, p. 5ff; ii, 33-37 ff.

plications of each prophetical text in the Old Testament must not be neglected, the original had a primary, immediate and literal reference to the age in which it was composed, to the personages, events and circumstances amid which its authors lived. The edition of Servetus was entitled: *The Sacred Bible, translated by Pagninus from the Holy Scriptures, and so exactly corrected according to the Hebrew tongue, and so well illustrated with scholia, that it may well pass for a new edition.* Its preface[52] contains a statement of the unconventional and independent attitude taken by Servetus:

We are taught by that wise man, Jesus, the son of Sirach in the beginning of his apocryphal book, called Ecclesiasticus: that the Hebrew tongue when translated into any other language is defective, and the spirit of it is almost lost; well observing that the lively energy of spirit, emphasis of expression, harmony, antitheses, allusions, and the like, cannot be exactly kept up in our translations; from whence, for good reason, most ancients and moderns, who have, with the greatest care, interpreted the scriptures, have never come up to the whole sense; especially since they who are ignorant of the affairs and customs of the Hebrews, give very easily in to the contempt of the historical and literal sense, which is the only certain sign of any thing future; from whence it comes to pass that they ridiculously, and to no manner of purpose, pursue the mystical sense everywhere.

Wherefore I would desire you again and again, Christian reader, to get the knowledge of the Hebrew, in the first place, and after that, diligently to apply yourself to the study of the Jewish history, before you enter upon the reading of the prophets, for each of the prophets pursued, according to the letter, their history, both as to that part which points out things to come, and as that in which the mysteries of Christ, according to the spirit are hid; for all things turned up to them in types, as St. Paul says, and the testimony of Jesus Christ, as saith St. John, is a spirit of prophecy; although there was another sense of the prophets then, according to the letter, as the course of their history led them. But if anyone denies that sense to be truly literal, because the force of the expression does not always serve to the purpose, I will readily allow it to him. This, however, ought to be considered: that the Hebrew language is full of hyperboles, and other great mysteries are contained therein.[53]

It must be considered too that if the literal sense is not mentioned, yet there is some shadow of future verity, as under the shade of David, some truth belonging to Christ alone, darts forth with a shining lustre; for from

[52] Cf. Anonymous, (Sir Benjamin or Nathaniel Hodges?) *An Impartial History of Michael Servetus, Burnt Alive at Geneva for Heresie*, London, 1724, pp. 40 ff. From this work, the translation of the preface given below is taken.

[53] Does Servetus mean the Kabbalah? Cf. Tollin, *Lehrsystem*, i, 106.

his histories in the Psalms, there are several occasions taken of predicting many passages concerning Christ. It is indeed upon this account that he is said to be a type of Christ,

After the same manner of plaint, it is said of Solomon; "I will be to him a father," and of the Israelitish people, it is said: "Out of Egypt have I called my son," when that in truth agreed to Christ alone; so that we may say, that the literal prophetic sense refers to Christ; to which we may add that this book is said to be written within and without; and that there is a two-fold face in the Scripture, in like manner as one sword has two edges. The force of scripture is very genial, and under the antiquity of the declining letter, it contains so much fresh vigour of the enlivening spirit, that when one sense is collected from it, it would be monstrous to neglect the other, more especially since that historical sense discloses the mystical of its own accord; from whence it is, that we always endeavour to search out, though it costs never so much pains, that old literal or historical sense (so generally) by having recourse to the scholia, so that the mystical sense might become known to be the true sense, the rather by its type; for the mystical sense is the scope of all; viz., Jesus Christ shaded under such types and figures, whom the blind Jews, for that reason, do not see; which shade or veil being taken away, we all with open, face, clearly see our God. In which very thing, as also in the version of our Pagninus, we have exerted ourselves after all our annotations to the last degree. Annotations, I say, of which he hath left us a vast number; nor are they only annotations, but the exemplar itself, corrected in innumerable places by his own hand: From all which I dare affirm that the sentences are now become much more entire and perfect, and nearer by far, to the verity of the Hebrew tongue. However, this is submitted to the judgment of those, and of those only (for no others can be judges) who are well versed in the Hebrew tongue, and the Jewish ecclesiastical history. Whatever advantage therefore you get, reader, from this edition, pay your grateful acknowledgment for it: first to the great God, and then to Hugh de la Porte, a citizen of Lyons, by whose expense and labours the contents are made public. Vale.

It is possible that Villanovanus, as Servetus signed himself, may have followed not a copy corrected and annotated by Pagninus, but the 1541 Cologne edition of Novesianus. Once more the testimony of the Spaniard must be closely examined in regard to accuracy: he seems to have desired "to shelter himself beneath the pious cowl of the orthodox Pagninus for the new and daring interpretation he himself puts upon so many passages of the Psalms and Prophets." Nevertheless there is evidence that Servetus did have before him such an annotated text by Pagninus: even though two Popes and John Franciscus Pico, nephew of the

celebrated Pico de Mirandola, had given their imprimatur thereto, Pagninus' edition contained many heterodox comments which escaped the notice of its orthodox patrons. The anonymous writer of the *Impartial History* (p. 44) refers to a preface by Joannes Nicholaus Victorius, and a second by Pagninus, the latter of which appeared in other translations of the Bible into Latin; the preface of Victorius appears only in this edition by Servetus: "we learn from it that Pagninus made several notes upon the whole Bible, which may not have been printed."

b. HEBREW KNOWLEDGE OF SERVETUS

An important clue to the exegetical method of Servetus is found in his use of the Hebrew language. In his Preface to the Pagninus Bible edition he emphasizes the value of a knowledge of Hebrew for the elucidation of the historical and literal sense of debatable passages. He beseeches his readers to familiarize themselves, before studying Old Testament literature, with the Hebrew language and with Jewish history. He submits his case to the judgment of those and those alone, who are "well versed in the Hebrew tongue and the Jewish ecclesiastical history."

This friendliness towards Hebrew scholarship characterizes Servetus throughout his literary career: his earliest works on the Trinity, his *Ptolemy*, his *Pagninus*, and finally his *Christianismi Restitutio* (composed during his residence in Vienne, but not published until 1553) are replete with references to the Hebrew sources. For Servetus deserves rank among the foremost Hebraists of the Reform period. Unlike Calvin, Zwingli and other Reformers devoted to Biblical exegesis, he was not content to inform himself concerning Jewish opinions through the guidebooks issued by earlier Hebraists, such as Muenster and Reuchlin, through whom the commentaries of medieval Rabbis had been made available to Christian students; Servetus sought out the original texts of both the Bible and of post-Biblical Rabbinical literature; he studied therein for his own edification, and in search of evidence to support his theological views.[54]

[54] "He was not only a competent Greek scholar, but well advanced in the Hebrew also, with both of which languages he shows that he was even critically acquainted." Willis, p. 348. "He was a great enemy to the doctrine of absolute predestination, and a patron of liberty; he understood the Hebrew tongue." *Bibliothqèue Angloise*, p. 101, quoted in *An Impartial History*, p. 71. "He read through the text of the Scriptures in the original Greek and Hebrew a hundred times." Tollin, *Lehrsystem*, Foreword, p. vi.

Servetus quotes Hebrew words and sentences oftentimes in the original Hebrew script. His first theological work: *De Trinitatis Erroribus* is studded with Hebrew phrases and passages[55]; he even makes use of Rabbinical abbreviations. (p. 36). The title-page of his *Christianismi Restitutio* contains in Hebrew characters the quotation from Daniel 12:1: "On that day, Michael the Prince shall arise;" and throughout this entire work—the finest fruit of his abundant scholarship—we find words and quotations from the Hebrew, many of them the most debatable passages in Jewish and Christian theological literature.[56] The *Epistolae ad Calvinum* are likewise filled with Hebrew words, or transliterations into Latin from the original.[57]

1. *Hebrew in Exegesis*

Servetus is caustic in his criticism of those who despite their ignorance of Hebrew attempt to interpret passages for which a knowledge of the original language is indispensable. "If all the Greeks had understood Hebrew, the Greek Church Fathers would not have caused us so much trouble in their interpretation of the various names of God."[58] The charge of polytheism, he asserts, in an interpretation of the word: *'Elohim*, arises only among those Biblical scholars who did not understand Hebrew.[59] Servetus stands on solid Jewish ground in his exegesis of this word. He declares Paul of Samosata to have been learned in the Hebrew Bible; the Greek philosophers, however, were ignorant in this respect, and hence were infected with the pest of Aristotelianism.[60]

[55] See pp. 4, 20, 36, 44, 71, 73, 75, 87, 89, 91b, 97, 98, 98b, 99, 100, 100b, 101, 105, 113, 116, 118.

[56] See pp. 27, 52, 53, 61, 65, 68, 71, 74, 93, 99, 103, 107, 116, 119, 120, 123, 125, 126, 127, 128, 155, 156, 157, 237, 260, 266, 280, 289, 334, 373, 374, 447, 449, 451, 463, 467, 479, 481, 482, 486, 494, 520, 524 578, 596, 599, 631, 728, 729.

[57] *Opera*, viii, 650, 664, 666, 682, 689, etc.

[58] *Erroribus*, fol. 14b: "nec tantum nobis fecissent negotii, si Hebraica Graeci didicissent." Fol. 20b: "name originalem scripturae sanctae linguam ignorantes, se ipsos ignorant."

[59] See Tollin, i, 143 ff. for a discussion of Servetus' treatment of the various Hebrew names of God; cf. also Schultz, Hermann: *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, Frankfurt a. M, 1869. Servetus brings a multitude of Hebrew passages for illustration and comparison; there are several passages germane to a discussion of the relationship between Servetus and the Jewish philosopher, Spinoza.

[60] "Philosophos graecos hebraicae etiam ignaros et Aristotelica contagione infectos." *Erroribus*, fol. 111b. Servetus proclaims himself entirely independent of Arius, Sabellius, Paul of Samosata, Ebion, Simon Magus, the Bonosians, in

He criticizes also those who profess to find the doctrine of the Trinity in the words: "God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob," stigmatizing them as "Trinitarian Sophists,"[61] again adopting an argument advanced by Jewish commentators. These instances are representative of the critical judgment with which the Spanish scholar employed his Jewish scholarship.[62] Hebrew became for him early in life, and remained until the end, a sacred tongue.[63]

2. *Hebrew and Servetus' Literary Style*

An indication of the influence exerted upon Servetus by the Hebrew Old Testament is seen in the peculiarities of his literary style. His works show a predilection for the sharp antitheses, for the pregnant and piquant oppositions, for the frequent repetitions and emphases of Hebrew parallelism, the "style of the Holy Spirit."[64] Thus it is apparent that Servetus was equipped for

fact, of all heretics: in the first place, because they were "philosophers;" secondly, because they knew no Hebrew; in the third place, because they were notoriously incorrect in their interpretation of the Bible; cf. Tollin, iii, p. ix.

[61] *Erroribus*, fol. 29a; *Restit.*, 419. Cf. Tollin, p. 35.

[62] For other examples, cf. his discussion of the word "Davar" (דבר) and "Logos." *Erroribus*, fol. 117n: "Res longe facilior evadet, si Hebraismos hic non negligamus, postquam (puisque) Joannes Hebraeus erat." In his discussion of the appellations of Christ as "Wisdom," "the Power of God," etc. Servetus says, *ibid.*, fol. 77a: "Haec de nominibus abstractis quaestio Scotistis forte faciet difficultatem, sed Hebrais nulla est." Servetus appreciated the historical setting of both the Old and New Testament, for in *Restit.*, 299, he remarks that the Apostles, the "Judaic" character of whose thought he frequently observes, apply the term "faith" to future things, because they are writing to the Hebrews; Paul takes as a model the ancient Hebrew faith, and therefore describes it in a way congruous with Hebrew thinking: "ut Hebraeis potius congruebat." In his exegesis of the New Testament he urges that the Hebrew of the Old Testament should be brought to bear upon the Greek of the Gospels, inasmuch as the Apostles were Jews and thought in Jewish terms; cf. Tollin, p. 101.

[63] *Erroribus*, f. 20b; *Restit.* 695: "ex proprietate linguae sanctae." For evidence concerning the reverence Servetus cherished for the Hebrew, see "Servet's Sprachkenntnisse" in Guericke, *Zeitschrift*, 1877, pp. 608 ff.

[64] *Restit.* 674; cf. *Melanchthon und Servet*, Berlin, 1876, pp. 152-155. "Ut sint apertae nobis antitheses et opposita juxta se invicem posita magis elucescant." *Restit.* 356. Tollin, ii, pp. 10, 11 points out five stylistic traits which demonstrate the inclination of Servetus for the literary manner of the Old Testament: antitheses; repetition of the same thought two or three times in different form; interruption of the smooth train of thought with petitions to God or admonitions to the reader; the introduction, so popular with Oriental authors, of

Biblical exegesis far better than his contemporaries, not only by virtue of his study of the Hebrew original, but by his absorption of its very spirit and style. Servetus consistently regarded the New Testament as superior to the Old, yet he employed the Jewish Scriptures in defense of his doctrines with equal validity and frequency.

We are in a position now to undertake a closer examination of the exegetical method which Servetus pursued. It will be necessary in our analysis of the opinions voiced by Servetus concerning Christian doctrines—and even in our review of his Biblical interpretations—to refer to his knowledge of post-Biblical Jewish literature, particularly of medieval Rabbinical works. For the present, however, we will devote ourselves to an understanding of his Biblical research viewed wherever necessary in the light of its Jewish counterparts or sources.

c. EXEGETICAL METHOD OF SERVETUS

The fame of Servetus as Biblical critic and expositor has increased in recent years; it is recognized now that "he did precede by more than a century Spinoza (with whom he had many points in common) Astruc, Simon, Eichhorn and others, founders of the modern school of Scriptural exegesis."[65] John Calvin "repeatedly rejected the Messianic perversion of the Old Testament by clearly setting forth the original meaning of the passage to the prophet and his contemporaries;"[66] but Servetus went far beyond Calvin,

episodes, partly for the purpose of placing one's own observation by the side of authorities, partly in order to indicate how nature and revelation, science and religion appear to him interdependent (cf. how Servetus brings his discussion concerning the circulation of the blood into his treatment of the Holy Spirit. *Restit.* 169 ff.); and finally the custom of heaping up reasons, prefaced by numbers, which at times remind one strongly of the Biblical Proverbs.

[65] On Spinoza and Servetus, see Saisset, Emile, "Michael Servet. I. Doctrine philosophique et religieuse de M. S.; II. Le procès et la mort de M. S." in *Revue des deux Mondes*, 1848, and in his *Mélanges d'histoire*, 1859, pp. 117-227. Saisset was among the first to assign to Servetus his proper place among scientists and pantheists. He calls him "le theologien philosophe pantheiste precurseur inattendu de Malebranche et de Spinoza, de Schleiermacher et de Strauss." Cf. also Henry, *Calvin*, ii, 253 ff.

[66] Cf. Kemper Fullerton: *Prophecy and Authority.* A Study in the History of the Doctrine and Interpretation of Scripture. New York, 1919. This work seeks to give the history of the interpretation of the Old Testament in two eras of the Christian Church, and particularly discusses the methods of using prophecy. Fullerton points out that the Reformation witnessed not merely a

Luther, Zwingli and other Reformers in his attempt to indicate the historical setting of the reputed Messianic passages. His contention that the Old Testament texts applied by New Testament writers to events yet unborn, to the advent of a liberator of the Jewish people, to the belief in a millenial epoch—in reality referred to individuals alive and influential at the time the words were written, was a revolutionary departure from traditional Christian exegesis. Though Servetus admitted that these texts had a further prophetical or prospective meaning of the kind commonly ascribed to them and that the prophecies in a sublime and exalted sense were applicable to Jesus, we may assume that the Spanish exegete uttered these assertions in order to soften the heterodoxy of his views, and by concessions and qualifications to make them more acceptable to current tastes. Yet in his insistence upon the historical interpretation, he anticipated the best achievements of modern Biblical criticism, his method finding an echo in the most modern works on the subject of Prophecy and Interpretation.[67] Servetus, to be sure, was confined by the limited scientific knowledge of the Bible which marked his age; he of course knew nothing of the probably late origin of many portions of Scripture, of the presence of two distinct authors in the Book of Isaiah, of the composition of the Book of Daniel long after the

revolt from the authority of the Church in other matters, but also a renunciation of the allegorical and typical use of the Old Testament which had become the habit of the Catholic Church. Luther enunciated the principle of grammatico-historical interpretation; yet the predictive use of the Old Testament in the New and the dogmatic necessity felt by the Reformation to substitute an infallible Bible for an infallible Pope soon brought the Protestants to the same grotesque view of the Old Testament as that which the Patristic interpreters had held. Fullerton criticises present-day millenial expectations as due entirely to the survival of the emphasis upon prediction, and the failure to grasp the historical point of view towards prophecy. How like Servetus this sounds! Finally, Fullerton says, Jesus fulfilled prophecy not because he fulfilled prophetic prediction, but because he fulfilled prophetic ideals.

67 Cf. Fullerton, *op. cit.*, where the emphasis is laid upon the fact that the traditional use of the Old Testament was based upon a lack of understanding of the historical method of interpretation. Cf. for other views: Bernard, J. H. "Prophets and Prophecy in New Testament Times," *Biblical World*, Feb., 1905; Hugo Weiss: *Die Messianischen Vorbilder im Alten Testament*, Freiburg, 1905; G. F. French: "Interpretation of Prophecy," *Hibbert Journal*, x, 861 ff; W. D. Wallis, *Messiahs, Christian and Pagan*, Boston, 1918; Lagrange, M. J. "Notes sur le messianisme dans les Psaumes," *Rev. biblique internationale*, n. s. ii (1905), pp. 39-57; 188-202.

passing of the persons and events mentioned therein; he even appears to have accepted the narratives of the Pentateuch as properly historical, as well as those of the semi-historical books which follow. Hence we must recognize that Servetus, though a pioneer in many respects, nevertheless labored under the limitations of his epoch; this must not blind us, however, to the significance of the contributions he did offer to the science of Biblical criticism.

1. *Servetus' Indebtedness to Rabbinical Exegesis*

The *Pagninus Bible*, edited by Servetus, furnishes valuable evidence of the fact that he drew abundant material from the literature of distinguished Rabbinical commentators. The Spanish scholar was unique among his contemporaries, not so much in his use of this material—for many Christian Hebraists prided themselves upon their ability to bring to bear upon their interpretations illustrative portions from Rabbinical literature—but in the striking results which emerged from his application of them to the "Messianic" passages of the Old Testament. We shall have occasion later to examine in detail the numerous instances in his *De Trinitatis Erroribus* and *Christianismi Restitutio* where Servetus employs Rabbinical quotations; our immediate concern now is with his exegetical comments in relation to Jewish commentaries: we are desirous of determining, if possible, whether Servetus drew upon the latter directly, or whether his interpretations are parallel to the Rabbinical, either through accident or through a certain like-mindedness which many call, for lack of a better designation, "Judaistic" or "Rabbinical."

We may proceed, then, to an analysis of the scholia in the *Pagninus Bible*. Servetus' note on Genesis 49:10 is of interest because he applies the famous verse ("The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor the ruler's staff from between his feet, until Shiloh comes"), not to Christ—as commentators for centuries had done—but immediately to King David. Herein Servetus followed a long-established Jewish tradition, of which the opinion of Joseph Kimchi in the *Sepher ha-Berith* may be taken as one illustration:

> This utterance, as is well known, is from the Blessing of the Patriarch Jacob, who administered a blessing to each of his sons, and apportioned to Judah among them royalty. This stock was to bring forth the King who

should rule over Israel and his successor. Now the first King in Israel who came forth from Judah and whom his successors also followed on the throne, was David . . . (Moreover), how can you say that the kingship did not depart from the House of David until Jesus came? I have shown to you that it had departed 506 years before the advent of Jesus.[68]

Servetus, if judged from the standpoint of modern exegesis, may have been incorrect in interpreting this verse as referring to David; viewed, however, in the light of Biblical criticism during his day, it was a decisive break with the past, and overthrew the contention of volumes of Christian discussion.[68a]

Whence did Servetus derive this radical view of a cherished "Messianic text"? A decision on this question would be of valuable assistance in a determination of the source of similar discussions in the scholia of the *Pagninus*. The Jewish scholars whose works Servetus quotes in his works include the following: Maimonides, Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Abraham Saba, David Kimchi, Isaac Arama, Lipmann of Muehlhausen, author of the *Nitzachon*. (*v. i.*) Each one of these discusses the passage in question and refers it, of course, not to Christ, but either directly to David or to the Davidic House. Thus, from any one of these, Servetus may have borrowed his own interpretation; he uses Rashi's *Commentary on the Pentateuch*, to explain Genesis 1:7; and this may also have served him to explain Genesis 49:10. Of course, the hypothesis might be advanced that he made use of the material incorporated in the works of Peter Alphonso, Paul of Burgos, or other Jewish converts to Christianity, whom he refers to, but does not mention by name. These, however, are not so explicit in their interpretation of the verse as not referring to Christ, and we may accept the theory that Servetus used the Jewish commentaries for his interpretation of the verse, either directly or through the available guide-books to Rabbinical literature. Thus though we can render no categorical decision on this point, it is nevertheless evident that a Jewish background existed for Servetus' scholium.

[68] In *Milchemeth Chobhah*, Constantinople, 1710.

[68a] Posnanski, A., *Schiloh, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Messiaslehre*, Leipzig, 1904, 512 pp. with Hebrew appendices, gives excerpts from Christian, Jewish, and Mohammedan literature from the earliest times until modern which discuss Gen. 49: 10. Servetus, it is important to note, is not mentioned.

2. *Paul of Burgos and Servetus*

The influence of the ex-Jew, Paul of Burgos, in the development of Servetus' exegetical methods deserves notice here. Servetus mentions him in connection with Peter Alphonso and "several other Jews converted to Christianity."[69] That Paul of Burgos influenced the hermeneutical method of Servetus seems strongly probable;[70] in his constant effort to separate the grammatical-historical sense from the "economic-typical meaning," Servetus imitated the Spanish convert.[71] The source whence Servetus drew his information concerning Paul was the *Additiones* written a few years after the baptism of the former Solomon ha-Levi, and consisting of addenda to Nicholas of Lyra's postils on the Bible. We shall have opportunity to describe the career of Paul of Burgos in greater detail when we turn our attention to the Rabbinical references in the *Christianismi Restitutio.* (*v. i.*)

3. *David Kimchi and Servetus*

a. On the Psalms. In his scholia upon the Psalms, Servetus, though he makes no mention of sources undoubtedly drew upon the works of the distinguished medieval commentator, David Kimchi. In the *Restitutio*, published in 1553 but prepared during the Vienne residence of Servetus, during which also the *Pagninus* was prepared, we find an important reference to Rabbi David Kimchi which will assist us in our discussion of the comments made upon the Psalms. Servetus prefaces his quotation from Kimchi's work on the Psalms with the remark that the Sophists, as he styles the exponent of Trinitarian Church teachings, have

[69] *Christ. Restit.* De trinit. iii, 102-103: "Visibilem in Deo ipso apparuisse imaginem ex apertissimis scriptis tenuerunt veteres Hebraei, ut docet Philo, Eusebius, Hieronymus, Petrus Alphonsus, Paulus Burgensis et plerique alii ex Judaeis ad Christum conversi."

[70] "Paul Burgensis hat ihm die reine Hermeneutik und das rabbinistische Material . . . Sebastian Muenster die Geographie . . kabbalistische Mystik Capito . . . von Santes Pagnini hat er viele Auslegungen der Psalmen und Propheten . . . gelernt." See Tollin, iii, p. x.

[71] Tollin, p. 80, note 1. See also Tollin's discussion concerning the method of Paul in Zoeckler, *Beweis des Glaubens*, 1874, p. 1 ff. "Die typische wie die geistliche Aulsegung fuehrten den Hermeneuten aus der Schule des Paul von Burgos, selbstredend wieder in die allegorische Aulsegung zurueck." Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 241-6; also Hilgenfeld: *Zeitschrift*, 1877, pp. 342-386; Guericke: *Zeitschrift*, 1877, p. 635.

made it possible for the Jewish scholar to mock them as "donkeys and madmen" (asinos et insanos). It need scarcely be said that Kimchi does not employ such terms: Servetus seeks to express by his own use of these phrases the impression which had been made on him by a reading of the Jewish exegete's works.[72] The passage from Kimchi was selected by Servetus for the purpose of demonstrating that Psalm 2:7 "The Lord said unto me, thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee," does not apply to Christ and the Trinity, but to David.[73] After a discussion in the *Pagninus* of Psalm 1 (which Servetus remarks, arose as follows: "The impious counsel of Achitophel was the occasion of this Psalm and likewise of the five following") he discussed Psalm 2:7, saying: "'Yet have I set my King upon my holy hill of Zion . . . Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee' must be explained thus: On the day when David had escaped from his enemy (Saul), he said, 'This day do I begin to live; at length I am king.' "[74] A juxtaposition of the comments made by Kimchi in his commentary on the Psalms will demonstrate the similarity in the thought and interpretation of Servetus.[75]

Servetus may have become acquainted with the works of Kim-

[72] Pool, *op. cit.*, p. 330-31: Servetus "laments that he cannot restrain his mourning when he sees how easy a victory Rabbi Kimchi obtains over the Church in his polemics against this teaching" of the Trinity.

[73] *Christ. Restit.* De Trinit, ii, 59: "Non abs re fuerit, hic audire responsiones, quas in usis commentariis super hoc psalmo fecit Judaeus David Chimhi contra Christianos. Tam caecis rationibus hominem sophistae compellebant, ut eos ille tanquam asinos et insanos rideat. Ad mathematicum invisibilem quedam filium credendum cogere Judaeum volebant exponentes, hodie id est, ante secula genuite. Quibus ille scite respondit, si in illis aeternitatibus duae distinctae res incorporaeae similes et aequales pariter erant, gemelli duo erant, non pater et filius. Ac perinde, si tertia ibi similis et duabus aequalibus addatur, tergeminos dices Geryones. Quod ajebant sophistae esse in Deo ipso realem generationem ut radii a sole, hoc ille in Deo, horrescebat, cum praesertim inde arguatur sectio in Deo, arguatur mutatio et dissimulatio inter solem et radium. Circa vocem hodie sophistas quoque errare plane cognescebat Judaeus, cum Hebraice ponatur ibi pronomen demonstrativum certam diem ad sensum demonstrans. Filius metus es tu, hac die te genui. Quod et Chaldaeus quoque observavit" . . .

[74] For a discussion of this verse and Psalm 3:4 in another work, see *Erroribus*, fol. 56-a.

[75] Greenup, A. W., *The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimchi on the Book of Psalms, i-viii.* London, Palestine House, 1918, 67 pp. See *ad loc.* See also Finch, R. G., *The Longer Commentary of R. David Kimchi on the First Book of Psalms l-x, xv-xvii, xix, xxii, xxiv.* London, 1919, pp. 15-16.

chi through various channels. He may have seen the *Editio Princeps* of Kimchi's Commentary on the Psalms published at Bologna in 1477,[76] though there is no means of establishing this fact; the Isny edition, published in 1542 with the *Teshubhoth la-Notzerim* (*Responses to the Christians*) may have come into his possession, not early enough, however, to have influenced the *Pagninus*, though the *Restitutio* may have profited thereby. Another hypothesis is that he may have made use of the *Teshubhoth*, wherein Psalms 2, 45, 110, and others discussed in the *Pagninus* are commented upon in a vein similar to that of Servetus; at any rate the text of the *Teshubhoth* which is found at the conclusion of the *Nitzachon* of Lipmann of Muehlhausen was, as we shall see below, employed by Servetus in his *Restitutio*[77]; and there is a second reference to the writings of Kimchi in Servetus' work of 1531, on *Trinitarian Errors*. "I am unable," Servetus remarks, "to restrain myself from tears when I see the replies which are made concerning this (the Trinity) by Rabbi Kimchi against the Christians. For I see the absurd reasons with which they combat him and I cannot choose but weep."[78] In reality these arguments assisted him to obtain an easy victory over the Christian Church. It appears from this citation that the Spaniard early in his literary career was acquainted with the works of Jewish apologists, and was sufficiently versed in their opinions to match them against Christian views.[79] A third hypothesis is that Servetus received his knowledge of Kimchi from the Latin Bibles of Pagninus himself (1528), or Muenster (1534-5), both of which were strongly influenced by the Kimchi commentaries.[80] That Servetus' com-

[76] Cf. S. M. Schiller-Szinessy, *The First Book of the Psalms*, Cambridge, 1883.

[77] Though the *Nitzachon* plus the *Teshubhoth* was not printed until 1644, it made the rounds of Christian scholars as early as the middle of the fifteenth century. *v. i.* It is doubtful whether Servetus knew or saw the *Wikkuach* alleged to be the work of David Kimchi, published in the *Milchemeth Chobhah* with the *Sepher ha-Berith* of Joseph Kimchi, at Constantinople, 1710. These controversial tracts, edited, annotated and translated will shortly be published by the author of this work.

[78] *Erroribus*, ii, 65 b. "Non possim hic continere a gemitu, dum video responsiones, quas super hoc fecit Rab. Chimchi contra Christianos. Video tam caecas rationes, quibus eum compellebant, ut non possim non flere."

[79] Tollin, iii, Vorrede, p. ix. discusses his mention of "Dav. Chimchi at Longobardus Rabinus."

[80] Finch, *op. cit.*, p. xx. A discussion of the influence of the Commentaries of Kimchi upon Christian versions of the Bible, including the 1611 King James and earlier English versions, with special consideration of the influence of the

ments in the 1542 edition of Pagninus, then, originated ultimately from Kimchi is highly probable. We are inclined, however, to accept the hypothesis that the earlier knowledge of Servetus was reinforced by new works on the Jewish commentators, as they appeared from time to time; there is little doubt that Janvier's Latin translation of the whole of the commentary on the Psalms, published at Constanz, 1544, underlies the remarks in the *Restitutio*. Thus, though we find ourselves unable to determine definitely from which work Servetus adopted any individual Rabbinical interpretation, we have been able to sketch the background from which he drew his Rabbinical point of view. We may proceed, therefore, to a review of his comments upon the Psalms.[81]

Psalm 8:5: *For thou hast made him a little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with honour and glory . .* Servetus refers the word "angels" to "illustrious men" to whom David, by his persecutions became inferior: David, a type of Christ, afterwards to be crowned.

Psalm 11:1: *In the Lord have I taken refuge; How say ye to my soul; flee thou! to your mountains, ye birds?* Servetus refers this to the time when David in fear of Saul escaped from the land of Judah.

Psalm 22:17: *They have pierced my hands and my feet.* Servetus refers this to David, when he fled like a wild beast through thorny places; his hands and feet were torn. In the Hebrew, it reads: "like a lion at my hands and feet," but the Septuagint reads *Karu* (they pierced) for *Ka-'ari* (like a lion) in the same sentence.

Psalm 40:6: *Sacrifice and meal-offering Thou hast no delight in*, signifies, says our commentator, that David, when a fugitive in the wilderness, offered no sacrifices.

Psalm 45:7: *Thy throne, O God, is forever and ever.* The word "God" refers to Solomon, who like Moses and Cyrus, is here styled "Deus" or "God."[82]

Psalm 69:22: *They gave me gall for meat and vinegar for drink.* "This Nabal did literally" (I Sam. 25), "When he gave to David's messengers sneers and curses instead of proper refreshment, in return for all his favors to him." In the light of Christian reference to this verse for the purpose of vindicating their views on Old Testament prophecy, Servetus' comment is striking.

so-called apologetical and polemical portions, will appear in my forthcoming volume on: *Joseph and David Kimchi as Religious Controversialists.*

[81] We have made use of the Latin annotations in the original Pagninus Bible edited by Servetus, supported by the texts and translations given in the *Impartial History*, pp. 46-58, and in Willis, pp. 146-156.

[82] Servetus substantiates this by referring to Isaiah 45, and Exodus 7. Cf. in the *Teshubhoth la-Notzerim, ad loc.*, where Kimchi says: "The Throne of God

Psalm 110:1: *The Lord said unto my lord*: '*Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool.*' "This refers to Solomon, whom David calls 'Lord' as a type of Christ, so great was the kingdom to be transferred to him. *Thou art a priest forever after the manner of Melchizedek*, "who was king and priest at once; whence Solomon oftentimes officiated as a priest."[83]

These comments upon the Psalms, which, we believe, were for the greater part founded upon David Kimchi's interpretations in his Commentaries on the Psalms and incorporated in the *Teshubhoth la-Notzerim*, indicate the nature of Servetus' exegetical method. He was ready to apply to David, the supposed author of Psalms, certain debatable passages employed for Christological ends, nevertheless he was unwilling oftentimes to deprive them of their "typical" interpretation by which they are regarded as hinting in symbol at future events. He refused, however, to make them literal predictions of the life and second Advent of Christ, and thereby gave to Biblical exegesis an impetus which, however, was not transmitted to all Christian scholars in modern times.[84]

b. SCHOLIA OF SERVETUS ON THE PROPHETS In his comments on the Prophets, Servetus carried the method of historical analysis to more logical conclusions: the "typical" interpretation of the passage is subordinated, and the historical emphasized.

Isaiah, 2:2 ff.: *And shall come to pass in the end of days that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established as the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills.* Servetus refers these words to the reign of

is the throne of the king, as in I Chronicles 39:23: 'Then Solomon sat on the throne of the Lord as king.' " The *Jewish Translation* reads: "Thy throne given of God is for ever and ever."

[83] For a representative view of this verse, see Needham, E. A., *Melchizedek and Aaron as types of Christ, the royal priest*, New York, 1904, 36 pp. The opinion of Servetus finds its counterpart in the works of both David and Joseph Kimchi, with the former of whom, as we have seen, he was familiar: see *Teshubhoth, ad loc.*, where Kimchi likewise combats the notion that the Trinity may be deduced from the Psalm; see also *Sepher ha-Berith*, where Joseph Kimchi speaks in a similar strain, fol. 30 a. ff.

[84] Cf. *Lyra Davidis*, or a new translation and exposition of the Psalms, based on the principle adopted in the posthumous work of Bishop Horsley; viz., that these sacred oracles have for the most part an immediate reference to Christ and to the evidence of his second Advent; by the Rev. John Fry, London, 1819, 580 pp.

Hezekiah; literally viewed, they tell of the accession of Hezekiah, and the return of the captive Israelites to Jerusalem, the Assyrians having suffered a signal defeat without fighting a battle.

Isaiah 4:2: *In that day shall the growth of the Lord be beautiful and glorious.* This also is referred to Hezekiah and the events of his reign, though the king here is seen as a type of Christ.

Isaiah 7:14: *Behold, the young woman shall conceive, and bear a son.* Servetus is entirely historical in his interpretation of this crucial verse; he refers it directly to the times in which it was written. "The Arameans have come up in battle array against Jerusalem, and the prophet speaks of a young woman (ʿalmah, a young marriageable woman) who shall conceive and bear a son; the young woman being no other than Abijah, about to become the mother of Hezekiah 'strength and fortitude of God'—and Immanuel, 'God with us'—before whose reign the two kings, the enemies of Judah, will have been discomfited," as in II Kings 16 and 18.[85]

Isaiah 8:10: *For God is with us.* "Because Immanuel 'God with us,' " says Servetus, "is for Hezekiah against the Assyrians."

Isaiah 9:5: *For unto us a child is born*, refers to Hezekiah, during whose reign Sennacherib and the Assyrians were defeated, the Angel of the Lord having slain their hosts in a night.[86]

Isaiah 19:20: *And he will send a Saviour to them.* "The Saviour," says Servetus, "is still no other than Hezekiah, for the Egyptians, being greatly oppressed by the Assyrians, when they saw that he had won so great a victory over the Assyrians, praised the Lord, and entered into a treaty with them at the same time."

Isaiah 35:5: *Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf unstopped.* "Liberation from the yoke of the Assyrians will do much towards giving the Jewish people clearer and better ideas of God."

Isaiah 40: 1-3: *Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people . . . The voice of one*

[85] Servetus runs counter to long-accepted Christian tradition in his refusal to associate this verse with the Virgin Birth (Cf. Meyer, T. B., *Jesus im Buche Jesaias*, Kassel, 1898). But by so doing, he falls in line with the best Jewish opinion in the commentaries: see David Kimchi's interpretation *ad loc.*, in *Later Prophets*, Soncino, 1486 and Pisa, 1515; likewise in the *Wikkuach*; see Joseph Kimchi's views in the *Sepher ha-Berith*, fol. 27 a ff.; also in *Sepher ha-Galuy* (ed. Matthews, Berlin, 1887), p. 134 under *ʿAlmah*. See also the *Nitzachon, ad loc.*, and other works used by Servetus for Hebrew references; the material in Hebrew literature on this passage is abundant.

[86] Once more Servetus challenges orthodox Christian interpretation of a pivotal Old Testament passage: cf. Davis, J. D., *The child whose name is wonderful; an address on Isaiah 9:5 and 6* (Biblical and Theological Studies by members of the Faculty of Princeton Theological Seminary), New York, 1912, pp. 91-108. Thus Servetus stands again in Jewish territory. (Cf. Barmby, G., *Bible proofs from Isaiah against Jesus Christ's being the Messiah*, London, 1842.)

crying in the wilderness: *Prepare ye the way of the Lord* . . "These words are addressed to Cyrus, praying him to open a way through the desert for Israel, returning from the captivity of Babylon" (See Jeremiah 31). *O thou that tellest good tidings to Zion* (verse 9), "refers literally to Cyrus."[87]

Isaiah 41:2: *Who hath raised up one from the East*, namely "the righteous man or Cyrus, who was to execute God's justice by destroying Babylon."

Isaiah 43:10: *My servant whom I have chosen*, namely "Cyrus who confessed that he was ordained as such by God himself."[88]

Isaiah 53:3: *He was despised and rejected of men, etc.* "In these passages, which also involve a great mystery referable to Christ," says Servetus, "the prophet laments over Cyrus slain, as it were, for the sins of the people, who, however, will suffer still more under Cambyses, his successor, when the building of the Temple, now begun, will be interrupted." (Cf. Daniel 9).[89]

Isaiah 60:6: *They from Sheba shall come.* "Taken literally and as they stand, these words refer to the great days of the Second Temple, when Jerusalem was again in its glory."

Isaiah 63:1: *Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah?*: "Cyrus has inflicted severe punishments on Edom, and brought back those who had been carried thither from Jerusalem into captivity, as we read in the 15th chapter, where it is said: *The redeemed of the Lord shall return.*

Jeremiah 23:5: *Behold* . . *I shall raise unto David a righteous branch.* "That this was meant to apply literally to Zerubabel, and so far as he had the government in his hands, is plain from Zechariah."

Daniel 9:25: *Know therefore and discern that from the going out of the word to restore, and to build Jerusalem unto one anointed, a prince, shall be seven weeks* . . . *and after the threescore and two weeks shall an anointed one be cut off.* "The times specified" says Servetus, "refer to those of the Exile, and to the return of the captives through the favor of Cyrus, who is the Messiah or Anointed One of God, here mentioned. Sixty-two weeks having passed from the great event, Cyrus will have been cut off, and all have gone to wreck again; and Cambyses, successor to Cyrus, shall destroy

[87] For a Jewish view of these and other debatable passages discussed, see Goodman, P., *Synagogue and Church*, London, 1908, pp. 186-228. Cf. Budde, K., *Die sogenannten Ebed-Jahwe-Lieder*, Giessen, 1900; (*Am. J. of Theology*, iii, 499-540); reviewed by J. Elbogen, *Monatsschrift*, ix, 96 ff.

[88] Servetus goes astray in the interpretation of this verse as in others which have been noted; his break with Christian exegetical tradition, however, is the significant fact. For his views on the Election of the Jews. *v. i.*

[89] Neubauer, A., *Jewish Interpretations of the 53rd Chapter of Isaiah*, Oxford, 1876-7; Ziemer, E., *Jesaias 53 in der neueren Theologie*, Cassel, 1912, and other works by T. H. Weir, Orelli, Cheyne and Gray.

and desolate the building; but Darius shall first confirm the covenant; after whom shall again follow the great abomination of Antiochus, and an end shall be made to the Jewish state and polity."[90]

Hosea 9:1: *Out of Egypt have I called my son* . ."The people of Israel a type of Jesus, Son of the true God, even as it said of Solomon: *I will be to him a father, and he shall be to me a son.* I Chronicles 22:10."

Joel, 4:1: *For . . . I shall bring again the captivity of Judah and Jerusalem; I will also gather all the nations.* "These words have a literal application to the defeat of the Assyrians and the glories of Hezekiah's reign. Many disasters have befallen the chosen seed, but the oppressors in turn shall be defeated, and Judah, restored, shall dwell forever in Jerusalem."

Micah 5:1: *But thou, Bethlehem Ephrathah . . out of thee shall one come forth unto Me that is to be ruler in Israel,* namely "Hezekiah, who will deliver the people from the Assyrians."

Zechariah 3:8: *For behold, I will bring forth my servant, the branch*: "Behold, I will make my servant Zerubabel, the branch to come, who is the true branch of David, and contains in himself the branch of Christ, our King."

Zechariah 9:9 *Behold, thy King cometh unto thee . . . lowly and riding upon an ass.* This text, which is referred to Christ in Matthew 21:5, is connected by Servetus with the compassionate Zerubabel, and his entrance into Jerusalem.[91]

d. OPPOSITION AROUSED BY THE PAGNINUS EDITION

The radical character of these comments, so similar to Jewish interpretations, and so profoundly at variance with long-sanctioned Christian hermeneutics, can best be appreciated by an analysis of the opposition they awakened in both Reform and Catholic circles. The great ecclesiastical centers, Lyons, Madrid and Rome were openly hostile: Lyons condemned both the

[90] A typical Jewish parallel to this interpretation which like others of Servetus is noteworthy because of its non-Christological viewpoint, is found in the *Sepher ha-Berith*, fol. 26 b to 27 a. For other Jewish views, see Turner, *Some Jewish Rabbis*, pp. 185-191, and *REJ*, 18:51. For typical Christian interpretations, see Fraidl, *Die exegese der siebzig Wochen Daniels in der alten und mittleren Zeit*, Graz, 1883; Cooper, W., *Daniel's Seventy Weeks*, A Second sermon preached at Sion Chapel, Sept. 18, 1796, to the Jews, London, 1796; Van Bebber J., "Zur Berechnung der 70 Wochen Daniels" in *Bibl. Zeitschrift*, Heft 2, 1906.

[91] For a discussion of the two passages in Zechariah, viewed from the standpoint of Christian evangelical endeavour, see M'Caul, A. M., *Rabbi David Kimchi's Commentary on the Prophecies of Zechariah.* Translated from the Hebrew; with notes and observations on the passages relating to the Messiah. See also Ayerst, W., *Jews of the 19th century*, pp. 269-75.

Pagninus Bible and the comments of Servetus; Madrid ordered that the greater number of the glosses be expunged, but left the Bible itself untouched; Rome not only condemned the expositions, but placed the book upon the "Index prohibitorius."

But it is the attitude of John Calvin that has for us the major interest. The skepticism of Servetus towards the conventional elucidation of "Messianic" texts in the Psalms and Prophets appeared in the eyes of the Genevan as an assault upon the doctrine of the infallibility of the Bible which Protestants had elevated into a position analogous to the Catholic dogma of Papal infallibility. As early as 1530-1, Oecolampadius had accused Servetus of being guilty of "Judaizing" in his treatment of those passages which predict the coming of Christ.[92] In our discussion of the "Judaizing" controversy between Servetus on the one hand, and Calvin, supported by his colleagues on the other, we shall have occasion to discuss the opinion of Oecolampadius in detail; for the present, however, it is sufficient to note that though the latter was vehemently opposed to the methods of Servetus, the church authorities at Vienne did not view with indignation or disapproval the heterodoxy of his exegesis: Servetus was left unmolested in his literary work for over eleven years. This, however, did not prevent Calvin from preparing the accusations which, after the publication of the *Christianismi Restitutio* in 1553 and the commencement of his trial in Geneva, served to strengthen the case against the "heretic." Both at the trial and in his *Defensio orthodoxae Fidei*, Calvin prompted his associates to stigmatize the Biblical criticism of Servetus as a grave exhibition of heresy, and to employ this as one of the charges which eventually accomplished the Spaniard's condemnation and death. But before we describe these incidents with the care they deserve, we believe it desirable to turn to a discussion of the *magnum opus* of Servetus: his *Restitution of Christianity*, in order that we may be able better to understand the significance of the closing events in the tragic career of the Spanish Reformer.

4. Servetus as a Student of Rabbinical Literature: The *Christianismi Restitutio; 1553*.

The theological masterpiece of Servetus: *Christianismi Restitutio*, was produced during his sojourn in Vienne; as early as 1546,

[92] *Opera*, viii, 860: "Proinde satis video, quantum tu a nobis recedas: et magis iudaisas quam gloriam Christi praedicas."

he sent a copy of it to Calvin, who in turn forwarded it to Viret at Lausanne, and later used it as evidence in the Geneva trial. But the work was not printed until the year 1553, the year of its author's tragic death at the stake.

Our first interest in this study centers in its use of excerpts from books of Rabbinical literature. We have already observed to what degree Servetus employs his knowledge of Rabbinical literature in the exegesis of the Hebrew Bible; we are concerned now with the use which he makes of Rabbinical literature in its own right, as confirmation and embellishment of his theological doctrines. Tollin, who has written more voluminously upon the career and works of Servetus than any other scholar, speaks of his "Rabbinical philosophy"[93] and his "Rabbinically speculative dialogues."[94] But he brings to the support of these characterizations few specific references from the writings of Servetus. It remained for a Jewish scholar, Jacob Guttmann, distinguished for his research in the field of the Jewish aspects and associations of Scholasticism, to write a valuable brochure entitled "Michael Servetus in his Relationships to Judaism," wherein he presents the references to Rabbinical works made by the Spanish anti-Trinitarian.[95] We have examined Guttmann's study in the light of our own research in the Servetus material, and have found it to be reliable and quite complete. The following pages represent a composite of these three investigations.

The Rabbinical references of Servetus, as noted above, appear at the very commencement of his literary activity. The *De Trinitatis Erroribus*, as early as 1531, makes use of the works of David Kimchi and others; the *Dialogi* refer to the "Rabini"; the *Pagninus Bible* is replete with the Rabbinical influence of various writers who are, however, unnamed in the work; while the *Christianismi Restitutio* represents the apogee of Servetus' Hebraic interests, for therein the Jewish authors are mentioned by name, and a variety of Jewish sources are tapped. This crescendo of interest in Rabbinical authorities keeps pace with the Spaniard's advancement in Hebrew learning.

[93] Tollin, H. *Das Lehyrsystem Michael Servet's;* Guetersloh, 1876, i, 7.

[94] *Ibid*, ii, 32, 33.

[95] Jacob Guttmann; "Michael Servetus in seinen Beziehungen zum Judenthum," *Monatsschrift fuer Geschichte des Judentums*, li (1907), pp. 77-94. Pool refers to this essay in his article: *Jewish Review*, ii, 331. Other works on Servetus, however, are silent thereon.

a. INFLUENCE OF POLEMICAL WORKS ON SERVETUS

Guttmann advances the suggestion that Servetus first became acquainted with Jewish literature through the agency of polemical works directed against Judaism. The Spaniard bears witness to the fact that he had read Jewish-Christian controverisal works. Thus he mentions Tertullian's treatise: *Adversus Judaeos*, which in turn is based upon an older work: *Altercatio Simonis Judaei et Theophili Christiani*[96]; he quotes also from Irenaeus and Clement, Church Fathers, who also engaged in polemical discussions with Jews.[97] In addition to the information which Servetus drew from these writings, he apparently found many suggestions in the works of medieval authors, both Jewish and non-Jewish, dealing with Jewish themes. Thus Peter Alphonso (1062-1110), a convert to Christianity, is mentioned[98] the work from his pen of interest in this connection being the *Dialogi in quibus impiae Judaeorum . . opiniones . . confutantur*, a series of twelve dialogues against the Jews, the supposed disputants being Mose and Pedro, namely, Moses Sephardi and Peter Alphonso, or, in other words, himself before and after conversion.[99]

1. *Paul of Burgos*

The polemical writings of Paul of Burgos deserve particular attention here because of the well-recognized role played by his works in the theological system of Servetus. Paul of Burgos or Paul de Santa Maria (1351-1435), one of the most interesting con-

[96] *Opera*, viii, 508; on Tertullian, see S. Krauss, "The Jews in the Works of the Church Fathers," in *JQR* (1892), v and vi.

[97] *Opera*, viii, 512; Servetus quotes Irenaeus: "The Jews did not know that he who spoke with Adam and Abraham and Moses in human form was the Word, the Son of God."

[98] *Christ. Restit.* De trinit, iii, 102-103.

[99] Petrus Alphonsus, physician to Alfonso VI of Castile, was baptized in 1106. His *Dialogi* is highly praised by Raymond Martin in *Pugio Fidei* and others. Steinschneider, *Hebraeische Uebersetzungen*, pp. 934-5, discusses the work and its place in controversial literature. The treatise appeared at Cologne in 1536, the edition doubtless used by Servetus, and has been published at various times, being included in Migne, *Patrologia*, 157:535 ff. Another controversial tract ascribed to Petrus Alphonsus is entitled: *Inter Petrum Christianum et Moysem Haereticum* (cf. *Hebr. Bibl.*, xxi, 38). For information concerning the life and works of Petrus, see Steinschneider, *op. cit.;* B. Pick: "Pedro Alfonso" in McClintock and Strong's *Cyclopedia*, vii, 864-5; also G. A. Kohut in *JE*, i, 377.

verts of the 15th century was before his conversion in 1391 the Jew Solomon ha-Levi, a Rabbi, thoroughly conversant with Talmudic and Rabbinical literature and on intimate terms with the foremost Jewish scholars of the age. At the time of his apostasy, he caused it to be widely known that he had embraced Christianity as a result of his studies in the works of Thomas Aquinas; it is worthy of notice that Servetus, who quotes Paul of Burgos, himself owed much to the influence of the great Scholastic, who in turn was indebted to Maimonides, from whom Servetus also quotes; the influence of Aquinas may have entered into the latter's thought through the additional medium of the works of Paul. After his conversion, the Spanish apostate studied theology at Paris, visited London, in 1402 became Bishop of Cartagena, later rose to the post of privy councilar to Henry III of Castile, tutor of the Infant Juan II and eventually Archbishop of Burgos. His polemical work against his former co-religionists is entitled: *Dialogus Pauli et Sauli Contra Judaeos, sive Scrutinium Scripturarum*, and is couched in the form of a dialogue between a teacher and his pupil, the unbelieving Saul and the converted Paul.[100] With the lesser writings of Paul of Burgos, including the correspondence between himself and several Jews, among them Joseph Orabuena, Chief Rabbi of Navarre Joshua ibn Vives and other contemporary scholars there is no indication that Servetus was acquainted. But we know that Servetus made frequent use of the *Additiones*, or addenda to the *Postilla* of Nicholas of Lyra, which Paul composed a few years after his baptism; the contribution of these comments, including the interpretations of Lyra, to the exegesis of Servetus, we shall consider later in detail.

2. *Other Jewish Converts*

Who were the "other Jews converted to Christ" of whom Servetus speaks as authorities?[101] Many may lay claim to inclusion

[100] Published at Mantua, 1475; Mainz, 1478; Paris, 1507, 1535; Burgos, 1591. It is certain that Servetus was acquainted with the two Paris editions, if not the earlier. Tollin, "Des Paulus Burgensis Schriftbeweis gegen die Juden" in *Beweis des Glaubens*, 10 Jahrg. 1874, Guetersloh, pp. 241-6. This polemic served as a source for Alfonso de Spina, Geronimo de Santa Fé and other Spanish writers hostile to the Jews; it was thus far more influential than the work of Peter Alphonso. Tollin pays tribute to the impression made by the writings of Paul upon Servetus, in iii, p. x, iii, 112 et passim. See Kayserling, *Sephardim*, p. 64 ff; Graetz, *Gesch.*, viii, 84 ff.

[101] *Christ. Restit.* De Trinit. iii, 102-103.

within this company, for before the birth of the anti-Trinitarian, Spain witnessed both voluntary and forced conversions of large numbers of Jews to Christianity: not a few of these neophytes, in order to prove their zeal for the faith, composed and published virulent attacks upon their former brethren. Thus, Abner of Burgos (1270-1348), known by the Christian name of Alfonso of Valladolid and Alfonso of Burgos, is mentioned by Paul of Burgos in the *Scrutinium Scripturarum;* Abner adopted Christianity to become sacristan of a prominent church of Valladolid, and wrote several treatises against Jews and Judaism, the most prominent being the *Moreh Tzedek* (The Teacher of Righteousness), which appeared also in a Spanish version, "El Mostrador de Justicia," and is a dialogue containing ten chapters of discussions between a religious teacher (Abner?) and a Jewish controversialist. He was the author also of *Te-Shubhah 'al Sepher Milchamoth Adonay le-Kimchi,* (*Reply to Kimchi's book on the "Wars of the Lord"*)[102]; this too was translated into Spanish by request of the Infanta Dona Blanca, prioress of a convent in Burgos, under the similar title *Los Batallos de Dios.*[103] A second convert whose works may have been known to Servetus is John of Valladolid (born 1335), who as participant in a debate at Avila in 1375 professed to see in the formation of the letter "Mem" in Isaiah 9:6 an allusion to the immaculate conception; he assembled Haggadic passages and Scriptural verses in order to prove Christian Messianic doctrines, and to demonstrate that Christians instead of Jews constituted the true Israel, chosen by God; it is interesting to note that Zwingli, the Swiss Reformer, in his disputations maintained similar views. Peter Ferrus, Diego de Valensia, Juan d'España, Juan Alfonso de Baena, Francisco de Baena and a group of satirists sought to win their former brothers in faith to Christianity[104]; Astruc Raimuch (Christian name: Francesco Dios Carne), became an ardent proselytizer among the Jews, drawing spirited replies

[102] Abner of Burgos wrongly attributes this work to Kimchi, whereas it is the work of Jacob ben Reuben, author of *Sepher Milchamoth Adonay;* cf. Loeb, "La Controverse Religieuse" in *Rev. de l'Histoire des Religions,* xviii, 142, and "Polémistes Chrétiens et Juifs" in *REJ,* xviii, 52.

[103] Other works of Abner were: *La Concordia de la Leyes,* an attempt to provide Old Testament foundations for Christian dogmas; three "Letters" against Judaism, and "A Reply to the Replies;" *Iggereth ha-Gezerah.* Cf. Kayserling, M., *Biblioteca Esp.–Port. Judaica,* p. 114; Geiger, A., *Das Judenthum und Seine Gesch.,* Breslau, 1865 (2d ed.), iii, 102.

[104] Kayserling, M., *Sephardim,* Leipzig, 1859, pp. 74 ff.

from his old time friends, among them Solomon ben Reuben Bonfed.

Joshua ben Joseph ibn Vives of Lorca (Al-Lorqui), who on his conversion adopted the name Geronimo de Santa Fé, composed works which may well have been known to Servetus. Though there is doubt whether this Joshua is identical with a Jewish scholar of the same name who wrote a letter to Paul of Burgos, chiding him for his baptism[105] nevertheless this convert, who became physician to the Avignon Pope, Benedict XIII, was well versed in the Talmud and Rabbinical literature. Among his articles were: *Tractatus contra Perfidiam Judaeorum*, and *De Judaeis Erroribus ex Talmuth;* these obtained a wide circulation, and, published together as *Hebraeomastix* in Zurich, 1552, a year before the appearance of the *Restitutio*, doubtless came before the eyes of Servetus.[106] In the same category with Geronimo stands Levi ben Shem-Tobh (Christian name: Pedro de la Caballeria), who in 1450 composed his *Zelus Christi contra Judaeos et Sarracenos* (not published until 1592, by Martin Alfonso Vivaldo at Bologna, but apparently in circulation long before.)[107]

Alfonso de Spina, influenced by the works of Paul of Burgos, like his earlier contemporary Geronimo de Santa Fé was one of the inveterate foes of Spanish Jewry, and the author of a bitterly hostile work against them. His Latin treatise: *Fortalitium Fidei* appeared at Nuremberg, 1494, and at Lyons, 1511 and 1525; inasmuch as Servetus was active at Lyons a few years later, we may rest assured that he was acquainted with it. In de Spina's book, which is a refutation of Judaism and Islam, all current accusations

[105] Kayserling remarks: "it is hardly correct to identify him with the author of the same name who wrote an anti-Christian letter to Solomon ha-Levi;" *JE*, vi, 552.

[106] In addition to the Zurich edition, they were published at Frankfort on the Main, 1602; Hamburg, n. d.; printed in the *Bibliotheca Magna Veterum Patrum*, Lyons, xxvi, and Cologne, 1618; they were translated into Spanish with the title: *Azote de los Hebreos.* It is interesting to observe that a son of Geronimo, who lived at Saragossa where Servetus later attended the University, took part in the rebellion against Pedro Arbucs, was arrested with other Marranos, and after suicide in prison, was burned, 1486.

[107] Amador de los Rios, *Historia de los Judios in España*, Madrid, 1875-6, iii, 102 ff. In this work, "Micer Pedro," as he called himself, sought to prove that the Christian Trinitarian God was the true God of Israel, taught and typified in the Bible and Talmud; with a work of this kind, Servetus, as an anti-Trinitarian, applying to Jewish works for confirmation of his views, would have had little patience.

against the Jews are assembled. He was particularly bitter in his assault upon the Marranos, or secret Jews, and credit for originating the idea of an Inquisition in Spain is assigned to him. Whether de Spina was a Jew by birth or a Marrano is uncertain: Jost declares him to have been a Jew[108], and Rios calls him "one of the most learned Rabbis of his time"[109]. Kayserling, however, remarks[110a] that despite these assertions de Spina never belonged to the Jews or to Judaism. He was general of the Order of Franciscans, rector of the University of Salamanca, and confessor of Henry IV of Castile. Though a judgment on this point need not be voiced here, the point is of interest in connection with Servetus' knowledge of the controversialist's attack upon the Jews. Not only upon Servetus did the Franciscan exert influence: his work was known in Germany, the great philo-Semite, Johann Reuchlin, having heard of his enmity.[110]

Shortly before the introduction of the Inquisition a Neo-Christian Jew published a small work wherein he sought to expose the idolatrous cult of the church and the despotism of Isabella and Ferdinand; this, as well as other similar works, also may have fallen into the hands of Servetus.[111]

3. *Nicholas of Lyra*

We may now consider the question whether Servetus was acquainted with the polemical tractates of Nicholas of Lyra or the apologetical works of contemporary Marrano and Jewish scholars. Lyra, who was declared, though it seems incorrectly, to have been of Jewish descent, in addition to the *Postillae* composed two polemical works, the first being: *Disputatio Nicholai de Lyra contra perfidiam Judaeorum*, written in 1305,[112] the second: *De Messia Ejusque Adventu Praeterito*, in 1309. Even though it is evident

[108] *Gesch. des Judenthums und Seiner Sekten*, Leipzig, 1857-9, iii, 96.

[109] *Hist.*, iii, 129, 142; see also *Estudios*, p. 435; Wolf, *Bibl. Hebr.* ii, 1123; Graetz, viii, 236.

[110] *JE*, xi, 510. Graetz, *The Influence of Judaism on the Protestant Reformation, passim.* Cincinnati, 1867; tr. by S. Tuska from *Geschichte*, ix.

[111] Graetz, *Geschichte*, viii, 304.

[112] This work was answered by Chayyim ibn Musa in *Magen wa-Romach*, 1456, a Spanish controversialist, physician and Biblical commentator (1390-1460). Musa sought to refute Lyra because he was aware that most opponents of Judaism drew upon it for their information. See Fuenn, *Keneseth Yisrael*, pp. 358-9.

that Servetus was concerned primarily with the exegetical material in Lyra's works, it is well to bear in mind that these polemical tracts may not have been ignored by him.

4. *Profiat Duran*

Was Servetus acquainted with the *Alteca Boteca* of Profiat Duran (Isaac ben Moses, or Efodi)? The foremost Jewish authority (among converts mentioned by Servetus) employed by the Spanish scholar, namely Paul of Burgos, plays a role in this work. It arose as an answer to a friend, David Bonet Bongoron, who informed Duran by letter that in consequence of the persuasion of Paul, he had decided to remain true to the new faith he had recently adopted, and urged him also to accept Christianity. Duran's reply was the epistle: *'Al Tehi Ka-'Abhothekhah*, written about 1396 and circulated widely through Don Meir Alguaeds, to whom it had been sent. It was so ingeniously ambiguous that Christian authors interpreted it as favorable to Christianity, and frequently quoted it under the corrupted title: *Alteca Boteca;* not until 1554, a year after the death of Servetus, was the fact made clear, through the edition and commentary of Joseph ben Shem-Tobh at Constantinople, that the epistle was in reality pro-Jewish in import.[113] In addition to this work, the *Capistrum Judaeorum*, and the *Pugio Fidei*, the latter by Raymond Martin, both of which were familiar to Christian scholars, may have formed part of the literary heritage of Servetus. A final source in the field of polemics whereon the Spaniard may have drawn is the large literature of tracts in Spanish and Portuguese written by scholarly refugees from Spain and Portugal after the Expulsion. Thus, it is apparent that controversial writings, by Jewish converts to Christianity, by Christian apologists, and by bona-fide Jewish scholars, even though they are not mentioned by name in the works of Servetus, constituted the equipment wherewith Servetus, like other contemporary Hebraists, entered upon his task as commentator and theologian.

b. QUOTATIONS BY SERVETUS FROM THE TARGUM

Among the works employed by Servetus, his quotations from the *Targum*, or the Aramaic translation of the Bible, concern us

[113] *Monatsschrift*, iii, 320 ff; S. Gronemann, *De Profatii Durani Vita ac Studiis* Breslau, 1869; Kayserling, *JE*, v, 16. Duran is the author of a polemical work still in manuscript, entitled: *Kelimath ha-Goyim.*

first. He calls upon the work of Onkelos in order to prove that Christ announced himself as the Son of God, according to Psalm 2:7, only after the Resurrection.[114] In his discussion of the Mass, Servetus derives the work "Missa" from the Syriac or Chaldaic. For in the Chaldaic, which he says, was the popular tongue of the Jews at the time of the Apostles, the word מיסא from מסא means "make fluent, pour out, spend" with special reference to bounty, oblation (largitio, oblatio), or a certain freewill offering. (Deut. 16:10.) The Christian offering, he continues, is the Mass ("nostrum igitur munus est missa ipsa"), not the sacrifice of the Babylonian priesthood. "We are those who expend their blessing for the Church community, not the sacrificial priests who always consume what belongs to others, but never their own possessions."[115]

Servetus is convinced that the Chaldaic Onkelos and Rabbi Moses Aegyptius, as he calls Maimonides, have wasted their efforts in an endeavour to explain away the anthropomorphisms applied in Scripture to God. These difficulties are to be resolved not by twisting the meaning of the passages, but by recognizing that the anthropomorphic adjectives and terms are referrable to Christ, who was an image or likeness of God, but was endowed also with bodily form. It is not without significance, he remarks, that God did not differentiate clearly between himself and Christ

[114] *Christ. Restit.* De Trinit. ii, 58-59. "Vera sacerdotii in Christum translatio facta est, quoniam se ipsum victimam offerens in passionem est mox per resurrectionem in sancta sanctorum ingressus. Hodie ergo dicitur genitus Christus, quia hodie factus filius gloriae potens, ac si hodie productus esset. In quam sententiam vertit Chaldaeus, Filius meus es tu, ac si die ista creavissem te." The verse in the Targum reads: אנת זכאה כאילו יומא דין בריתך, a translation which in itself is worthy of note; the verse in the Hebrew text reads: "Jahweh said unto me, Thou art my son; This day have I begotten thee." Servetus comments upon this verse in his version of the Pagninus Bible: "The apostle Paul refers the expression: 'this day,' to the day of Christ's resurrection, just as David, when he escaped from his enemies, is said to be 'born this day,' and later 'to be made a king this day.'" The anonymous author of *An Impartial History of Servetus* (p. 47) says, with reference to this comment: "It appears from thence that Servetus pretends still, against the very explication of the Scriptures, that Christ was represented by the actions of kings and prophets, and not by the very word of the prophecies."

[115] *Christ. Restit.*, 520. On the relationship between Waldensian views of the Mass, and those of Servetus, see Tollin, iii, 153. Melanchthon in *Loci*, ed. 1559 (cf. Berlin, 1856, p. 111b) speaks of the Mass as "cultus idolorum, arma Turcica."

in the Old Testament, and that therefore the bodily forms which later appeared in the person of Christ,—hands, eyes, face, and feet,—are attributed in the Old Testament to God himself.[116]

In the same fashion, but in rebuttal only of Maimonides without reference to the *Targum*, Servetus argues concerning the Biblical anthropomorphisms,[117] in his work of 1531. The "Chaldaean Philosophers"[118] find a place in his "Fourth Epistle" to Calvin, and in the "Eighth Epistle" the *Targum* on the Prophets, ascribed to Jonathan ben Uzziel, is mentioned.[119] Similarly, we find that the *Targum* is drawn upon by Servetus for interpretation of knotty passages.[120] It appears, therefore, that the Spanish scholar was sufficiently familar with its contents to employ them critically, though oftentimes not in accord with the decisions of modern interpretation. Whether he saw the Aramaic text first-hand or employed the selections culled by other Rabbinical students, cannot be determined.

[116] *Christ. Restit.* De Trinit. iii, 105. "In qua re Onkelos Chaldaeus in sua versione et Rabbi Moses Aegyptius in suis libris perplexorum varie se torquent, ut suas formas a Deo tollant. At pro nobis omnia illa probant, omnis illa perplexitas per Christum facile tollitur. Quia ipse vere est facies, imago effigies et figura Dei, habens in se realiter formas corporeas. Ipse est Deus deorum et angelorum Deus. Considerandum in hac re venit varietatis loquendi scripturarum artificium. Non est sine mysterio, quod in veteri testamento potius quam in novo scriptura talia Deo tribuat. Non est sine significatione, quod in veteri testamento toties in Deo legas manus, oculos, faciem et pedes corporalibus oculis visos, et quod nihil horum in novo testamento reperiatur sed ejus oppositum, nempe Deus spiritus est. Ratio est in promptu, quia tunc Christi apud Deum persona figurabatur. Non erat tunc realis distinctio patris a filio, sed ipsi Deo tribuebantur formae corporae quae sunt in filio."

[117] *Erroribus*, p. 91a: "unde multi Judaeorum quasi Christum somniantes imaginati sunt in Deo esse formas corporeas, quia sibi צלם et דמות in scripturis attribuantur, quod Rabbi Moyses in suo directore neutorum libro primo cap. primo impugnare nititur, consuetudinem scripturae esse parabolicam dicens. Sed ego in talibus parabolis latere mysteria, nec aliquid sine significatione divinis oraculis dictum puto et omnis illa difficultas per Christum facile dissolvitur."

[118] *Opera*, viii, 655: "Philosophos taceo, quia innumeri sunt, Chaldaei, Aegyptii, Graeci et Latini, qui daemones esse aere corpora dixerunt."

[119] *Opera*, viii, 666: "Ipsemet Chaldaeus Ionatas, qui genitam sapientiam ait, spiritum sanctum intelligit, absque aliqua in Deo reali distinctione."

[120] See *Erroribus*, pp. 113b; 117b; *Christ. Restit.*, De Trinit. ii, 60, iii, 106; De Oribus perdit. i, 374, and elsewhere.

c. QUOTATIONS IN SERVETUS FROM MIDRASHIC SOURCES

One of the striking features in connection with Servetus' use of Jewish literature is his willingness to regard the evidence furnished by it, not merely for etymological, but especially for doctrinal purposes. Other Reformers cited Jewish sources only to condemn them; but Servetus did not hesitate to use Jewish material against Christian authorities. Thus, for example, he remarks in his refutation of the arguments advanced by Church Fathers and Scholastics in defense of the doctrine of the Trinity that such frightful blasphemies are not found even in the Talmud or Koran.[121] Servetus does not appear to have made any direct citation from the Talmud itself, nor does he quote therefrom without reference to the source. Thus his mention of the Talmud is not based upon acquaintance with its contents, even as Reuchlin defended it with a relativly meagre knowledge of the original text or a translation.

Though, however, we find no quotation from the Talmud itself, we meet with two selections drawn from Talmudic-rabbinical literature in a larger sense. The first is from the *Midrash Bereshith Rabbah*, the second from the *Pirke de-Rabbi Eliezer*, and appropriated by Servetus either from a contemporary guide-book to Rabbinical literature, or from the copy of Maimonides' *Guide to the Perplexed*, which we shall see, he possessed[122]. The passage from the *Midrash* is as follows:

"*At the beginning God created* . . . Six things preceded the creation of the world; some of them were created and some of them were in the plan of creation. The Torah and the Throne of Glory were created, etc., the Patriarchs and Israel, and the Temple, and the name of the Messiah were included in the plan of creation."

Servetus calls the reader's attention to the sense in which the Hebrews taught that the Messiah had existed from the beginning of the world; not "according to the Trinitarian Sophists," he remarks, but "because his person and form had been visible, existent in the mind of God."[123]

[121] *Christ. Restit.* De Trinit. i, 46. "Quis, obsecro, nisi penitus amens logomachias has sine risu toleraret. Nec in Thalmud nec in Alchoran sunt tam horrendae blasphemiae."

[122] Cf. Tollin, ii, 166 ff.

[123] *Christ. Restit.* De Trinit. iv, 133-134. "Hebraeorum antiquiores in Breschit Rabaa, seu in genesi magna, fuisse haec ab initio tradunt: Messiam,

The passage from the *Pirke de-Rabbi Eliezer*, according to which God made the heavens from the lustre of his countenance, and the earth from the snow beneath his throne, Servetus explains not in its literal sense, but only according to the interpretation by Maimonides, namely, that two different materials exist, one for the heavens and one for the earth.[124] Corresponding to the designation of God which appears often in Talmudic-rabbinical literature, namely, *Shekhinah*, or "indwelling of God's Spirit," is Servetus' description of the Divinity of Christ as a habitation of God's Spirit.[125] Servetus finds an analogy to the Trinity in Proverbs, 6:1 and 2, wherein the Wisdom, Intelligence and Knowledge of God are differentiated; according to the view of the Hebrews, however, not three separate things are to be understood, but three properties characteristic of God.[126]

d. QUOTATIONS FROM MAIMONIDES

Servetus finds in Maimonides a fertile source of information. We have already observed his mention of the latter's works with

solium gloriae Dei, civitatem Jerusalem, hortum paradisi, spiritus justorum, legem et Israelem, septem haec. Vere est ab initio cum ipso Messia ille ab Esaia visus thronus deitatis, sive solium majestatis excelsae. Es. 6. Id nobis ostenditur Deut. 33, Jer. 27, Psal. 93, et 102, ubi semper dicitur solium et sedes Dei ab initio constans. Id ipsum est locus sanctificationis nostrae ab initio paratus, ut ibi Jeremias. Id ipsum est nobis regnum paratum, ut ait Christus, sicut ab initio est ignis ille poenarum, quo sunt mali puniendi Mat. 20 et 25 et Esa. 30. Adverte, in quo sensu Hebraei dixerunt Messiam ab initio esse. Non trinitariorum sophistarum more, sed quia ejus persona et forma visibilis erat in Deo subsistens."

[124] *Christ. Restit.* De Trinit. iv, 159. "Sexto ex praedictis infertur aquam, aerem et ignem habere coelestem aliam materiam, distinctam a terrea materia. Hoc inter Hebraeos olim docuit rabbi Eliezer major. Post quem Rabbi Moses Aegyptius ait esse secretum de secretis, arcanum arcanorum legis, quod sciri fecerunt majores sapientum Israel." Cf. Maimonides, *Moreh Nebhukhim*, ii, cap. 26. Munk, S., *Guide des Egarés*, Paris, 1856-66, ii, 201-3.

[125] *Dialogi de trinitate*, i, 79. "Et divinitatem Rabini vocant a verbo שכן quod inhabitatio significat, ergo divinitatis est inhabitatio dei." *Christ. Restit.* De Trinit. ii, 74. "Divinitatem rabbini vocant שכינה sechina a verbo שכן sachan, quod inhabitare significat. Ergo divinitas Christi est inhabitatio Dei." Therefore, says Servetus, the Tabernacle wherein God resided is called: משכן ("Mischechan.") Cf. Tollin, *Lehrsystem*, i, 183.

[126] *Christ. Restit.* Apologia ad Philippum Melanchthonem, pp. 699-700. "Si trinitatem quartem vis ecce illam. Salomo proverb. 5 discernit in Deo tria sapientiam, artificium et scientiam. Hebraeis dicuntur in Deo tres middoth, tres proprietates ex Deo nascentes, non res distinctae." Guttmann, p. 88 states that he knows of no source to furnish for this passage.

reference to an explanation of the anthropomorphisms of the Bible, in association with the interpretations of the *Targum*. Though the Spanish anti-Trinitarian does not agree with Maimonides in his endeavour to explain away these anthropomorphisms, nevertheless he turns to him oftentimes, calling him: "Rabbi Moses Aegyptius." Servetus seeks confirmation in Maimonides for teachings which have a decided pantheistic tinge: thus God, he remarks, is to be regarded as the substance of all things; God is in all things, and all things are in God. These views find a parallel in the writings of both Maimonides and Aquinas, the interdependence of whose doctrines on several points, has frequently been observed.[127] The Jewish philosopher, Spinoza, found sufficient kinship in the views of Servetus to draw inspiration from his works, thus repaying in part the debt Servetus owes to Jewish literature.[128] For views similar to those of Servetus, Thomas Aquinas was compelled to endure the charge of "Judaizing," an accusation levelled so frequently and so justly against the Spanish theologian; Gerald d'Abbeville (1285-90), saw fit to issue a catalogue of the principle errors contained in Aquinas' works, asserting that he renewed the heresies of Pelagius, of Vigilantius, of Jovinian, of the monk Demophile, of Berenger and even the opinions of the Jews and the Pharisees.[129] D'Abbeville would have found even more substance for his accusation of "Judaizing" in the case of Servetus. For the latter affirms that the idea of God in everything and everything in God is present not only in Maimonides and Ibn Ezra, but also among the ancient Hebrews, the Prophets included.[130] The

[127] Anton Michel: "Die Kosmologie des Moses Maimonides und des Thomas von Aquino in ihren gegenseitigen Beziehungen." *Philosophisches Jahrbuch*, 1891. J. Guttmann is the author of several works on this theme, among them: *Der Einfluss der Maimonidischen Philosophie auf das christliche Abendland*, Leipzig, 1908. See also D. Kaufmann, *Der 'Fuehrer' Maimuni's in der Weltlitteratur*, 1898.

[128] Emile Saisset: "Michael Servet," in *Revue des deux Mondes*, Paris, 1848, and *Mélanges d'histoire*, 1859, pp. 117-127.

[129] *Hist. Litt. de la Fr.*, xxi, 494-5.

[130] *Christ. Restit.* iv, 129-130. "Ad praesens vero juxta postremum, qui nunc est, in singulis rebus modum, essentiam Dei simpliciter enarrantes hoc dicimus, quod rerum omnium essentia est ipse Deus. Deus ipse est comprehensio et continentia rerum omnium. Ipse Deus sustinet nos et portat nos, Esa. 46 et 63 . . . Hod ipsum veteres Hebraei et philosophi docuerunt. Ex Hebraeis hoc citat rabbi Moses Aegyptius lib. 1 perplexorum capite 68 dicens, in esse creatoris esse omne, quod est, ipsumque omnia inesse, juvare et susten-

selection from Maimonides' interpretation of the passage in *Pirke de-Rabbi Eliezer* has already been noted. Also in another passage he mentions a thought in reality selected from Maimonides, but not assigned by Servetus to him: sacrifice, he says, paraphrasing the medieval philosopher, was ordained in Scripture in order to restrain the Israelites from association with the heathen sacrificial cult.[131] In another instance, however, dealing with a similar theme in an Epistle to Calvin, he compensates for the prior omission by referring once more to Maimonides as "Rabbi Moses Aegyptius."[132] It is in this passage, as in several similar remarks, that Servetus betrays the inconsistency of his own position in his use of the accusation of "Judaizing" against Calvin. The Spaniard borrows from the opinions of a Jewish scholar, yet in the next breath he urges Calvin not to turn the law of the Jews against him, or to argue in favor of its observance "as if you yourself were to act like a Jew."[133]

One of the most striking bits of evidence that during the Reformation Christians became conscious of the fact that the Church

tare per eum modum qui, vocatur splendor, seu lux quaedam secundaria. Id ipsum Aben Ezra in genesim docet et reliqui omnes cum prophetis ipsis." This citation from Maimonides does not appear in *Moreh*, i, cap. 68, but i, cap. 69; several of the citations from Maimonides are incorrectly placed by Servetus. The citation from Ibn Ezra apparently refers to the passage in his Pentateuch Commentary: Gen. i, 26:

[131] *Christ. Restit.* Dialogi de trinitate i, 224. "Suffimigationibus quodam pasci daemones probatum fuit, apud omnes magiae fundamenta docentes. Imo ea ratione sibi jussit Deus offerri sanguines, fieri ignita sacrificia et varios suffitus, ut ab Aegyptiorum magia et idolatria suos diverteret."

[132] *Christ. Restit.* Epist. ad Calvin, p. 652. *Opera*, viii, 706. "Si de ceremoniarum immensis ambagibus conqueraris, rudem illum Aegyptiacum populum cogita idolatriae fuisse deditum, a qua ut diverteretur, est justissime aliis sublimioribus occupatus. Rabbi Moses Aegyptius mysteriorum Christi praefigurationem ibi non cogitans caerimonialia illa sacrificia ait non fuisse populo data, nisi ut retraherentur a sacrificiis idolorum. Cujus signum esse ait, quod non fuerunt populo data, nisi postquam ad idololatrium declinavit vitulum conflando et adorando." Cf. *Moreh*, iii, cap. 32, 46.

[133] "Nos dialogo primo (Serveti, *Dialogi* ii, de Trinitate divina, *l. c.*, p. 199ff.) multiplicem rationem adduximus, quare daemon suffimigationibus et sanguines appetat. Atque ideo, velut antidotum, Deo sanguinem servari atque suffitus ut sibi debitum suavem odorem, quem antea daemon ex immundis quibusdam sibi suavem composuerat. Desine, igitur, Calvine, legem illem in nos torquere, aut de ejus observatione tam violenter agere, etiamsi cum Judaeo tibi esset agendum, ut tui misereatur Deus, qui in lege est passim Iudaeorum misertus. Amen."

had adopted Pagan customs merely in order to differentiate itself from the contemporary Jewish order of service is seen in the comments by Servetus that the Papists preferred to revert to the custom of the heathens in turning towards the East to pray, rather than follow the example of the Jews, who turn to the West. Not only does Servetus make this assertion but he bases it upon the testimony of Maimonides in his "Guide." Reuchlin and his followers had attacked Ortuin Gratius, the Dominican apologist, on the ground that a phrase in one of his poems: "kind mother of Jove," referring to Mary the mother of Jesus, was a direct attempt to engraft Pagan Greek ideas and terminology on Christian doctrine.[134] But their protest was by no means so explicit as that of Servetus who deliberately accused the Roman Church of harboring a desire "not to appear to Judaize," hence of becoming amenable to the influence of heathen abominations.[135] A sentence so blunt as this: "The Pope in truth leads us away from the Jews back to the Egyptians and to earlier abominations of the heathens when we turn in prayer to the East," is an index to Servetus' resentment at the infusion of pagan customs and ceremonies into the Church; hence, he believed, the age needed a "restitution of Christianity" to its pristine foundations, which by implication and open statement, were largely Jewish.[136] A final reference to Maimonides by Servetus occurs in his note to the effect that the generation of the Flood had rebelled against God.[137]

These quotations from the works of Maimonides cannot be

[134] Geiger, L., *Johann Reuchlin*, Leipzig, 1871, p. 277.

[135] *Christ. Restit.* De Circumcisione. ii, 465. "Babylonii veor Papistae, ne Judaizare viderentur, ad orientem adorare maluerunt, sicut Mahomedani ad meridiem. Christiani vero neutor modo, sed in spiritu. Causam adorationis Judaeorum ad occidentem refert Moses Aegyptius lib. i, cap. 46 (the passage is taken from iii, cap. 45), quia idololatrae ad orientem solebant adorare credentes solem esse Deum . . . Papa vero nos a Judaeis ad Aegyptios et ad priorers gentium abominationes reducit ut, ad orientem adoremus."

[136] On the application of the principle of "intentional differentiation" in the formation of the ritual of early Christendom, see E. N. Adler, "The Jewish and Christian Liturgies," in *Jewish Review*, ii (1912), pp. 409 ff.; Ludwig Venetianer, *Juedisches im Christenthum*, Frankfurt, 1913.

[137] *Erroribus*, 70b. "tamen ego nisi ex aliarum scripturarum collatione nunquam proprium intellectum meo sensu auderem asserere, praecipue quia ibi Petrus ad dictum Genesis manifeste se refert et Rab. Moyes Aegyptius libro perplexorum primo cap. 28 (false for iii, cap. 50) cum Petro concordat enarrans, qualiter generatio tempore diluvii rebellavit."

considered to exhaust Servetus' knowledge of Jewish literature. He must have had a far wider acquaintance with Jewish sources than these excerpts indicate; he could not have made such apt use thereof, had he not mastered the Hebrew tongue sufficiently to read the original, and above all, had he not known far more of Jewish philosophical, exegetical and polemical works than appears on the surface of his own productions.

We have already suggested that the edition of the *Guide to the Perplexed* used by Servetus was that of the Dominican August Justinianus, which appeared at Paris in 1520. This Latin translation, *Dux Neutrorum* or *Dux Perplexorum*, was based upon the Hebrew version of the Arabic original which was made by Al-Charizi, and is virtually a copy of an older Latin translation.[138] Servetus refers to other works by Maimonides, but does not mention their names: among these may have been the Latin translation of the *Milloth ha-Higgayon* (The Terminology of Logic) published by Sebastian Muenster at Basel, in 1527. Several medical works by Maimonides, translated into Latin, may have been known to Servetus, himself a physician, but of this there is no certainty.[139] An attempt to determine the editions employed by Servetus in the case of Jewish authors other than Maimonides involves us in the same difficulties.

e. JEWISH COMMENTATORS QUOTED BY SERVETUS

We turn now to a consideration of the quotations made by Servetus from the works of medieval Jewish commentators. Several famous names are cited. Thus we find a selection culled from the writings of "Rabbi Salomon," by whom is meant the noted Rabbi, Solomon Isaac, or Rashi: it deals with a comment on Genesis 1:7, in the Pentateuch-Commentary.[140] In two places, we find refer-

[138] Another Latin translation of the *Moreh* did not appear until 1629 at Basel, from the pen of Buxtorf, Junior. This work was based upon the Hebrew translation of Ibn Tibbon, in 1204, and published in Italy before 1480. It is doubtful whether Servetus saw this Hebrew translation.

[139] Thus the Latin translation of Maimonides' work on poisons and their antidotes, made by Armengaud Blasius of Montpellier; a Latin translation of aphorisms by Hippocrates, made in 1489; the various Latin versions of his essays on hygiene: Venice, 1514, 1518, 1521; Leyden, 1531.

[140] *Christ. Restit.* De Trinit. ii, 155. "Luminaria die quarto non creavit Deus, sed fecit ex concreta caeli materia. Nam facere verbum ibi est עשה, quod Hebrae is non significat ex nihilo facere, sed adaptare et ex praeexistente materia formare, ut ibi notant rabbi Salomon, rabbi Abraham et reliqui omnes."

ences to Ibn Ezra: the first deals with pantheistic ideas in Servetus' theological system[141]; the second treats of the question whether the Christian religion was changed at the time of Constantine,[142] and cites Ibn Ezra on Genesis 27:40.

In two places, also, we find quoted a certain "Rabbi Abraham" who, however, is not identical with Ibn Ezra. Though the first citation[143] offers us only a faint clue, the second describes him as the author of the *Fasciculum Myrrhae*, enabling us thereby to identify him as Rabbi Abraham Saba,[144] a preacher in Castile who after the expulsion from Spain took refuge in Portugal, whence in 1496 he was also driven forth. At Fez, Morocco, he wrote several works, including the *Zeror ha-Mor* (Bundle of Myrrh), a commentary on the Pentateuch, containing interpretations according to both the ordinary method and the mystical method of the Zohar. This Kabbalistic-philosophical work, the source of much of Servetus' knowledge of Jewish mysticism, was published for the first time at Constantinople in 1514, and later at Venice in 1543.[145] It is entirely probable that Servetus obtained a copy of the Venice edition of Saba's *Zeror ha-Mor*. We feel little hesitancy in declaring with Graetz and others that Servetus at some time in his life was under the tutelage of Marranos or unconverted Jews[146], and hence may he not have read this work with their aid?

We will have occasion to discuss both "rabbi Abraham et reliqui omnes" below. The latter terms occur also in *Christ. Restit.* iv, 129-130. See Tollin, ii, 165-6, for a discussion of this passage.

[141] *Christ. Restit.* iv, 129-130: "Id ipsum Aben Ezra in genesim docet et reliqui omnes cum prophetis ipsis."

[142] *Christ. Restit.* De orbis perditione, i, 399: "Mahometani ipsi et Hebraei affirmant immutatam fuisse Christi religionem temporibus Constantini, ut ex Alchorano jam alibi citavi et affirmat Aben Ezra, Gens. 27, ubi et Constantini et Sylvestri meminit." Cf. Ibn Ezra, *Pentateuch-Commentary*: Genesis 27:40.

[143] See the mention of "rabbi Abraham" in connection with Rashi "et reliqui omnes" in *Christ. Restit.* De Trinit. ii, 155.

[144] *Christ. Restit.* Dialog. de Trinitate i, 225: "Ipsimet daemones saepius vera fateri coacti sunt se esse corpora divisibilia ac cibis aliquo modo foveri . . Ex Hebraeis id ipsum post Josephum et Philonem affirmat rabbi Abraham in fasciculo myrrhae." Guttmann, p. 92, is of the opinion that he refers to the section: *'Achare Moth* concerning the Scapegoat sent to Azazel. The reference to Philo and Josephus is of interest.

[145] Zunz, *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, pp. 232, 375; Graetz, *Geschichte*, viii, 398-9. Kayserling, *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, Berlin, 1861, p. 135.

[146] *Geschichte*, ix, 302; Eng. translation, iv. mentions that Servetus was "perhaps instructed by Marranos in Spain."

The same question arises when we pass to a study of the reference to Isaac Arama (1420-1494), a contemporary of Saba, and active in the generation preceding that of Servetus. The citation concerns the pre-existence of the name of the Messiah, and is found at the conclusion of the reference to the *Bereshith Rabbah* already discussed.[147] The work from which it was drawn is the noted *Akedath Yitzchak* (*Offering of Isaac*), a lengthy philosophical commentary on the Pentateuch, homiletic in style, and characterized by expositions of the Kabbalah as found in the *Zohar*. Arama thus also may have contributed to Servetus' interest in Jewish mysticism, particularly in its philosophical aspects; and his citations from the works of Maimonides may have increased the Spaniard's knowledge of medieval philosophic writings. We are unable to say how the *Akedath* came into the possession of the Spanish theologian; it apparently enjoyed a vogue among Christian scholars of the day, perhaps because of its Kabbalistic discussions.[148]

Servetus' mention of "reliqui omnes" in connection with the Rabbinical authorities mentioned, leads us to the supposition that Saba and Arama were not the only refugees from Spain and Portugal with whose works, untranslated into Latin, the anti-Trinitarian was acquainted. Though Isaac Abravanel is not mentioned, like Calvin who makes frequent use of his commentaries[149] and like other contemporary Reformers who gained their information through the agency of Sebastian Muenster, Servetus may have become acquainted with the Spanish Jewish commentator-philosopher's works. However, we need not hazard further hypotheses concerning eligible names for additional Jewish authorities known to Servetus, but not referred to specifically.[150] The names cited are sufficiently important to demonstrate the adequacy of Servetus' Hebrew scholarship for the substantiation of his theological doctrines.

147 *Christ. Restit.* De Trinit. iv, 134 . . . "Hinc rabbi Ijzhac Arama super Genesim dixit, antequam crearetur sol, subsistens erat nomen Messiae eratque jam sedens in solio Dei."

148 Cf. M. A. J. van der Hardt, *Dissertatio Rabbinica de Usu Linguae, in Akedat Ischak*, University of Helmstadt, 1729; this work deals with section 62 of Arama's work, giving it in Hebrew with Latin translation. Cf. *JE*, ii, 66-7 for bibliography of works on Arama.

149 *Opera*, xl, 604, 658; xli, 83, 168, 171, 174, 186.

150 Abravanel embodied in his own works, long passages from Isaac Arama; Servetus may have known Arama's work both in the original and through its transmission by quotations in Abravanel.

1. *"Baal Nizaon"*

We have discussed at considerable pains the passages from the works of Rabbi David Kimchi in Servetus' various productions.[151] We may now turn to a final citation from contemporary Jewish literature which, like the works of Kimchi, falls within the category of Jewish apologetics. In this instance, we find Servetus imitating his orthodox opponents in a condemnation of the testimony of a Jewish scholar. In his *Restitutio*, he discusses the comment of "that Jew Baal Nizaon," calling him a "perfidious" creature, guilty of a wretched "vituperation" against Christianity.[152] The reference is founded upon the famous *Sepher ha-Nitzachon*, written by Yom-Tobh ben Solomon Lipmann-Muelhausen, a scholar accomplished alike in Biblical and Talmudic lore, who had read not only Karaite authors, but also the New Testament in a Latin version[153]. The *Nitzachon* was written before the year 1410: it contains anti-Christian arguments, several interpretations of obscure Biblical passages, and constantly quotes Maimonides, Ibn Ezra, Nachmanides, Saadia, Rashi, and other noted Jewish scholars, some of whom were familiar to Servetus. Though the *Nitzachon* was known to Christians and evoked several replies, one of them by Stephen Bodecker, Bishop of Brandenburg, a younger contemporary of Lipmann, it was carefully guarded by Jews for fear lest its vigorous attacks compromise their safety; when finally printed in 1644, the volume was purposely small in size, so that it could be quickly concealed. Several manuscript copies, however, appear to have been circulated among Christian Hebraists: Reuchlin was acquainted with the *Nitzachon*, for on two

[151] *Erroribus*, ii, 56b; *Christ. Restit.* De Trinit, ii. 59; see exegetical comments in the *Pagninus Bible;* cf. also Tollin, iii, p. ix.

[152] *Christ. Restit.* De Trinit. ii, 61: "Postquam in rabbinorum et sophistarum conflictus deveni alium locum adjungam, in quo mira semper visa est horum et illorum hallucinatio. Horrenda profecto res, si bene quis norit, quanto Christianismi vituperatio illum tractat perfidus ille Judaeus Baal Nizaon, cum tamen nec ipse verum sensum sit assecutus." Guttmann remarks, p. 94: "This is the only instance in which I have found so severe a judgment by Servetus upon a Jewish author, which, in contradistinction to his usual method, he extends to the Rabbis in general." This polemical passage against the Christian interpretation occurs in the Nitzachon, Gen. 49:10. *v. s.*, for our discussion of this passage in the *Pagninus*.

[153] Lipmann was called upon in 1399, after the arrest of a large number of Jews in Prague, to answer the charges of an apostate Jew, Pessach-Peter, among which was the accusation, later revived by Pfefferkorn, that the " 'Alenu" prayer contains slanders on Jesus.

occasions he makes special reference to it. Thus in his letter to the nobleman in 1505, entitled: *Doctor Johannes Reuchlin's German Missive on Why the Jews Have so Long been in Misery*,[154] he states that the Jews have written abusively against the Virgin Mary and Christ, in one of their prayers ("welameschumodim"), and in the Book *Nitzachon*.[155] Reuchlin had cause to regret this misprizement of the Jews, for Pfefferkorn during the controversy over the burning of the Jewish books, turned his own arguments against him. In his *Gutachten*, 1510, Reuchlin calls the *Nitzachon* a work clearly and patently directed against the Christian faith, even as the *Toledhoth Yeshu* is a slander upon Christ, and hence should be destroyed.[156] He remarks that he had read the *Nitzachon*, and that according to his judgment it was not a defense of Judaism against Christianity, but, unlike many apologetical works by Jews, truly a propagandist polemic. In his *Defensio contra Calumniatores Colonienses*, 1513, he cites a passage from the *Nitzachon*, apparently gleaned from a manuscript copy in his possession. Servetus, like Reuchlin, may have seen a transcript of this work by Lipmann, either through the agency of some Jewish friends, or in the library of a colleague in the ranks of Christian Hebraists.[157] On the other hand, it may well be that this excerpt was selected at second-hand from Christian works which during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries quoted the *Nitzachon*. We are inclined, however, to the supposition that Servetus saw the actual work in transcript, and that it strengthened his already substantial Hebrew knowledge. It is likely, too that he became acquainted with the *Teshubhoth la-Notzerim* of David Kimchi through its customary association with the *Nitzachon*.[158]

[154] Pforzheim, printed by Thomas Anshelm; 1505; cf. Geiger, *Johannes Reuchlin*, p. 206 ff.

[155] . . "iren buechern, die sye wider uns schriben und lesen, alles uss dem buch Nizachon und Bruder fol, auch in dem gebet vleschumadim wol zu merken ist."

[156] Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

[157] Guttmann, pp. 93-4 remarks that the polemic must have been seen by Servetus in manuscript form.

[158] A copy of the *Teshubhoth* was appended to the 1644 Altdorf edition of the *Nitzachon;* also to the 1709 and 1711 Amsterdam and other editions. For a full discussion of the *Nitzachon* in relation to the Kimchis, see my forthcoming work on: *Joseph and David Kimchi as Religious Controversialists*. Cf. Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, i, 734 ff., *et passim*. Geiger, A., "Proben der juedischer

f. SERVETUS AND THE KABBALAH

Was Servetus interested in the Kabbalah? Tollin[159] affirms that from Wolfgang Capito Servetus learned of Jewish mystical literature. We find in the Spaniard's works several references to the "mysteries" of Christ which seem to savor of Kabbalistic influence;[160] his teachings concerning the Angels and Daemonology also bear traces of Kabbalah;[161] on one occasion, Servetus speaks of the events and processions of the Aeons which his opponents declare to be fables, entirely foreign to Holy Scripture, having entered their thought through the channels of the Kabbalah.[162] There is little doubt that Servetus was acquainted with works on the Kabbalah; he may have found abundant material not only in the works of Abraham Saba and Isaac Arama which he quotes, but also in the writings of Reuchlin and other contemporary Hebraists who were busily engaged during the early part of the sixteenth century and for a long time thereafter with Jewish esoteric writings.[163] There is strong Neo-Platonic and Philonic influence in the works of Servetus,[164] which several investigators have attempted to link up with the Kabbalah.[165] Moreover, Servetus inclined to eschatological speculations, based in part upon Jewish apocryphal literature.[166] However, we are unwilling to suggest

Verteidigung gegen christliche Angriffe im Mittelalter" in *Deutsches Volkskalender fuer Israeliten*, 3 Jahrg., z. 99 ff. Geiger, *Reuchlin*, p. 207 and note 1.

159 iii, Vorrede, p. ix.

160 *Erroribus*, l. 91b; cf. Tollin, pp. 130 ff; 213.

161 *Restit.* 585; cf. Tollin, ii, 206-208; 221 ff.

162 "Stultissima res est, aeternales aeonum processiones ex illis verbis inferre, et in Cabalistica illa metaphysica insanire." Fol. 63 b.

163 Cf. Geiger, *Reuchlin, passim;* Lewin, *Luther und die Juden, passim;* Tollin, p. 102, note 1, says: "Welche Rolle die Kabbala noch in den heutigen orthodoxen Commentaren spielt, darueber liessen sich viele Beispiele anfuehren." Cf. G. F. Moore, "Christian Writers on Judaism," in *Harvard Theological Review*, xiv, 219-220.

164 Tollin, p. 106: In the Prologue to Book I. of the *De Trinitatis Erroribus*, "gelangt er zu den Salomonischen Schriften und von diesen zu den salomonischen-speculativen Apocryphen" (note 2) "und von da zur Kabbala."

165 Saisset, *Mélanges*, 438 ff., remarks that the main source of Servetus' teachings was Plato; to this main current of pantheistic ideas, several by-streams joined, the philosophy of Hermes Trismagistus, the mysticism ascribed to Zoroaster, and the *Kabbalah*.

166 Schaff, vii, 756: "Servetus was a chiliast, but not in the carnal Jewish sense." The Diet of Augsburg which Servetus attended called Millenarianism a "Jewishdream."

an estimate of the importance of the Kabbalah in the theology of Servetus for we must not confuse general esoteric speculation with material drawn specifically from Jewish mystical writings. Of the former there appears to be considerable in the opinions of Servetus; of the latter, except for occasional and uncertain references, we find relatively little in the Spanish anti-Trinitarian's works. The main supply of confirmatory opinion for his theological doctrines he found in the exegetical and philosophical works of the great Jewish rationalists and commentators.

5. The Judaic Elements in Servetus' Theology

a. The Trial of Servetus at Vienne

The publication of the *Restitutio* was a turning point in the career of Servetus. Through the mediacy of Guillaume Trie, a native of Lyons, and a convert from the Romish to the Reformed faith, Calvin brought about the denunciation of the anti-Trinitarian to the authorities at Vienne. Under cover of a letter from Trie to his relation, Arneys, resident in Lyons, Calvin wrote:

> When a man appears who calls the Trinity we all believe in, a Cerebrus and a Monster of Hell, who disgorges all the villainies it is possible to imagine, against everything Scripture teaches of the Eternal generation of the Son of God, and mocks besides, open-mouthed, at all that the ancient doctors of the Church have said—I ask you in what regard would you hold such a man? . . . There is one living among you who calls Jesus Christ an idol . . . He is the Spanish-Portuguese, Michael Servetus by name . . . You say that our books which contain nothing but the purity and simplicity of Holy Scripture infect, the world; yet you brew poisons among you which will destroy the Scriptures and all you esteem as Christianity."

As a result of this and other letters, supplemented by four leaves of the *Christianismi Restitutio*, sent in manuscript some time previously to Calvin, Servetus was summoned before the civil court of Vienne on March 16, 1553, and on April 4th, he was arrested, in company with Balthasar Arnoullet, the printer of the *Restitutio*. Matthias Ory, a trained inquisitor of the Roman See for the kingdom of France, in seeking evidence against Servetus, learned in Lyons at the printing establishment of Arnoullet, from the lips of the compositors, Straton, Du Bois and Papillon, that five bales of the work had been shipped to Pierre Merrin, typefounder, at Lyons; they learned also that a priest of Vienne,

Jacques Charmier, had requested Merrin to hold the bales until further notice; these were opened and found to contain five hundred copies of the heretical volume.

After two examinations before Ory, Servetus resolved to escape, and with the aid of friends, on April 7th fled from the city where he had spent nearly twelve years. The prosecution, however, continued, and on June 17th, the Vibailly of Vienne in a session of the Court duly assembled, convicted the Spaniard of "scandalous heresy, dogmatization, invention of new doctrines, writing heretical books, disobedience of the ordinances touching heresy," and other crimes. He was sentenced to death when captured; for the present the sentence was to be executed in effigy, with the public burning of the confiscated bales of the *Restitutio*. The ecclesiastical authorities later confirmed the action, mentioning as the subject of Servetus' heresy, the marginal notes on Calvin's *Institutions*, seven letters addressed to Calvin and acknowledged by "Villeneuve" to have been written by him; his answers to the Inquisitor Ory, the Vibailly and others; finally, his books, one entitled *Christianismi Restitutio*, and another in two parts: *De Trinitatis Erroribus, Libri Septem*, and *De Trinitatis, Dialogi duo*. "From all that has been brought to light," the judgment proceeds, "it is manifest that the said Villeneuve is a most egregious heretic." The printer Arnoullet was freed on the promise of good behaviour; Charmier, known to have been on friendly terms with "Villeneuve," was sentenced to imprisonment for three years, a term of incarceration perhaps abridged by Archbishop Paumier, the former patron of Servetus.[167]

It is worthy of notice that neither the civil nor the ecclesiastical court at Vienne raised against Servetus or his associates the specific charge of "Judaizing." This may be due in the first place to the paucity of documents which have survived concerning the prosecution; secondly, to the fact that the implications of Servetus' heresy were not so clearly understood by the authorities at Vienne as at Geneva; and in the third place, to the fact that to the churchmen at Lyons and Vienne little was known of the previous career of "Villeneuve," in comparison with the information secured by Calvin.

[167] The documents concerning the trial of Servetus at Vienne, are contained in the *Opera*, viii, 832-856.

b. THE TRIAL AND CONDEMNATION OF SERVETUS AT GENEVA

After escape from the Dauphinal prison of Vienne, Servetus contemplated resettlement in Spain, or better yet, residence in Naples, where he hoped to practice his profession as physician in the large Spanish colony. But in the middle of July, 1553, he appeared in Geneva, the home of his arch-enemy, Calvin; there he was recognized, arrested, and soon brought to trial.[168] While the Spaniard's presence at Geneva was still unknown, Calvin had received a letter from Paul Gaddi of Cremon, who had visited the Duchess Renée of Ferrara, to this effect:

> Much have I seen in these (northern) cities of Italy, and many have I met with who profess Christ; but few and far between are those faithfully serving the Lord. Various, truly, are the heresies, that there abound, so that the land is in truth, a veritable Babylon. This, you may be sure, I have not beheld without extreme distress of mind, and tearful eyes; but the heresy that flourishes most of all is the doctrine of the proud and Satanic Servetus, insomuch that many of the faithful entreat you to come forward and controvert his writings.[169]

Calvin's wrath against the anti-Trinitarian was thus spurred on, and prepared for the events that followed. The trial began on August 15, 1553, and lasted with interruptions for more than two months.

1. *The Charges Against Servetus*

The deed of accusation was lodged by Nicholas de la Fontaine, Calvin's private secretary. It consisted of thirty-eight articles drawn up by Calvin himself, and substantiated with quotations from the books of Servetus, particularly the *Restitutio*, which was presented in both the manuscript copy which Servetus had sent to Calvin and a printed copy.[170] Among a multitude of charges, it was affirmed that Servetus in his various works had attacked the Christian Trinity, Christian views of the Bible, the Sonship of Jesus, the Christian concept of the Deity, Immortality, Infant

[168] For a discussion of the reasons which prompted Calvin to bring Servetus to trial, see the chapter "The Tragedy of Servetus" in Walker, *Calvin*, pp. 325 ff.

[169] *Opera*, v, 577.

[170] J. H. Albert Rilliet: *Relation du procès criminel intenté à Genève en 1553 contre Michel Servet, redigée d'après les documents originaux.* Geneva, 1844. Reprinted in the *Opera*, viii. English translation with notes and additions, by W. K. Tweedie, *Calvin and Servetus*, Edinburgh, 1846.

Baptism, and other orthodox beliefs; he had used scurrilous terms in speaking of Calvin and the Church of Geneva. The main accusation, however, may be summed up as follows: he had written, published and said that to believe there were three distinct persons: Father, Son and Holy Ghost, in the single essence of God, was to forge or feign so many phantoms and to have a God parted into three, like the three-headed Cerberus of the heathen poets; all this was contrary to the teachings of such learned doctors of the Church as Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostom, Athanasius, and numerous others of ancient times, as well as many contemporaries, including Melanchthon, whom Servetus had once called a Belial and Satan.

The first act of the trial was complicated by the action of Philip Berthelier, a foe of Calvin, who openly came to the defence of Servetus because of local political circumstances; a stormy dialogue occurred between him and Colladon, Calvin's prosecutor, at the session of August 16th. Calvin himself appeared before the Council to attack Servetus and Berthelier, and also to forestall any interference by the Libertines, his political antagonists. With the transfer of the case to the attorney-general of Geneva, Claude Rigot, a friend of Calvin, the trial entered its second state. After a lengthy debate between Servetus and Calvin, the substance of which we shall consider, the trial became an affair of Protestant Switzerland, for on September 19th the Little Council referred the case to the magistrates and pastors of the Reformed Churches of Bern, Zurich, Schaffhausen and Basel. These churches were unamimous in their condemnation of the theological system of Servetus. Hence on October 26th the Council sentenced him to death by burning; on October 27th, 1553, the decree was executed, and Servetus paid the penalty for his courageous assault upon what he conceived to be error. We shall discuss in detail the course of the trial, the discussions it evoked, and the events surrounding its outcome, at the appropriate place.

a. Servetus, the Koran and the Moors. From the welter of accusations levelled against Servetus by Calvin we wish to select those which have particular interest for us in our interpretation of the anti-Trinitarian as a protagonist of Judaic ideas. Before, however, we proceed to a discussion of the charges and counter-charges of "Judaizing" which played so prominent a role in the relationships of Calvin and Servetus, we desire to con-

sider a similar accusation, namely that Servetus was on intimate terms with the Moors or Turks, that in truth he was of Moorish descent, that he elevated the Koran above Christian doctrinal literature, in short, that he was an "Islamizer," if such a term may be, for the moment, coined. Whosoever diverted from orthodox Christian views during the period of the Reformation, made himself vulnerable to epithets of varied description, not the least infrequent of which was that of "Turk," or "Moor." Whether Servetus deserved to be charged with Mohammedan inclinations, comparable to his Judaic proclivities, is a subject which may occupy us now.

Though the accusation of Judaizing is omnipresent in each period of Church history, it was principally during the period of Turkish ascendancy in Eastern Europe that we find assertions of "Moorish views" raised against Christian "heretics." These became current during the era of the Reformation. Though in 1492 the Moors, in company with the Jews, had been expelled from Spain, Christians correctly believed that their political influence had not been entirely eradicated: not merely in the political, but in the theological field, were Mohammedan doctrines regarded as a menace. The term "Moor" or "Turk" is used both as an epithet of opprobrium and as an adjective to describe a genuine tendency in Christian thought: it is a tribute to the influx of Arabian scientific, philosophical and religious ideas into Western Christendom, beginning with the era of the Crusades and extending into modern times. It was not until 1543 that Theodore Bibliander's Latin translation made the Koran available to Christian theologians, though prior to this Arabic literature with the help of Jewish intermediaries[171], had entered into all fields of Christian life. A vivid account of Arabic or Mohammedan influences on Christianity, particularly with reference to the growth of Reform ideas, could be written. Our purpose at this point, however, is, by means of a compilation of the instances when Servetus, the anti-Trinitarian Reformer, is accused of Islamizing, to indicate a line of research for any interested student.[172]

171 Steinschneider, M.: *Die Hebraeischen Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1893, is but one of many works on this theme. For a summary, see Jacobs, *Contributions*, chapter on "Medieval Jews as Intellectual Intermediaries," pp. 138 ff.

172 On the role of the Turks during the Reformation, see Luther's *Werke*, ed. Wittenberg, 1588, ii, 417b-429. S. Franck, *Chroniken der Tuerkeit*, 1530.

The role played by Islamic literature and by individual Moors in Christian Reform movements, was by no means so widespread as that of Judaism and Jews. A multitude of reasons come to mind: the Koran unlike the Old Testament, was not a part of Christian canon; hence it could by no means be compared in significance to the Jewish Bible, which became a cornerstone of Christian civilization; Post-Koranic literature did not receive the attention given by Christian Hebraists to post-Biblical or Rabbinical literature, inasmuch as the former possessed little exegetical value for scriptural interpretations. Moreover, Jewish communities were situated in the very heart of almost every country in Europe; Moorish settlements on the other hand were confined for the most part to Spain; the Jews were Europeans, the Mohammedans Asiatics. Hence the influence of Islam through its literature and its adherents was vastly exceeded in significance by the influence of Judaism.

We turn to the career of Servetus, however, conscious of the imprint of Mohammedan thought upon his doctrines, gained doubtless from instruction at the hands of Moorish teachers. We find him stigmatized as "pro-Moorish;" he is said to be under the spell of the Koran; his doctrines are alleged to be a vindication of Mohammedan errors. An assembly of these passages, with a discussion of their import, will furnish us with a typical illustration of the extent of "Moorish" influence in the life of Christian Reformers of contemporary and later times.

Servetus has been called "the most gifted Apologist of Christendom during his age against Moors, Jews and Marranos."[173] If it be appreciated that in the eyes of Servetus, the best defense of Christianity against non-Christian attacks was to bring the doctrine of the Unity of God and allied concepts into closer conformance with the Jewish and Mohammedan idea, then the anti-Trinitarian deserves this appellation. For this appears to have been his method throughout. Thus, among the *Sentences or Propositions Excerpted from the Books of Michael Servetus*, his accusers at the Geneva trial, quote his remark as proof of his heresy: "To assert that the incorporeal Deity is really distinct within itself has given to Mohammed cause to deny Christ."[174] He gives further basis for the accusation of "Islamizing" in his *Answer to John*

[173] Tollin, "Vorwort," p. xiii.

[174] *Opera*, viii, 502: "III. Incorpoream deitatem realiter distinctam Mahometo causam dedisse negandi Christum." Lib. i, de Trinit. p. 36.

Calvin's Articles, in which we find him asserting: "A like answer (similar to his first that there is a personal distinction of the invisible Father and the visible Son), is to be given to the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th, as to what you say about Mohammed. The Turks at this time confirm that in part to be true."[175] The *Short Refutation of Cavils* by the Genevan Ministers, speaks of the reliance Servetus places upon the obstructions raised against the Trinity by the Turks.[176] They profess it to be an abomination that Servetus excuses the blasphemies of the Jews and extolls the attacks of the Mohammedans on the Christian faith.[177] The *Refutation of Calumnies* compares the views of the anti-Trinitarian to those of Mohammed[178]: his concept of Faith inclines to that of the Turks.[179]

During the second stage of the Genevan trial, the most fruitful testimony concerning the alleged association of Servetus with the Moors appears. The Attorney-General, Claude Rigot, in his *Articles of the Questions Addressed to Servetus*, includes the following interrogations:

21. Did he well not know that his doctrine is pernicious, in view of the fact that it favors the Jews and the Turks, by excusing them? Had he not studied the Koran to assail and dispute the doctrine and religion held by the Christian Churches, together with other profane books, from which one ought abstain in matters of religion, according to the testimony of Saint Paul?

[175] II, III, IV.: "Iam ad singulos Calvini articulos respondere superest. Ad Secundum, tertium, et quartum similis est responsio. Quod de Mahometo ais, Turcae hodie confirmant id ex parte verum esse."

[176] II, III, IV. "Quia silentio praeterit, quae nos gravi reprehensione digna censemus, iudicum ex lectione ipsa fiat. Nec est quod excuset, hodie quoque iactare Turcas obstaculo sibi esse trinitatem: quia non protinus sequitur Mahometo iustam fuisse apostasiae causam." *Opera*, viii, 536.

[177] *Opera*, viii, 556: "Abominandum vero illud esse videtur in homine infelici quod Iudaeorum quoque blasphemias in christianam religionem effusas excusat, et foeda haec Mahumetis verba, tres in trinitate personas, vel, ut ipse ait, tres deos patribus fuisse incognitos, et esse filios Beelzebub, approbat et extollit."

[178] *Opera*, viii, 638: "Interius ergo spiritus regimen, quo vere testatus est Christus se mysticum esse ecclesiae suae caput, penitus deletur a Serveto, ut instar Mahometi, cum nova et prius incognita revelatione, novi mundi instaurator surgat."

[179] *Opera, viii*, 643: "Unde infertur in precibus supervacuas esse promissiones: imo absurde facere eos, qui fiduciam inde sumant, quia Deus se exorabilem fore promittens, liberaliter eos ad se invitat. Contra vero non obstare Turcis promissionum defectum quin rite precentur."

22. Was not the book of the Koran a vicious book, full of blasphemies?[180]

Servetus replied to the first question: "He did not think that his doctrine was pernicious, or favorable either to the Jews or Turks; that he had indeed seen the Koran, and that it had been printed at Basel, that it was permissible to read it, and that he had several letters about it from the ministers of the church at Zurich. He had read it with the intention not of doing any harm to the Christian faith, but rather of aiding it." To question 22, he confessed that the Koran was blasphemous.[181] The *Requisitoire* of the Attorney-General continues the questions: "Does he not know that the Koran is a vicious book, full of blasphemies? Why then does he quote passages from it in his book, in order to sustain his doctrine and excuse the Turks? Does he not know that one cannot found a just excuse upon a vicious, lying book and author of a wicked doctrine?"[182] To these interrogations, Servetus responded:

He quotes it (the Koran) on behalf of the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, and because the said Alcoran spoke of him very highly, and made him greater than Mohammed; as for Mohammed, he wished no more to aid him than the devil . . . He confessed that the said Alcoran is deceitful but he had taken from it only what was good. In a deceitful book, one could indeed take some good things.[183]

[180] *Opera*, viii, 765:21, "Item sil ne scavoit pas bien que sa doctrine estoit pernitieuse, veu quelle favorise aux Iuyfz et Turcs en les excusant, et sil na pas estudie lalcoran pour impunier et arguer la doctrine et religion que tienent les eglises chrestiennes, ensemble en daultres livres prophanes et desquelz lon se doibt abstenir en matiere de religion, selon la doctrine de sainct paul. 22. Item si ledict livre Alcoran est pas ung meschant livre plein de blasphemes."

[181] *Opera*, viii, 770: "Sus le 21, respond quil ne pense que sa doctrine soit pernisieuse, ny favorisante ny aux Iuifz ny aux Turcs, et que de lalcoran il la bien veu, et quil est imprime a Basle et quil est bien permys de le lire, et quil y a des epistres des ministres de leglise de Zurich. Et quil ne la pas leu a lintention de nuyre aulcunement a la foy Chrestienne, mais plustost pour luy ayder. 22. Sus le 22, respond que ouy et la confess."

[182] *Opera*, viii, 777; 34: "Item, puis qu'l scavoit bien que le livre d'Alcoran est ung meschant livre plein de blasphemes, pourquoy il en allegue des passages en son livre pour soustenir sa doctrine et excuser les Turcz. 35. Item, s'il ne scait pais bien qu'on peult fonder une iuste excuse sur ung meschant livre et autheur de mauvaise doctrine."

[183] *Opera*, viii, 782:34 "Sus le 34 respond quil lallegue pretendant la gloire de nostre seigneur Jesus Christ, et allegue pource que ledict Alcoran en dict tout plein de bien et le faict plus grand que de Mahomet, et que de Mahomet, il ne

These quotations suffice to demonstrate the insistence with which the opponents of Servetus sought to fasten upon him the stigma of "Mohammedanism." Luther had begun this policy by calling Servetus outright, a "Moor;"[184] the implication of the question concerning his birth, raised at Geneva, in the words "Jews or other religion than Christian," intended to establish that Servetus was either a Jew or Mohammedan by descent. The criticism of the anti-Trinitarian's use of the Koran was merely a reflection of the many difficulties and obstacles placed in the path of Bibliander and Oporin by the reactionary elements at Basel when the two sought to publish the Latin translation of the Arabic Bible.[185] It is indubitable that Servetus found the Koran a useful source for the confirmation of his doctrines. Thus, we find passages wherein the Christian mode of thought is compared with the Moorish or Saracen[186]; Servetus also is quick to indicate that the Mohammedans and Jews are justified in their mockery of the Trinity, and that the false prophet, Mohammed, has a more truly scriptural attitude towards Christ, the Saviour, than Christian deceivers;[187] not only the Mohammedans, and the Jews, but even the beasts of the fields would scorn them if they truly understood the fantastic idea of God inherent in the Trinity; for all the creatures of God praise the One Lord. (Ps. 103:22; 19:2).[188] Servetus endeavours to prove that Christian writings are reinforced by Mohammedan works in their description of Christ as a Prophet.[189]

sen vouldroit ayder non plus que du diable. 35. Sus le 35 respond quil confesse que ledict Alcoran est meschant, mais quil ny a prins que ce qui y estoit bon. Et que en ung meschant livre, on peult bien prendre de bonnes choses."

184 "Wicelius nobis cras Campanum Mauro obstetricante ostendet, et plura monstra parere ardet a. 1532, 1 Juli." De Wette, iv, 386.

185 Cf. Streuber, "Neue Beitraege zur Basler Buckdruckergeschichte" in *Beitraege zur vaterl. Gesch. von der hist. Gesells.* v, 3, p. 81; Kirchhofer, M., *Oswald Myconius*, Zurich, 1813, p. 531; Doumergue, *passim.*

186 *Dialogorum II de Trinitate*, 1532, fol. 5a. *Restitutio*, 219. Cf. Tollin, ii, 114. *Restitutio*, 675: "Delusi estis et penitus ebrii, qui filium invisibilem, realiter distinctum vobis Deum pingitis. Judaeos et Turcas ais (Melancthon!) non recte Deum invocare, quia non invocant ut nobis apparuit. At tibi qualis est Cerberi apparitio? Quale monstrum tu invocas? Quid in Deo tu vides?"

187 *Erroribus*, 42b. "Quis obsecro Turca, Scytha, Barbarus posset instas, quas Paulus logomachias appellat, sine risu tolerare?" Cf. Kroner's *Zeitschrift*, Bd. x: "Servetus als Geograph."

188 *Erroribus*, 43b.

189 *ibid.* 57a. Cf. Tollin, i, 82.

Despite these significant references, the anti-Trinitarian persisted in his attempts to free himself from the charge of "pro-Mohammedanism": he appreciated only too well that it would prejudice his labor for the "purification of Christian doctrine." As early as 1531, in the *Trinitarian Error*, he repudiates the accusation not merely of Judaism, but of Mohammedanism as well; and as late as 1547, in his correspondence with Calvin, he sarcastically replies to the latter's defence of the Mosaic Law: "I seem to hear a Mohammedan or pseudo-Jew speaking." Yet we shall perceive that he does not employ the countercharge of pro-Mohammedanism so frequently as the reproach of "Judaizing" with which he assailed both the Papists and his foes among the Reformers.

To what extent, it may be asked, was Servetus acquainted with Arabic literature? The reiteration of the charge by the Spaniard's opponents might lend credence to the notion that he was well read in Mohammedan literature, in addition to the Koran, and was perhaps taught by Arabic teachers. Nowhere, however, does he make use of the Arabic tongue as he does so often of the Hebrew[190]; Guttmann (*op. cit.*, p. 83) remarks: "We cannot speak of an influence from the theology of Islam, of which one has thought by virtue of the few Moors who remained in Spain, since we do not meet anywhere with a trace of an acquaintance with the literary productions of Islamic theology, despite an occasional mention of Mohammed and the Koran." With this judgment, we are disposed to agree: it is uncertain how far the Spaniard's knowledge of the Latin translation of the Koran was supplemented by a study of non-Koranic works. The Bibliander Koran was sufficient to furnish him with an insight into the uncompromising character of the Islamic doctrine concerning Divine Unity; it doubtless served to confirm his own "heretical" anti-Trinitarian views.

Our main interest, however, has been to assemble the instances wherein Servetus calls his opponents "Moors" and they in turn designate him as "pro-Turkish" and "favorable to Moorish heresies." That these charges generally are coincident with similar accusations of "Judaizing" indicates that in Christian eyes, Moorish and Jewish influences were for the most part identical, not solely because Mohammedans and Jews were non-Christians

[190] *Restit.*, 419, speaks of Koran, Sura 2:118 Chap. on "Abraham's House."

and outside the pale of Christian society, but because of a fundamental similarity of theological concepts, due to extensive borrowings of Islam from Judaism. Servetus would not have been called "Judaizer" unless he had argued against a Triune in favor of One God; similarly he was branded as pro-Turkish because from Mohammedan sources he drew support for his belief in the error of the Trinitarian concept and in the truth of the Unitarian view of God.

b. Servetus and the Accusation of "Judaizing." The central contention of the opponents of Servetus was that his entire theological system was a vindication of Jews and Judaism; in proof of this assertion, they examined his writings with scrupulous care, and at his trial sought to build their case against him upon their findings. We may now occupy ourselves with an examination of this evidence.

One of the first instances of the use of the term "Judaizer" with reference to Servetus appears as we have noted in a letter written by Johannes Oecolampadius, the Basel Reformer, in 1530-1.[190a] A large group of Reformers sought to identify the entire Christological system of the Spaniard with Judaism, Mohammedanism and Ebionism;[191] Oecolampadius is their spokesman. At the close of his Epistle, he states that Servetus departs from the Reform position and "judaizes" in his view of Christ.[192] Servetus answers this and similar accusations in his *Trinitarian Error:* His opponents, says Servetus, make him guilty of "Judaism or Mohammedanism," and take offense at the fact that he does not hesitate, contrary to their habit, to call Christ a Prophet.[193] Oecolampadius and his fellow-Reformers refuse to be convinced

190a Printed first in *DD. Ioannis Oecolampadii et Huldrichi Zwingli Epistolarum libri quator*, etc. Basel, 1536, and later in 1548 and 1592. See *Opera*, viii, 860.

191 Tollin, i, 81 ff.

192 *Opera*, viii, 860: "Proinde satis video, quantum tu a nobis recedas: et magis iudaisas quam gloriam Christi praedicas. Quod non calore iracundiae scribo, sed fidem Deo meo servare cupio: qui te illustret oro, ut re vera Christum filium Dei, credas et confitearis. Amen."

193 He quotes in defense of his contention that Christ is a Prophet: Deut. 18: 15; 18:19; it is unusual for Servetus to take texts from the Old Testament as prospective of Jesus' coming; selections from Acts, Luke and John are also cited. He seeks thus to silence the arguments of Clement, Irenaeus and Tertullian.

and reiterate the charge of Judaic inclinations by Servetus; the Basel Reformer quotes to the Spaniard a passage from Irenaeus, saying that the Jews reject the Son of God for the very reasons which Servetus advances.[194]

It is Calvin, however, who most frequently and explicitly brings the accusation of Judaizing. This is apparent in his condemnation of Servetus' interpretation of disputed Old Testament passages. At the Geneva trial, the subject was fully exploited. In the *Complaint of Nicholas de la Fontaine against Servetus* several references occur to the heretical annotations on the Bible which are scattered through Servetus' works, particularly the edition of the *Pagninus Bible*. "He had not ceased to scatter his poison, both through the citations on the Bible and through notes made upon Ptolemy."[195] To this Servetus responded that "he had made annotations on the Bible and on Ptolemy. But he did not think he had done anything that was not good." In the Second Interrogation, the charge is repeated,[196] with a denial[197] that he had written the passage in the *Ptolemy* in criticism of the Holy Land, or that there was anything wicked in it. The *Third Interrogation* contains references to the annotations, combining the accusation that Servetus had contradicted and calumniated Moses by his assertion that Palestine was not fertile or attractive, and the charge that the Spaniard had misinterpreted the famous 53rd chapter of Isaiah. Servetus is severely condemned for applying this chapter to Cyrus instead of to Christ, in accordance, he says, with the exegesis thereof by Nicholas of Lyra.[198] In the

[194] *Opera*, viii, 860: "Et in codem, libro 4, cap. 17: Propter hoc Iudaei excesserunt a Deo, verbum Dei non recipientes, sed putantes per seipsum patrem sine verbo, id est, sine filio posse cognoscere Deum." In *Serveto Hispano, neganti Christum esse filium Dei consubstantialem*, Ioannes Oecolampadius.

[195] "Actes du Procès de Michel Servet" in *Opera*, viii, 727. "III. Item que depuisil na cesse par tous moiens quil a peu de semer son poison tant aux citations quil a faict sur la Bible comme en quelques annotations quil a faictes sur Ptolemee."

[196] *Opera*, viii, 732: "Respond quil confesse avoir faict des annotations sur Ptolemee et sur la bible. Mais quil ne pense avoir rien faict qui ne soyt bon."

[197] *Opera*, viii, 741. "Sus le tiers ledict denuncant a produit le Ptolemee et les Annotations en la fine de la description de la terre de Judee. A quoy obiecta ledict quil ne la point escript et quen cela ny a point de mal selon que lon le veult entendre . . . Item quant aux annotations que ledict Servetus a faictes sus la bible, ils produisent toute la dicte Bible."

[198] *Opera*, viii, 745. "Sus le tiers, ilz on produit le lieut de Ptolomee, lequel ledict Servet dict navoir faict, et non obstant quil ny a point de mal et quil

examination, Servetus attempted to show that the scholium in the *Ptolemy* calling into question the truth of the Biblical account of Judea, as a land flowing with milk and honey, had not been written by him, but had been quoted from another writer; he added, however, that he saw nothing reprehensible or untrue in the note. To this Calvin replied that his approval and quotation of the words of the original authority were sufficient to demonstrate that he slandered Moses. Continuing his scathing denunciation of this misrepresentation of the Holy Land, Calvin in his *Defensio* remarks:[199]

When Ptolemy's geography published with Servetus' preface was produced, in which his readers are apprized that it was downright vanity to ascribe such great plenty to Judea; because by the report of merchants who have travelled thither, they found it uncultivated, barren and destitute of all manner of pleasantness; he fell amumbling, and replied that this was written by another hand. Such a sorry pretence was soon baffled; for by his shuffling after this manner, the impostor appeared bare-faced; and after being reduced to his last shifts, he then maintained that the remark was just. He replied as if nobody else had given the history of Judea but he. Here I thought it necessary to make this answer, that those who had given an account of that country followed Moses, the most ancient writer who mentions it; wherefore it was a very great fault in him to deceive those who followed him in that respect; for whose account was it, that Judea was a land flowing with milk and honey? Besides, I urged further that it was preposterous to form a judgment of what the land was anciently from what it appears to be now; for we ought to remember the terrible judgment of God with which God had threatened Judea, as described in Psalm CVII. That it is God who turns a fruitful land into barrenness because of the wickedness of its inhabitants, is particularly verified in Judea, which to this day is a signal mirror of divine vengeance. It would appear utterly

nentend point du tems de Moyse, mais du tems de ceulz qui ont escript de nostre siecle. Et lesdicts disent que daultant quil a comprins generalement tous descripvains dudict pais, il a calumnie contre Moyse." Calvin describes the *Pagninus* marginal scholia as follows: "On luy mit aussi en avant un autre item. Car il ya environ douze ou treze ans que luy estant a Lyon, pour ce qu'l faisoit bien la morgue d'Espagne, certains Imprimeurs s'addresserent a luy pour luy faire revoir la Bible, desquels il grippa bien et beau cinq cens frances, leur faisant acroire merveilles. Or de peur qu'l ne semblast qu'il sust desrobe ce qu'on luy bailloit pour son salaire, il va farcir les marges, en partie de ie ne say quels menus fatras, en partie de ses meschantes resveries: pource que le temps ne portoit pas d' esplucher le tout par le menu, on luy mit en avant le cinquante troisieme chapitre d'Esaie."

[199] *Opera*, viii, 496; in the original edition, pp. 58-9.

incredible were it not that our illustrious senate, together with many other grave men, were witnesses to it: that when he stood so plainly convicted of this impiety, he had nothing to allege in his vindication. That obscene dog, with the utmost impudence asserted, in one word, that there was no harm in what he said.[200]

This debate between Calvin and Servetus over the authenticity of the Mosaic word concerning Palestine is another point in evidence of the pro-Old Testament attitude forced upon Calvin by the opinions of his adversary. (*v. i.*)

1. Isaiah 53

The argument concerning Servetus' interpretation of the 53rd chapter of Isaiah holds for us several points of interest. In the same breath that he accuses the anti-Trinitarian of irreverence to Moses because of his criticism of Palestine, Calvin affirms that he consorts with Jews in his application of Isaiah 53 to Cyrus instead of Jesus.[201] In several other places also, we find references to Servetus' defense of the Jewish position in contradistinction to the traditional Christian Messianic interpretation. A statement signed by Calvin and a group of thirteen Swiss clergymen speaks of the pernicious character of Servetus' notes to the Lyons Bible of Pagninus, with particular reference to the Isaiah passage.[202] Both the *Third*[203] and the *Fourth Interrogation*[204] of

[200] The author of the *Impartial History*, 1774, pp. 95-99, takes the opportunity to quote several authors and travellers, during his discussion concerning the actual condition of Palestine in the 18th century.

[201] *Opera*, viii, 497: "Quia singulis excutiendis tempus non dabatur: in primis obiectum est caput Iesaiae LIII. cuius perspicuitas quum Iudaeis quamlibet impudentibus ansam est ad Cyrum torquere." In this letter, Calvin refers to Nicholas of Lyra; "Omitto quod quum Nicholai Lyrani suffragium obtenderet producto libro mendacii convictus non erubuit." *Opera*, viii, 498. For a discussion of the Jewish attitude towards this chapter, see Neubauer, A., *The Fifty-third Chapter of Isaiah*, Oxford, 1876-7.

[202] *Opera*, viii, 553-4. "Brevis cavillationum refutatio, quibus Servetus errores sibi a nobis obiectos diluere tentavit." "Nam ante annos duodecim excusa sunt Biblia Lugduni, quorum margines multis perniciosis commentis inquinavit. Norunt fideles nusquam melius in veteri testamento virtutem mortis Christi testatam esse, quam Iesaiae 53. Quae de reconciliatione nobis parta, de scelerum expiatione, de maledictione sublata asserit propheta, ad Cyrum hic corruptor detorquet, quod in eius morte Iudaei iustas scelerum suorum poenas dederint. Quisquis ergo vere et prudenter reputabit, hunc illi scopum fuisse agnoscet, ut luce sanae doctrinae exstincta totam religionem everteret."

the Geneva Trial condemn the alleged perversion of "Messianic" texts, including not only the 53d, but the 7th and 8th chapters of Isaiah as well. Servetus mentions again the works of Nicholas of Lyra as the source of his interpretation[203]

Thus from the evidence brought forward in the Geneva trial, it is clear that Servetus "Judaized" in his Biblical exegesis. The presence of Christological intermingled with the Jewish elements prevents us, it is true, from asserting that Servetus followed the Jewish commentators at every step: he oftentimes adheres to the prophetical, the "typical" and esoteric implications of the texts under discussion. Calvin appreciated this tendency in Servetus; yet, despite the fact that his own interpretations oftentimes savored of Jewish influence and that he at least was acquainted with the Jewish commentators (though for the most part he rejected their evidence) Calvin was by no means satisfied with this concession to Christology by Servetus. "The prisoner," he says,

[203] *Opera*, viii, 745: "Et quant aux annotations de la Bible, ilz ont produit le 7 et 8 chapitre de Esaie, et le 53 de Esaie, auquel dernier passaige ilz disent ledict Servet avoir attribue a Cyrus, ce qui est attribue a Jesus Christ quant a leffacement de noz pechez et portement de noz iniquites . . . A quoy ledict Servet respond que le principal doibt estre entendu de Jesus Christ, mais quant a lhistoire et a la lettre il le fault prendre de Cyrus, et que lesanciens docteurs ont mys deux sens en L'Ancien Testament, assavoir sens literal et sens mystique comme aussidict saint Iehan en lapocalypse, au 19 chapitre, que le tesmoing de Jesus Christ est lesprit de prophetie, et allegue nycolas de Lyra pour ancien docteur, la ou il parle de Cyrus sus 53 de Esaie."

[204] *Opera*, viii, 760: "Quatrieme interrogatoire de Servet. Item sus ce que dernierement ledict Servet alleguoit nyco de Lyra pour prouver comment edict de Lyra entendoit le 53 chapitre de Esaie de Cyrus." *Opera*, viii, 497-8: "Lugduni quum sacris Bibliis corrigendis opera eius conducta foret, postquam typographum quingentis libris francicis emunxit, ne furatum esse quis diceret quod mercedis nomine sumpserat, singulas paginas partim multis futilibus nugis, partim impiis deliriis inquinavit. Quia singulis excutiendis tempus non dabatur: in primis obiectum est caput Iesaiae LIII. cuius perspicuitas quum Judaeis quamlibet impudentibus ansam calumniandi praeciderit, hic falsarius ausus est ad Cyrum torquere . . . "

[205] The *Annotationes* compiled by Paul of Burgos as addenda to the *Postillae Perpetuae, sive Brevia Commentaria in Universa Biblia* undoubtedly served Servetus in this instance. He also made use of Lyra's work, which was first printed in Rome 1471-2, Cologne 1478, Venice 1482 and often since. Servetus by his reliance upon Lyra became debtor to the exegesis of Rashi, the medieval Jewish Commentator, for even in the interpretation of the disputed Isaiah passages, Lyra draws upon Rashi. Cf. Siegfried, "Raschi's Einfluss auf Nicolas von Lyra und Luther in der Auslegung der Genesis" (*Archiv fuer wissenschaftliche Erforschung des A. T.*, i, 428-456; ii, 39-65.) Halle, 1896.

"would never have had the hardihood thus villainously to corrupt so grand a passage had he not, abandoning all shame, taken he knew not what diabolical pleasure in getting rid of the whole Christian faith." In this fashion did the Genevan Reformer seek to oppose the entrance of "Jewish" elements into Christian Biblical criticism.

2. *Servetus' "Judaizing" on the Trinity*

But it is in connection with his anti-Trinitarian views that the charge of "Judaizing" is most persistently pressed against Servetus. Among the *Sentences or Propositions extracted from the books of Michael Servetus* which the Ministers of the Church of Geneva declare to be full of impious blasphemies against God, and of other mad and profane errors, altogether repugnant to the word of God, and the orthodox agreement of the Church, we find the statement: "all those who believe a Trinity in the essence of God, are Tritheists, true Atheists," immediately succeeded by the assertion: "The Hebrews being supported by so many authorities deservedly wonder at the Tripartite Deity that is introduced to us."[206] Again we find the words: "In truth it appears as an abomination to see how this wretched man also excuses the blasphemies of the Jews against the Christian religion, and how he approves and extols the miserable words of the Mohammedans that three persons in the Trinity, or as he says, three gods, are unknown to the Fathers and are sons of Beelzebub."[207] That

[206] *Opera* viii, 501: "Sententiae vel Propositiones Excerptae ex Libris Michaelis Serveti." The excerpt is taken from the Lib. i, *De Trinitatis Erroribus*, 34: "Tot authoritatibus fulciri Hebraeos ut tripartitum Deum a nostris introductum merito admirentur." In the next excerpt, No. III., Servetus is quoted: "To assert that the incorporeal Deity is really distinct within itself has given the handle to Mohammed to deny Christ." Excerpt XXXII. contains: "That angels were formerly adored as gods by the Jews; so that he calls them their gods, in the page after; to which they answer that he said, that God was never truly worshipped under the law, but angels, shadowings of Christ, were adored. That Abraham likewise believed in him who shadowed Christ."

[207] *Opera*, viii, 556. "Clarissimis Syndicis, et Amplissimo Senatui Genevensis Reipublicae Dominis Nosrtis Colendissimis . . " . . Datae Tiguri 2nd October. Anno Dom. M. D. LIII. Vetrae Amplitudini dediti Pastores et Lectores, ministri ecclesiae Tigurinae." "Abominandum vero illud esse videtur in homine infelici quod Iudaeorum quoque blasphemias in christianam religionem effusas excusat, et foeda haec Mahumetis verba, tres in trinitate personas, vel, ut ipse ait, tres deos patribus fuisse incognitos, et esse filios Beelzebub,

his enemies and judges recognized the dependence of Servetus upon Jewish sources is evinced by a passage in the *Short Refutation of the Cavils* signed by Calvin and his colleagues, where Servetus is made to say that though to the Scotists there may have been difficulty in calling Christ by the abstract name: "Wisdom," to the Hebrews there was none.[208]

In their accusation of pro-Jewish inclinations in Servetus' doctrine of the Trinity, his foes were on firm ground. For there is ample evidence of his reliance for support upon the strong monotheistic views of the Jews and Mohammedans. He appreciated profoundly that no progress would be made by Christian missionaries as long as the doctrine of a Triune God stood in their path as an unsurmountable obstacle.[209] Servetus remarks that the Jews, relying on innumerable authorities, are correct in saying they cannot understand how so great a difference in view concerning the Deity could have arisen between them and Christians; they rightly regard Christian ideas of God as a lapse from truth.[210] He deplores the attempt to bring the Old and New Testament into accord in order to establish the Trinitarian doctrine, and urges that if one dispute with a Jew he should not stress the view that Jesus was the actual Son of God. Thus only would it be possible "that those Jews whom you see daily awaiting the Messiah, will be persuaded."[211]

Naturally these and similar expressions of opinion infuriated

approbat et extollit. Quid vero potuisset ab hoc homine magis impium in Deum, et indignius in intemeratam fidem christianam exspui? Quae, obsecro, aures christianae ista patienter audiant?"

208 *Opera*, viii, 541: "Brevis cavillationum refutatio." "XI. Clamat inique secum agi: quando quidem non ita loquutus est. Atqui postquam questionem movit: An homo Christus dicatur sapientia, et virtus Dei: subiicit de abstractis nominibus magnam esse Scotistis difficultatem, sed Hebraeis nullam: quia tritum sit apud eos vocari Dei quidquid est excellens. Nunc expendant lectores an illa vulgaris loquutio Christ elogio conveniat. Qualis enim Christi deitas, si tantum excellentia censetur?" Cf. also viii, 596: . . "sicuti hoc elogio quidquid eximium est, ornatre solent Hebraei."

209 Cf. Tollin, i, 42; also *Beweis des Glaubens*, 1874, p. 1 ff. on Paul of Burgos and the Trinity. Delitzsch, F., *System der christlichen Apologetik*, Leipzig, 1869, p. 439, remarks that one may seek the entire Jewish literature in vain for a single expression which regards the Messiah as the incarnation of the mediate Hypostase of Divinity.

210 *Erroribus*, 37a.

211 *Ibid.* "Ut Judaei tales, quales eos hodie Messiam expectantes vides, persuaderentur."

Calvin and his fellow-Reformers. Servetus had asserted that "the Reformation would have to go forward in some matters which in his mind were not yet well set forth." This was immediately seized upon as a challenge by men who considered their labor the complement and completion of the Lutheran Reformation; they resented the doctrine of an anti-Trinitarian heretic who brazenly affirmed that "such things" as his belief in the Unity "are commonly enough denounced and condemned as erroneous at first, but are by and by acknowledged as truth and universally accepted." When Calvin and a group of ministers after a session in Court visited the imprisoned Servetus in order to convince him of his error in stigmatizing as Tritheists and even Atheists those who believed in the Trinity, the interview, as might have been expected, served only to increase irritation on both sides, and to embitter even more Servetus and his persecutor. In his reply to the thirty-eight articles, drawn up by Calvin in Latin because the Reformed Churches of the Confederation had been called into counsel, he says:

> It is impossible not to admire the impudence of the man, who is nothing less than a disciple of Simon Magus, arrogating to himself the authority of a Doctor of the Sorbonne, condemning everything according to his fancy, scarcely quoting Scripture for aught he advances, and either plainly not understanding me, or artfully wresting my words from their true significance. I am therefore compelled, before replying to his "Articles" to say, in brief, that the whole purpose of my book is to show, first, that when the word Son is met with in Scripture, it is always to the man Jesus that the term is applied, he having also the title Christ given him; second, that the Son or second Person in the Trinity is spoken of as a person because there was visibly relucent in the Deity a Representation or image of the man Jesus Christ, hypostatically subsisting in the Divine mind from eternity.

So Calvin continued his attack despite the attempted explanations: he sought the impeachment of Servetus because of the latter's views that the three persons in the Trinity are phantoms, that since the existence of distinct entities in the One God is impossible, a Trinity of Persons in a Unity of Being is a dream. Furthermore, he condemned him for asserting that the Jews rightly marvel at the Tripartite Deity which Christians acknowledge; that it was the admission of real distinctions in the Incorporeal Deity which led Mohammed to deny Christ. To these articles, the anti-Trinitarian responded:

I-IV. From the authors quoted it is evident that in the Essence and Oneness of God there is no real distinction into three invisible entities. That there is a figurative or personal distinction between the Invisible Father and the Visible Son, however, I admit; so that in this way, I religiously believe in a Trinity, though denying it as usually understood. The truth of what I say about the Jews and Mohammedans, I maintain to be amply borne out by history, and what we see among the Turks of the present time.

What mattered it, however, that Servetus attempted in his several answers, to soften and qualify his views! It is noticeable that in order to "accommodate himself in some sort to such conceptions as were current on the subject of the Trinity, he uses language at times which, it seems, might fairly bring him within the pale of orthodoxy, were we not aware of the arbitrary meaning he attaches to the terms employed." These implications and "arbitrary" interpretations contributed to the fatal outcome of Servetus' heterodoxy. No amount of concession at the Genevan trial could undo his life-long challenge to traditional Christian dogmas. However vehement his protests and denials, he remained in the eyes of his orthodox enemies, a "Judaizer." For this he was convicted and executed.

This is shown by the fact that the alleged Jewish birth of Servetus figured prominently in the trial. The Attorney-General Rigot as we have already mentioned, saw fit to commence his examination with a question whether Servetus, his father or any of his ancestors were Jews, or members of any other religion than Christianity.[212] Servetus of course denied any affiliation whatsoever with Jews; in the light, however, of his negation of questions concerning facts the truth of which has been otherwise established, we may suspend judgment on the accuracy of his reply on the matter of Jewish or Marrano origin. (*v. s.*) It stands to reason that the accused anti-Trinitarian would not wish to add to his burden by confessing any relationship with despised Jews or Moors.

When, however, Calvin and his colleagues sarcastically call Servetus "this excellent Rabbi," the latter had little reason to resent the title.[213] The phrase occurs in a discussion concerning

[212] *Opera*, viii, 763-4.

[213] *Opera*, viii, 620: "Atqui excipit Servetus, puerum vocari Iosue post annum quadragesimum sicuit et Roboam. Primo, hoc nihil ad Timotheum, cuius iuventus non ex solo nomine, sed ex certis circumstantiis probatur. Deinde

baptism; Servetus brings to bear evidence from the original Hebrew for the elucidation of a New Testament selection.

c. Servetus Accuses Calvin of Judaizing. One of the anomalies of the career of Servetus is that though he encountered on numerous occasions the accusation of Judaizing, he made use of the same charge in rebuttal of his opponents. Against Melanchthon, who in 1531, had pointed out the Judaic character of Servetus' views, the Spaniard makes rejoinder in his *Apology to Melanchthon* that there is to be noted in the latter's works a "chain of pseudo-Judaism;" the Geneva theologians during the course of the trial take cognizance of this fact and proclaim Melanchthon to be a faithful and successful defender of acceptable doctrines.[214] The *Refutation*, which repeatedly calls Servetus a "Jew" mentions the fact that in the *Apologia ad Melanchthonem*, Servetus accuses the Calvinists of "confusing the Law with the Gospel, and the Jew with the Christian."[215] On occasion, Servetus calls his opponents "Pharisees," though in a purely literary sense;[216] he rejects any tendency to "Platonize"

Servetus audacem inscitiam ubique prodit. בחורים vocant Hebraei robustos iuvenes, aut viros, quasi selectos vel egregios dicas: hic bonus Rabbinus, neglecto omni delectu, vocem illam in puerum convertit."

[214] *Opera*, viii, 628. "Etsi autem Servetus in speciem fraenare videtur pravos carnis affectus, et in obsequium spiritus cogere, alibi tamen pestiferum quod occultat virus erumpit. Nam in Apologia ad Melancthonem, page 719; Tuo, inquit, pseudo-iudaismi vinculo omnia nobis tristissima facis, quum prophetae omnes, et angeli gaudium et laetitium in Christo semper annuncient, et muliebribus pavoribus unique te ipsum territas. Quam fideliter in hoc incumbat Melanchthon, ut divini amoris fiducia conscientias exhilaret, quam magnifice gratiam Dei, qua pacantur ac serenant ur mentes nostrae, extollat, non disputo: nota enim et probata est piis omnibus sigunlaris eius hac in parte dexteritas." (The note of the editor gives for the word "Pseudoiudaismi," the translation "iuifverie.") See also viii, 627: "Sed hic phreneticus coelum et terram turbat, quia regulam bene vivendi, in decalogo praescriptam, soluto maledictionis rigore, aetername esse dicimus, ideoque Iudaeis et gentibus communem."

[215] *Opera*, viii, 637: "Non meos unius, sed publicos, ut dicit, ecclesiarum nostrarum errores Melancthoni exprobrat. Quinam autem illi sunt? Unius Dei dissectio: verae fidei Christi abnegatio: bonorum operum destructio: legis cum evangelio, et Iudaei cum Christiano confusio . . . Inter alia it notatu dignum, quod dicit, nos in precibus Deum temere in ius vocare, ut promissa servet, ac si ex debito nobis esset obligatus, ac non plura nobis quam Iudaeis praestiterit."

[216] *Erroribus*, 12b. *Dialogi*, 19a. Cf. Tollin iii, 249. Also Melanchthon, *Loci*, ed. 1521, Berlin, pp. 17, 75, *et passim*.

lest he disturb the testimony of the Scripture[217]; a third epithet he frequently employs is that of "Sophists," a vigorous condemnation, he believes, of his Trinitarian opponents.[218]

It is Calvin himself, as might be expected, who bears the brunt of Servetus' attack on "Judaizing" in the ranks of his antagonists. Calvin as "Judaizer" is not an unfamiliar picture in Church history: in 1595, thirty-one years after the Swiss Reformer's death, Aegidius Hunnius issued a polemic entitled: *Calvinus Judaizans*, basing his work upon "the Judaic glosses and corruptions by which J. Calvin did not hesitate to corrupt in a detestable fashion the passages and most celebrated testimonies in Holy Scripture, concerning the glorious Trinity."[219] Nor was the Genevan immune from the corollary charge he raised against his colleagues, namely: "Pro-Mohammedanism," for in 1595, G. Reginaldus published a work entitled: "Calvinic Turkism."[220] Thus did time work a poetic revenge on Calvin for his treatment of Servetus. Even during his lifetime, however, Calvin was forced on numerous occasions to repel the "Judaizing" charge, coming not merely from his Catholic enemies, but from radical Protestant opponents as well. The justice of the insinuation against Servetus is amply evident in the manifold instances of his indebtedness to Jewish literature. Calvin also, it is true, borrowed extensively from Jewish sources, and made frequent references to medieval Jewish commentators; yet the imprint of Jewish doctrine and practice upon the Genevan's theology is far less perceptible than in the works of the anti-Trinitarian. The doctrinal system of the Spaniard was a composite of Greek, Christian, Mohammedan and Jewish ideas, wherein the Hebraic elements were of a direct, posi-

[217] *De Trinit. Erroribus*, 47b: "res separatas multiplicando Platonizare, dissidia et discordias in scripturis seminare." Fol. 27a: "Valde frivolum est, et quid Platonicum sapit." On the Neo-Platonic elements in Servetus' theology, see Tollin, pp. 105-6, where the influence of the Wisdom literature and the Apocrypha is discussed. For the relation between the Neo-Platonic and so-called Sabellian tendencies in Servetus, see Jean Geymonat, *Michael Servet et ses idées religieuses*, Geneva, 1892, p. 51 *et passim*; also Guttman, p. 84.

[218] Cf. *Restit.* 6; *Erroribus* 77a. Cf. Tollin, iii, 242.

[219] Aeg. Hunnius: *Calvinus judaizans*, Vitt. 1593, 189 p. 16—1595, 178 p. 16—1604, 16. A reply to this work appeared in A. D. Pareus, *Calvinus orthodoxus*, hoc est doctrina orthodoxa Calvini de sacrosancta Trinitate . . . et de aeterna Christi divinitate, oppositus Pseudocalvino Iudaizanti." Neost., 1595, 16.

[220] G. Reginaldus, *Calvino-Turcismus*, id est Calvinisticae perfidiae cum Muhametana collatio et dilucida utriusque sectae confutatio." Colon., 1595. 1106 p.—Antv. 1597.

tive and unmistakable character; Calvin's system was a mosaic wherein the Judaic features did not stand forth so sharply, though they were of vital importance. An examination of the instances where Servetus applies the stigma of "Judaism" to Calvin will furnish us an insight into those elements of Calvin's thought which deserve this label.

In the Correspondence between Servetus and Calvin during the years 1546 and 1547, the Spanish disputant brings the accusation for the first time; he leads up to it gradually until he does not hesitate to call Calvin "a true Jew." Unfortunately the letters written by Calvin to the Spaniard have not survived; yet from the nature of the replies made by the latter, it is safe to assume that Calvin had previously employed the epithet in reference to Servetus, and that his opponent was biding the time when he might return the charge against his accuser. We are not surprised then, to find in *Epistle Nineteen*, prior to a discussion of the relationship of Jews to the Christian doctrine of Salvation, and the desire of Christians to convert Jews, the remark by Servetus: "Since you do not distinguish well between a heathen, a Jew and a Christian, I will admonish you a little concerning this."[221] Prior to this both in his *Dialogi* (fol. 34b) and in the *Restitutio* (fol. 287), Servetus had deplored the tendency of the Reformers to make no clear distinction between Christians and Jews, and their commingling of the Old and New Testaments by what he calls placing Jews on an equal footing with the Christians.[222] In *Epistle Thirty*, Servetus reproaches Calvin for his failure to place Christians on no higher level than the "vulgar Jews."[223] "They are alike to you, indeed, alike carnal, because to you are the benefits of Christ's coming unknown; to you who in the Supper partake of nothing more than a trope of figure and who treat baptism as the equivalent of a Levitical rite, a sign of a

[221] *Opera*, viii, 684: "Quoniam tu inter ethnicum, Iudaeum et Christianum non bene discernis, ego de hac re paucis te monebo. Alia sui ipsius cognitio data est ethnico, sine lege viventi, et vix peccatum scienti. Alia Iudaeo servo carnali, qui peccatum bene sciens, ab eo se liberare non poterat. Alia Christiano filio spirituali peccatum melius scienti per Christum liberato, et coelestia possidenti. Triplex quoque his inest Dei cognitio et religio."

[222] Cf. Tollin, ii, 56. See also *Restitutio*, 314-321.

[223] *Opera*, viii, 712: "Pares Christianos facis vulgares Iudaeos, quia scribit Paulus, eos omnes eandem escam spiritualem comedisse, omnes enudem potum spiritualem vidisse (bibisse?) et omnes in mari baptizatos fuisse. (I Cor. x.)"

thing that is not."[224] In *Epistle Fourteen*, the issue receives a vigorous formulation. Calvin has asked where the Apostle John teaches that in this world we are such as was Christ. Servetus triumphantly refers to the Tenth Chapter in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and continues after quoting the words: "Because as he is, so are we in this world."

> But you neither rightly understand Faith in Christ, nor good works, nor the celestial Kingdom. In the New Covenant, a new and living way was inaugurated; but you, a true Jew (tu vero Judaico)—would shame me by a show of zeal and overwhelm me with contumely because I say, with Christ: "He who is least shall in this Kingdom be greater than Abraham."[225]

d. Calvin as an Old Testament "Judaizer." To what degree do Calvin's opinions lend weight to Servetus' accusation? Willis (p. 183) enters into the discussion and asserts that Calvin and his fellow-Reformers "by their strenuous insistence upon the effects of Adam's trangression as compromising mankind at large, and Abraham's readiness to sacrifice his only son, had moreover interspersed the religion of Christ with such an amount of Judaism that their Christianity was in many respects a relapse into the bonds of the Law, from which Christ had set us free." It is apparent that this "Judaic" element mentioned, both by Servetus and his biographers centuries later, came not from association with individual Jews, but from a perusal of the Old Testament and the endeavour to evolve a group of doctrines from a rigorously "literal," or in the eyes of Servetus and many like him, a "Jewish" interpretation of special portions of the Jewish Scriptures.

It was Calvin's defense of the Mosaic law which impelled the Spanish anti-Trinitarian to call him a "Judaist." Thus there was introduced at the trial Servetus' letter written in 1546-7 to Abel Poupin, wherein he defines his attitude on this problem:

[224] *Opera*, viii, 714: "Alioqui, quod habet quis, tolletur ab eo. Sed ad Israelitas revertor; Eos tu non eandem inter se, sed eandem nobiscum escam manducasse, ex Paulo contendis: ut hoc uno telo omnia prosternas, et coelum cum terra confundas. Sed cogita melius, et Paulum aliter intelliges . . ."

[225] *Opera*, viii, 675: "Testamento nova initiavit nobis viam novam et viventem, Heb. 10. Ergo vita haec non moriens ante non erat, si nova est, et eam Christus nobis initiavit. Tu vero iudaico quodam zelo scandalizaris, et conviciis me obruis, quod cum Christo dicam, eum qui minimus est in regno hoc, esse maiorem, quam fuerit Abraham."

Monsieur Abel!—Although it is most plainly shown in my twelfth letter to Calvin, that the Law of the Decalogue has been abrogated, I shall add a few words that you may the better understand the innovation brought about by the advent of Christ. If you turn to Jeremiah 31:31 ff., you will find it stated distinctly that the law of the Decalogue was to be annulled. The prophet teaches that the Covenant entered into with the Fathers, when they left Egypt, was to be no longer in force. But this was the Covenant of the Decalogue. For in I Kings 8, it is said that the Covenant or Testimony—the Decalogue to wit—was in the Ark with the Fathers at their Exodus from Egypt, whence the Ark is called the Ark of the Covenant, that is, of the Tables, or Ten Commandments of the Law. Now this was the form of the Covenant: God promised the Israelites that they should be his people, if they did according to the words of the law, and they on their part engaged that they would obey them. Such was the Covenant. And it is of this Covenant that Jeremiah 18 speaks as being repealed, as does Ezekiel 16, and Paul likewise in his Epistle to the Hebrews. If God took us for his own under that Law, we should lie under the curse, and perish by its pressure. The Law was therefore repealed. God does not now receive us as his children but by faith in his beloved Son, Jesus Christ. See then what becomes of your Gospel when it is confounded with the Law. Your Gospel is without the One God, without true faith, without good works. For the One God, you have a three-headed Cerberus, for faith a fatal dream, and good works you say are vain shows. Faith in Christ is to you a mere sham, effecting nothing; Man a mere log, and your God a chimaera of subjective will. You do not acknowledge celestial regeneration by the washing with water, but treat it as an idle tale, and close the kingdom of heaven against mankind as a thing of imagination. Woe to you, woe, woe!

By opinions such as these, Servetus sought to eliminate erroneous conceptions in Christianity in order that he might bring about a restoration to its true foundations. At the trial he sought to convince his judges that he used the language which he did merely in order to persuade those who disagreed with him, and not to slander the Republic and Churches of Geneva, as they alleged. This letter has interest for us because it seeks to fasten upon the Swiss Reformers the burden of championing the Mosaic Law: "see then what becomes of your Gospel when it is confounded with the Law." Several succeeding epistles elaborate this anti-Mosaic tendency on the part of the anti-Trinitarian.[226] In

[226] *Opera*, viii, 690: Epistle Twenty-One. "Quicunque per spiritum Christi sumus regeniti, et corporis Christi participes facti, si in nobis moriatur fides, dicimur Christum intus necare, et turpius quam Iudaei eum in nobis occidere, a quanto tanto facinore nos Iesus Christus servet."

Epistle Twenty-Three, he comes specifically to the point: "You contend," he says, "for the same observation of the Mosaic Law by us as by the Jews, saying that it is an injury and contumely if any part of its rules be changed. I seem herein to hear some Mohammedan or pseudo-Jew speaking."[227] And again: "In truth you argue as the Jews and Mohammedans are accustomed to do."[228]

Thus Servetus sought to force Calvin into a seemingly Judaic position by insisting that the latter's defense of the Old Testament involved submission to Jewish views. In the same fashion the Catharists in the twelveth and thirteenth centuries, themselves rejecting almost the entire Old Testament, compelled the Catholic apologists virtually against their will to shoulder the task of vindicating the place of the Old Testament in the Christian Canon: thus, the enmity of the Albigensian Dualists to the God of the Pentateuch, and their desire to purge Christianity of its "Judaic souvenirs" served in part to give rise to the Passagii, a sect which demanded a literal observance by Christians of the precepts of the Mosaic Law. It is only one of the many inconsistencies and contradictions of Servetus' theological system, that while he deserves the title of "Christian Karaite," having based his views principally upon the New Testament, and resenting Calvin's championship of the Jewish Scriptures, he nevertheless made consistent use of the Hebrew Old Testament for the development and confirmation of his own heterodox views. We may therefore accept the view that his use of the term "Judaizer" against Calvin in this connection arises not so much from a desire to overthrow the Old Testament as to entrap Calvin in his own snare.

In this vein he proceeds to castigate Calvin. In *Epistle Twenty-Five*, he chides him for seeking to lead Christians to observe a law which is "irrational, impossible, tyrannical," adjectives which indicate that any intrinsic opposition by Servetus to the Mosaic legal system was founded on an unwillingness to be bound by ritualistic or technical restrictions: his free and independent

[227] Opera, viii, 694-5: "Mosaicam legem in eadem nobis qua et Iudaeis fore observatione contendis, iniuriam ei et contumeliam fieri dicens, si de eius regula sit quidquid immutatum. (imminutum.) Videor hic mihi Mahometum audire, aut pseudo-iudaeum aliquem."

[228] *Opera*, viii, 695: "Tu vero arguis ut solent Judaei et Mahometani, Christum non venisse, legem dissolvere, sed implere."

spirit revolted at ceremonial rigorousness.[229] On the other hand, it may well be that bitter experience with Calvin had taught him for what evil uses of hatred and persecution it was possible to employ Scriptural texts. Thus he urges Calvin to desist from "twisting that law to apply to us, and from agitating violently for its observance, as if you were dealing with a Jew."[230] From his prison cell, Servetus continues the debate:

> In the course of our discussion I detect you in another error. To maintain the force of the Old Law, you quote Christ's words where he asks: "What says the Law?", and answers himself by saying: "Keep the commandments." But here you have to think of the Law not yet accomplished, not yet abrogated; to think further, that Christ, when he willed to interpose in human affairs, willed to abide by the Law; and that he to whom he spoke was living under the Law; Christ therefore, properly referred at this time to the Law as to a master. But afterwards, all things being accomplished, the newer ages were emancipated from the older. For the same reason, it was that he ordered another to show himself to the priest and make an offering. Shall we, therefore, do the like? He also ordered a lamb, and unleavened bread to be prepared for the Passover: Shall we, too, make ready in this fashion? Why do you go on Judaizing in these days with your unleavened bread? Ponder these things well I beseech you, and carefully read over again my twenty-third letter. Vale.[231]

The Ministers who championed Calvin answered him in a statement worded: "What is the difference between the Old and the New Testament" and wherein they sought to vindicate their view of the union of so-called "spiritual" and "legal" acceptance of the Mosaic injunctions.[232] They sensed the inconsistency in their

[229] *Opera*, viii, 702: "Mosaica lex, ut tu censes, erat lex inertibus saxis data, lex irrationalis, lex impossibilis, tyrannica . . Et ad legem illam nos vis tu hodie pariter teneri, ad imposibilia omnia adstrictos. Non te servitutis pudet? Tam violentae tyrannidis? Deum ais in lege hoc solum voluisse ut impossibilitatis admonerentur . . ."

[230] *Opera*, viii, 706: "Desine igitur, Calvine, legem illam in nos torquere, aut de eius observatione tam violenter agere, etiamsi cum Iudaeo tibi esset agendum, ut tui misereatur Dei, qui in lege est passim Iudaeorum misertu."

[231] *Opera*, viii, 800. For a further statement of Servetus' attitude, see *Restitutio*, 314 ff. "De Lege et Evangelio."

[232] *Opera*, viii, 643: "Quaenam sit differentia veteris et novi testamenti. Deum sub lege nunquam fuisse cognitum, sed angelos illius temporis deos fuisse tradit: et cultum, qui Deo uni debetur, angelis fuisse exhibitum. Ad haec, quidquam spirituale patribus fuisse promissum negat, vel vivifico spiritu fuisse regenitos, sed terrenam benedictionem quesisse, quia ex mutato test-

own position, though they were more ready to proclaim it in Servetus. The latter denounced the "literal" interpretation of the Bible in the case of the Pentateuchal ritualistic ordinances; yet on several occasions, he himself employs this method; thus his assertion that persons under the age of twenty were not accountable agents and hence immune from punishment for their misdeeds, seems to be based upon a "literal and arbitrary interpretation of the text where Jahweh, to punish the Israelites determines that no one over twenty years of age is to enter the Land of Promise; all others are to leave their carcasses in the wilderness." Despite his hostility to many portions of the Old Testament, particularly as explained by Calvin, Servetus' theological system contained more of the Old Testament elements than of any other literature, Neo-Platonic, Greek, Mohammedan, Patristic, or early heretical, such as Sabellian, Pelagian, Manichean, or Arian. Calvin refused, however, to admit this Biblical quality in the teaching of the anti-Trinitarian: for him an assault upon the sacrosanct concept of the Trinity was sufficient to condemn Servetus. Had the Genevan forseen that Christianity would be able to absorb the anti-Trinitarianism of Servetus and yet remain Christianity, his violent opposition thereto might have been substantially modified.

3. Servetus versus Papal "Judaizing."

a. Passover Observance. Not only against Calvin, but against the "Papists," the Romanist adherents of his day, did Servetus launch the accusation of "Judaizing." Thus he denounces as "Judaic" the retention of several customs by both Catholics and Reformers, among them the eating of unleavened bread at the Easter festival. In the *Restitutio*, he affirms that the Papists renew the heresies of the Ebionites in their use of "unleavened bread and other Judaistic customs;" they seek to mingle Christianity with Judaism and its sacrifices.[233] Therefore, he urges, the feast of unleavened bread should not be observed after

amento diversa haereditas monstretur. Nos vero dicit participes factos coelestis gloriae, ut tales simus in terra, qualis in coelo Deus est."

[233] *Christ. Restit.* 523: "Expellimus vetus fermentum malitiae et nequitiae, et in azymis synceritatis docens, Ebionitarum haeresim esse nunc Papisticam, quae azymis et aliis Judaismis abutitur. Nulla ratione potuit Antichristi praeceptor Satanas, diuinam hanc communionem turpius maculare, quam Jud-

the manner of the Jews, unless Christians wish thereby to Judaize.[234] Calvin, too, is accused of Paschal Judaizing. In the letter of refutation written in prison Servetus asks, as we have seen, whether Calvin and other Christians should continue to "judaize" because Christ cites the law of Passover observance.[235] In the use of this accusation, Servetus was merely continuing a tradition, of which perhaps he was unaware, namely to call anything in the Easter service which savored of the Passover celebration, "Judaic" or "Jewish." In the spirit Saint Anselm of Canterbury had discussed in a letter sent to Walerann of Newburg the entire question of Paschal Judaizing in its relationship to Christian doctrine.[236]

b. Servetus' Opposition to the Mass. In connection with his views on Paschal Judaizing, it is proper to mention his attitude towards the Mass, which he had called a mockery and wickedness. At the trial he was reproached for having attended its celebration habitually at his former home, Vienne. The Spaniard replied that he had but imitated Paul, for the latter frequented the Synagogue like the Jews in general, though he had inaugurated a new religion of his own; as for himself, he added, he had sinned through fear of death and regretted that he had been obliged to do so.[237] The Judaizing tendencies of the Apostles,

aismos commiscendo, et sacrificulis illis illis permittendo, priuta illa sacrificii, ad priuatam lucrum facta."

[234] *Christ. Restit.* 421: "Ita Christus ipse pro Judaeorum consuetudine, ad diem festum Ierosolyman saepius ascendebat. Quid hinc Judaizabunt Papistae? Dierum azimorum sit mentio actorum 12 et 20, quod a Judaeis illi observantur, non a Christianis, nisi quid adhuc Judaizaret."

[235] *Opera*, viii, 800: "Iussit agnum et azimas sibi in pascha parari. An nos ita parabimus? Quare vos hodie in azimis iudaizatis?"

[236] Migne, *Patrologia*, 158:541-8. "De Tribus Waleranni Quaestionibus ac praesertim De Azymo et Fermentato." Chapter II . . . "Si autem dicunt quia judaizamus, dicunt similiter Christum judaizasse. Et si audent asserer. Christum proper Judaismum, ut praeceptum de azymo datum servaret de azymo corpus suum fecisse, absurdissimum errant." Chapter III. "atinos in azymo conficientes non Judaizare." (c. 543). Chapter IV. "Retorquetur in Graecos argumentatio qua probant Latinos in azymo conficientes Judaizare."

[237] *Opera*, viii, 789. "Septieme interrogatoire de Servet." "Interroge sil nalloit point a la messe a Vienne, respond que ouy, et quil estoit force, et que sainct paul fit bien le semblable, entrant au temple comment les Iuifz, comment est contenu au 21 cap. des Actes quil allegue. Et puys apres a confesse quil avoit peche en ce, mais que cestoit par crainte de la mort."

particularly of James, were a subject of considerable concern to Servetus; their observance of several ceremonies, characteristic of Judaism, troubled him; he mentions Galatians 2 and Acts 21, as an indication of this dubious tendency, and seeks vigorously to combat it.[238]

c. Servetus and Papist Legalism. Servetus is equally vehement in his opposition to the retention of many other customs in the Roman Catholic ritual which he considers of Hebraic origin. Though he informs us that the Papists turn to the East in prayer for the express purpose of avoiding the Jewish practice of turning to the West,[239] nevertheless he speaks of the spiritual crucifixion of Christ by the Pope, "who ordains Babylonian ceremonies, forbade marriage, established by law rules of tonsure, consecration ointment, Jewish rites, and Jewish Babylonian sacrifices."[240] Servetus is a bitter opponent of the monastic system as the outgrowth of a false conception concerning the perpetuity of the Mosaic Law. The commands of Moses were abolished, yet in their stead human laws were substituted; constant and perilous backsliding from Christianity into Judaism occurs because no clear-cut differentiation is made between the Law and the Gospels. Monks believe they must literally judaize, being deceived by the fact that the Apostles appear (simularint) to have observed the ceremonial injunctions of the Pentateuchal code;[241] it is incorrect to take Acts 18:18 and 21:26 as guides for Jewish conduct in the matter of vows and tonsure by the monks; they err too in their explanation of Romans 2:13; Paul, he says turned to the Jews and spoke to them as he did because they lived under the Law; if Christians were to follow his advice for

[238] *Restit.* 707. "Judaizabunt aliquando apostoli." *Ibid.* 475: "Nolebant Christus per Judaizantes adhuc apostolos legis umbras et ceremonias gentibus inculcare. *Ibid*, 561, discusses the Judaizing tendencies of James, who was circumcised, and practiced Judaic rites ("Judaizans") and taught that prayer should accompany unction; cf. James 5:14, 15. Anointing with oil rested only upon Jewish tradition." *Restit.* 563.

[239] *Christ. Restit.* 465: "Ideo dicuntur Iudaei ad occidentem adorare, Babylonii vero Papistae, ne Iudaizare viderentur, ad orientem adorare maluerunt, sicut Mahometani ad meridiem."

[240] Cf. "Destruction of the Globe," i, 399. Tollin, iii, 241.

[241] Cf. Tollin, iii, 250 ff. "Die Moenchspartei," a chapter wherein several passages illustrative of Servetus' attitude towards Catholic Judaizing are discussed.

themselves, then they ought to circumcise, since Paul approves the practice of circumcision.[242] "Just as the circumcision of the foreskin makes Jews," he says[243] and the circumcision of the heart makes Chrisitans, so the circumcision of the head makes the false Jews, the Papal sacrificers, and the anti-Christs. Supported by several Hebrew terms, he applies opprobrious epithets to monks, nuns, and all associated with the Catholic monastic system.[244] In this fashion he sought to voice the contempt he felt for the ecclesiastical institutions of Catholicism.

d. Servetus and the Catholic Sabbath. In his attitude towards the Christian Sabbath, Servetus exhibits still further his antipathy to Papist Judaizing. In many respects he does not differ from the ancient Catharists and their successors of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in his desire to rid the Christian church of its Jewish leaven. It is in keeping with the inconsistency of his position that he who introduced important doctrinal elements of Jewish origin into Christian theology should have been vigorously hostile to the ceremonial features of Judaism in current Christianity. My opponents, states Servetus, would gladly urge that we celebrate Sunday as a carnal Sabbath after the fashion of the Jews, making the Jewish Sabbath a type of another carnal Sabbath, just as carnal circumcision is a type of material baptism of children.[245] But with the advent of Christ,

[242] *Restit.* 411-469: "De Circumcisione;" also "De Circumcisione et de sabbato tractatus" in *Dialogi* of 1532. cf. Tollin, iii, 252-3.

[243] *Restit.* 446.

[244] Thus: *Restit.* 447, 454, 455, he speaks of monks as *Kedeshim*, set aside by the Pope, in accordance with Ezek. 16:49; or *Minzarim*, false Nazareans, in connection with his discussion of Grasshoppers, in Nahum 3:17; cf. also Amos 7:1, 2; he quotes here Exod. 10:13, 19; Joel 2:25; Isaiah 9:14; 13:9 ff., 34 ff; Jeremiah 30:2 ff; Zephaniah 2:1 ff; and passages from the Apocalypse. From Isaiah 13: 21 he takes names to fit nuns and monks: *Tziyyim*, inhabitants of waste places, hermits; *'Ochim be-Bhethim* is the name given to Brothers in the cloisters; *Benoth Ya'anah*, Daughters of wailing, crying nuns; *Se'irim Rokedhim*, lustful goats, namely Convent-Fathers. Then follow names for priors and abbots, who according to Servetus, had their counterpart among the Babylonians; for Prelates, Bishops and Cardinals; in the costly metropolitan palaces dwell the *'Iyyim*, an assembly of Island-animals; finally there are the *Tannim*, great creatures, in the temples of voluptuousness. See *Restit.* 478-481. Cf. Tollin, ii, 200-201. The play upon words here is very striking and illustrates Servetus' command over the Hebrew phrases; on several other occasions he uses them in puns.

[245] *Dialogi*: "De Circumcisione et de Sabbato." Cf. Tollin, iii, 273-282: "Vom Sabbath und vom Tempel."

fulfilment of the Law came; there should be thenceforward no distinction between different days; therefore the Sabbath law was invalid for Christians. (*Restit.* 420). In spite of the protests of the Jews (with which Servetus was apparently acquainted), he always worked on the Sabbath ("sabbato semper operabatur") because, in accordance with his characteristic resentment at ritualistic restraint, he did not wish to feel he was compelled to observe the day.

The same arguments are applied to other Christian festival days. The Papists assert that the Apostles celebrated the Festival of Pentecost; Servetus in reply says that Paul journeyed to Jerusalem at Pentecost-time in order to preach the Gospel. Have the Papists a similar reason for their Judaizing, he asks? (*Restit.* 421.) Despite the words of the Papists, it is true that Christ was more condemnatory of the observance of the Sabbath than of any other "Judaism." (*Restit.* 424.) Thus this "Bible-radical," as Servetus has been styled, though himself a Judaizer in doctrine, was quick to ferret out "legalistic Judaism" in the Church: he did not hesitate to stigmatize as a relapse into Judaism "ecclesiastical sabbatarianism," or the rigorous legalistic observance of Sunday, demanded by the Catholic Church and later by Puritans. So too the celebration of a Jubilee Year in Rome originated from the ancient Jewish Jubilee: in place of the Hosannas of the Synagogue, the sacred bells were introduced; in place of the candles of the Jews, the Catholics had their own lamps; in place of the Temple of Stone, in which both Protestants and Catholics believed, against the testimony of Scripture (*Restit.* 505), they had their own, filled with idols and horrors. (*ibid.* 417.)[246] These Papal festivals are similar to those of the Jews, who bowed down to the Golden Calf. (*ibid.* 453.) Servetus rebels against Papal masks, and "Jewish masks" ("Judaicae pictures") which, he remarks, have been adopted in the Church; through a new invention, he says, "Gog and Magog again creep in." (*ibid.* 652.)[247] This, it may be observed is a strange perversion of the customary charge, namely that the elimination of images, not their introduction, was "Judaic," an accusation with which Calvin, Zwingli and other Reformers were faced.

[246] Cf. Tollin, iii, 278.

[247] Tollin, iii, 258, note 1. "Gog and Magog" apparently refers to Calvin and Melanchthon: Servetus thinks of Calvin's Sabbatarianism and Melanchthon's Bibliolatry.

The "fear of the Jews," Servetus affirms, prompts many Judaistic actions on the part of both Protestants and Papists. Just as the ancient Pauline Christians were compelled to visit Jerusalem in order to preach the word of Christ, so at the present time they are forced to simulate the Jews; they keep themselves from what has been strangled or bloody (unfit)[248] and observe other Jewish customs because of the offence that otherwise would be given and through fear of the Jews. ("propter offendiculum et Judaeorum metum"). So other and worse Babylonian rites, savoring of idolatry, are observed or simulated today because of fear and a desire not to offend; if this were not done, the servants of the Beast (Rome) would rage against them more fiercely than the Jews against the Apostles.[249] Not only are Papists at fault: Servetus bewails the fact that Protestants have taken their traditions, customs, ceremonies, and methods of interpretation from the Roman Church; this appears in his eyes as a tragic backsliding into "Jewish-Papal servitude to the Law." Even the "literal" explanation of important Apocalyptic verses, as we have seen, is a sign of "Judaizing;"[250] how much the more the adoption of "external rites" from the "Jewish cult!"

e. The Sonship of Jesus and Jewish Evidence. It must be remembered that Servetus in this denunciation of legalistic Christianity was striking not merely at the Romanist party, but at Calvin as well. The Spaniard believed that his best defense in the face of persecution lay in the repudiation of the charge of Judaizing,[251] and the application thereof to Calvin himself. For

[248] In "Letter Thirty" Calvin discusses how it is to be understood that the Jews ate spiritual foods and drank spiritual potions.

[249] *Restit.* 563. Cf. Tollin, iii, 280-1. Servetus gives here a striking summary of the very motives which stimulated the Marranos or Neo-Christians in their simulation of Christianity and their secret adherence to their ancestral faith. No doubt he was aware of this method of concealment "through fear and a desire not to offend," by firsthand associations.

[250] *Opera*, viii, 717: "Signa Sexaginta Regni Antichristi, et Revelatio Eius, Iam nun Praesens." "Vicesimum primum signum: Ad tres dies cum dimidio iacuerunt cadavera Mosis et Eliae. (Apoc. 11). Legis et prophetarum habent papistae literam, ut cadaver, et spiritum non intelligunt, litera iudaizantes."

[251] Thus, the Attorney-General in his "Requisitoire" remarks: "Et quant pour abolir l'accusation, poursuitte et punition des blasphemes et heresies, il allegue les 18 et 19 passages des Actes: comme si S. Paul eust este accuse et convaincu de telz crimes d'heresie et blaspheme devant des iuges chrestiens, comme est ledict Servetus. Car en ces passages alleguez c'estoient des iuges et

example, in the important discussion concerning the Sonship of Jesus, Servetus complains that his opponent advances Jewish arguments ("You always obtrude the Jews upon us"), hoping thereby that the Judaizing accusation would rebound upon Calvin's own head.[252] Servetus is vehement in his emphasis upon the human character of Jesus, despite the fact that this has been called a heinous crime.[253] Though Servetus is accused of being an Ebionite, he returns the compliments and applies the same epithet to his antagonists.[254] The issue of Arianism arises frequently in his discussions (*Restit.* 79), and he does not shrink from a condemnation of the doctrine of the Virgin Birth as a blasphemy.[255] The motive for his championship of doctrines so radical as these in the eyes of contemporary Christendom is of particular interest: according to his own testimony (*Restit.* 8) Servetus appreciates that the only way to convert a Jew is to eliminate from Christianity the obstructive dogmas of the Trinity and allied concepts; in the later stages of his theological development he seems to incline towards a version of Christianity which shall be acceptable as a world-religion to rational Jews, Marranos, Mohammedans and other non-believers,[256] perhaps, as he thought, through a union of the views of John and Plato. Thus it was that in his thought as developed in the *Restitutio*, his correspondence with Calvin, and the various writings from his pen until his trial at Vienne and his

officiers payens qui ne se soulcioient de la religion des Iuifz, ny des questions d'icelle, mais l'avoient en horreur, et se contentoient quon ne diffamast point leur idole. Et encores le dernier renvoie l'accusation par devant les magistratz payens. Parquoy ledict Servet allegue faulsement que tel renvoy fust faict aux Eglises."

[252] *Opera*, viii, 485. "Solutionum Refutatio a Serveto Missa." "Ad II. De regeneratione et regno Christ." "Iudaeos tu semper nobis obtrudis, non animadvertens, eos scripturis omnibus declarari carnales, filios carnis, haeredes carnalis haereditatis, et rei perfectioris umbram."

[253] *Erroribus*. 62a. *Restitutio*, 8; he makes use of several etymological explanations based directly upon the Hebrew original in his discussion of the nature of Jesus: *Restit.* 727; he quotes Philo, the Sybilline Oracles, Josephus and other works of a Jewish or semi-Jewish interest: *ibid.* 690.

[254] *Erroribus* fol. 57a. "Sicut Ebionitae . . . ita videtur eis, nos dicere Christum quendam simplicem prophetam seu purum hominem, sicut quemlibet nostrum. Cf. Tollin, iii, 212.

[255] "Augustinus contra Felicianum ait: genuit Maria, non genuit filium Dei, genuit filium hominis. Horresco ad hanc blasphemiam, quod Maria non genuerit filium Dei." See *Apologia ad Melancthonem.*

[256] *Opera*, viii, 638: "Ut instar Mahometi, cum nova et prius incognita revelatione, novi mundi instaurator surgat."

seizure at Geneva, there were commingled theosophical meditations, physiology, Biblical exegesis, "rabbinical-speculative dialogues" and such other elements as an attempt to reinterpret Christian doctrine might stimulate.[257] In this endeavour, Servetus felt himself guided by true prophetic emotion, and it is with justice that he has been spoken of as a "Spanish Samuel."[258]

4. Servetus and Calvin's "Judaic" Persecution; Servetus' Death

In the last tragic chapter of Servetus' career, the Judaizing issue played its customary role. The controversy in this instance centered about the treatment to be meted out to heretics. It was natural that Calvin, like Oecolampadius, whenever possible should resent Servetus' charge of Jewish propensites: thus he remarks: "I am certainly astounded at your arrogance."[259] But in no wise daunted, the Spaniard pressed his case; Calvin, quite nettled at this persistence, remarks with shocked surprise: "And verily he called me a Jew, because I maintain the rigor of the law intact."[260] The "rigor" mentioned applied particularly to Calvin's defense of the use of force in the punishment of heretics: Servetus, himself in peril of death for heterodox opinions, affirms that to suppress non-conformance "iure gladii," by the law of the sword, made Calvin a "Jew," that is, an adherent of the so-called Old Testament view that idolatry should be uprooted by the most drastic weapons.[261]

This bitterness on the part of the harrassed anti-Trinitarian grew out of his increasing misery in prison and under trial. The animus of Calvin is demonstrated by his various letters to friends, among them Sulzer, Basel's leading minister, wherein he sought

[257] Cf. Tollin, ii, 32.

[258] Tollin, ii, 18; 16ff; see also *Servet's Charakterbild*, Berlin, 1876, p. 30 ff. Tollin, iii, p. xiii calls Servetus "the little David of Aragon."

[259] *Opera*, viii, 490-1: "Alter Calvini Responsio": "Iudaeos causaris perperam a me identidem obtrudi, quia vocentur carnales et filii carnis, et haeredes carnalis haereditatis. Obstupeo certe at tuam arrogantiam . . . Tu vero quos mihi titulos recenses, non animadvertis in degeneres et quasi adulterinos Iudaeos conferri. Utinam aliquando religiosium versari discas in scripturis."

[260] *Opera*, viii, 462: "Et me scilicet Iudaeum appellat, quia iuris rigorem intactum relinquo. Ego autem non vereor ne mihi probro vertant sani lectores, si abrogare, quod a Deo sancitum esse constat, ausus non fuerim."

[261] Cf. Tollin, iii, 85ff: "Der Geist und das Gesetz." For other Jewish references, see *Restit.* 326; 475, etc.

to show that Protestants should not fall behind Catholics in punishment of heresy:

> If the Papists display themselves so zealous and so much in earnest for their superstitions, that they cruelly persecute and shed the blood of innocent persons, is it not disgraceful in Christian magistrates to show so little heart in defending the assured truth?

From his cell, the doomed Spaniard made several remonstrances to his Judges, but to no avail: "I entreat you," he says in one of these, "for the love of Jesus Christ, not to refuse me that which you would grant to a Turk, when I ask for justice at your hands." The support of the charges by the Swiss Churches, and the failure of Zebedee, pastor of Noyon, and Gribaldi in their efforts to aid Servetus, hastened the latter's end. On October 26th, the Court passed the resolution:

> Having a summary of the process against the prisoner, Michael Servetus, and the reports of the parties consulted before it, it is hereby resolved, and in consideration of his great errors and blasphemies, decreed, that he be taken to Champel and there burned alive; that this sentence be carried into effect on the morrow, and that his books be burned with him.

At the Hotel de Ville, the following day, a recapitulation of the charges was read to Servetus: he was said to have encompassed the "ruin of many poor souls, betrayed and desolated by such detestable doctrines." He had sought to "create schism and trouble in the Church of God," . . . and had "taken pains to infect and given himself up obstinately to continue infecting the world with his heresies and maleficent poison." Therefore at the *Juiverie*, near the Rue de la Antoine—(Arnold of Bonn, a heretic of the 12th century had also been executed "near the cemetery of the Jews")—the stake was erected.[262] William Farel, in a letter to Ambrosius Blaarer, December, 1553, gives an account of the last moments of the anti-Trinitarian: "when I urged him on the subject, he desired me to point to a single place in the Scriptures in which Christ is spoken of as the Son of God, before his birth." Then follows a passage which furnishes a clue to the entire career of Servetus:

> But though I do not doubt of Erasmus having been infected in no trifling degree by the writings of the Rabbins, I know that in his later works, at least, he expresses himself otherwise than in those of earlier date.

[262] Henry, P., *Calvin*, New York, 1851, ii, 238.

But the unhappy Servetus could not readily be made to imbibe the truth and put it to increase; neither could he be cured of his errors by the sound teachings of others.

It is easy to imagine that Farel, himself a Hebraist, during the discussions with Servetus on the fateful October 27th, "between the hours of seven in the morning and mid-day" accused the prisoner of having succumbed "like Erasmus" (who in reality feared the triumph of "Judaism" as a consequence of Hebraic studies among Christian scholars), to the influence of the Rabbis. The pro-Hellenic Hebraist had, according to the testimony of the French Swiss Hebraist, shaken off Jewish teachings in later life; Servetus, however, absorbed them as a youth, pursued them during his lifetime, and even at the last moment, as he mounted the stake in expiation for his courage, clung to the teachings developed by his knowledge of Jewish literature. From first to last, in the eyes of the Christian world opposed to him and responsible for his death, he remained a "Judaizer."

c. CALVIN AND "JUDAISM" AFTER SERVETUS' DEATH

The burning of Servetus produced a great revulsion of feeling in Geneva: The Council quashed the indictment against Geroult, Arnoullet's foreman, for his share in printing the *Restitutio*. Doubts began to arise concerning Calvin's own orthodoxy in regard to the doctrine of the Trinity: Peter Caroli had previously issued a scathing polemic against his views; Aegidius Hunnius repeated Servetus' oft-used accusation of "Judaizing." Scattered through the works of the Genevan Reformer were several references to his disbelief in the partition of the Unity of God,[263] although by no means did he rival Servetus in his opposition to the convention Trinitarian views; his conceptions were more subtly and skilfully portrayed, giving no offense to orthodox feelings. Nevertheless, it became necessary for him to repudiate any seeming similarity between himself and Servetus, and to publish an apologetic defense for his own share in the execution of the anti-Trinitarian. His *Declaration pour maintenir la vraye Foy*, published in Latin under the title: *Defensio Orthodoxae Fidei de sacra Trinitate contra errores Michaelis Serveti*[264] seeks to cham-

[263] *Opera*, viii, 704 for Calvin's Confession of Faith.

[264] The French edition was printed by Jean Crespin; the Latin by Robert Estienne. See *Opera*, viii, 457 ff.

pion Calvin's own view of the Trinity, and particularly to prove the validity of capital punishment for heretics and the justice of the judgment rendered against Servetus. This work affords an insight into the method by which Old Testament texts were drafted in support of doctrines oftentimes contrary thereto in spirit and purpose, and wrongly labelled "Jewish" by Christian critics. Religious persecution, it has been long thought, found sanction and justification in the commands of the Mosaic Law. Christian historians are quick to point out that punishment of heterodoxy by death is ordered by many Old Testament passages, and hence is a "Jewish usage." Thus Schaff (vii, 694-5) remarks:

> The theory of religious persecution was borrowed from the Mosaic Law, which punished idolatry and blasphemy by death. "He who sacrificeth unto any God save unto Jahweh only, shall be utterly destroyed." (Ex. 22:20; cf. Deut. 13:5-15; 17:2-5, etc.) "And he that blasphemeth the name of Jahweh, shall surely be put to death; all the congregation shall certainly stone him; as well as the sojourner, as the homeborn, when he blasphemeth the name of Jahweh shall be put to death." (Lev. 24:16; cf. I K. 21:10, 13). The Mosaic theocracy was superseded in its national and temporal provisions by the kingdom of Christ which is "not of this world." The confounding of the Old and New Testaments, of the Law of Moses, and the Gospel of Christ, was the source of a great many evils in the Church.

Melanchthon believed that the "Mosaic law against idolatry and blasphemy was binding upon Christian states and was applicable to heresies as well."[265] Thus Calvin's plea that the right and duty or Christian magistrates is to punish heresy by death stands or falls with his theocratic system, and his belief in the binding authority of the Pentateuchal Code. He draws his arguments chiefly from the Jewish laws against idolatry and blasphemy, and from the examples of pious kings of Israel.[266] He indignantly repels Servetus' charge that because he preserved intact the severity of the Law, he was a "Jew,"[267] and he seeks proof in defense of the justice of his cause from Jeremiah (*Opera*, viii, 465); Psalms 18:45; 2:9 (*ibid.* 468, 471, 478); Isaiah 49:23 (469, 478); Daniel 3:29 (474); Deuteronomy 13:6 (475), 13:12 (476);

[265] *Corpus Reformatorum*, viii, 520.

[266] Schaff, vii, 792 makes this comment: "his argumentations from the New Testament were failures."

[267] *Opera*, viii, 462: "Et me scilicet Iudaeum appellat, quia iuris rigorem intactum relinquo."

Exodus 32:27 (478), and several selections from the New Testament: Corinthians (463, 469, 471); John (466), Acts, Timothy, Matthew, and other books thereof, numbering in total more than those selected from the Old Testament.[268] The persecution of Servetus, however, was due to a substantial modification of Calvin's early views on the theme of punishment for heterodoxy: in his *Institutions*, he had advocated the use of entreaty and persuasion even with "known enemies" of Christianity:

> Although we are not to be on familiar terms with persons excommunicated by the Church for infractions of discipline, we are still to strive by clemency and our prayers to bring them into accord with its teaching. Nor, indeed, are such as these only to be so entreated; but Turks, Saracens and others, positive enemies of the true religion also. Drowning, beheading and burning are far from being the proper means of bringing them and their like to proper views.

Even in the *Defensio*, Calvin qualifies the rigor of his views, apart from their application to Servetus: in considering whether the sword should be applied to the conversion of Jews, Turks and others, he urges that God does not command the sword promiscuously for all; apostates, however, should be subjected to severe punishment when they fall away from the true faith.[269]

That the *Defensio* conveyed to Calvin's contemporaries an impression of uncompromising rigor, is seen from the works it provoked.[270] David Bruck, known as David Joris of Bern, praised Servetus during the trial as a pious man, and declared that if all who differed from others in religious views were put to death, the world would become one sea of blood.[271] An author writing under the pseudonym of Martin Bellius proceeds to argue from Galatians 4:29 as his text, that persecution and death on re-

[268] *Opera*, viii, 476: "Ad haec solvitur quorundam obiectio, qui rogant an gladio adigendi sint ad Christi fidem Iudaei, Turcae, et similes."

[269] *Opera*, viii, 476: "Neque enim promiscue in omnes gladium stringi iubet Deus sed apostatas, qui se impie alienaverint a vero cultu et alios ad similem defectionem trahere conati fuerint, iustae ponnae subiicit."

[270] Willis, p. 516 contains an interesting note on the "Judaic" influence of Calvinism. In speaking of its gradual decline, he says: "In the land of Knox, the very stronghold of Judaic Christianity as defined by Calvin and his great disciple, open rebellion has broken out against the narrowness of the Creed and Catechism of the Westminister Assembly of Divines so obsequiously followed until now."

[271] Mosheim, *Neue Nachrichten von dem beruehmten Spanischen Aertzte Michael Serveto*, Beilagen. Helmstadt, 1750, p. 421.

ligious grounds as advocated by Calvin "might be Judaism," but it was not Christianity.[272] Calvin called this work a "Farrago," but, being occupied at the time with his Commentary on Genesis, was loath (no doubt for many reasons) to enter the debate. His colleague, however, Beza took up the cudgels in his defense. He followed Calvin in his use of Old Testament passages on idolatry and blasphemy, relics of a less tolerant age, inapplicable to modern life. The keynote of his work was Deut: 13:7 ff.:

> If thy brother, the son of thy mother, or thy son, or thy daughter, or the wife of thy bosom, or thy friend that is as thine own soul, entice thee secretly, saying: "Let us go and serve other gods" . . . thou shalt not consent unto him, nor hearken unto him; neither shalt thou spare, neither shalt thou conceal him; but thou shalt surely kill him; thy hand shall be first upon him to put him to death, and afterwards the hand of all the people.

Beza bases his apology further on the statement that Calvin and his party had adhered to the Mosaic Laws, and had imitated the example of Kings Asa and Josiah in their actions against blasphemers and false prophets. He attempted also to answer a work written soon after Calvin's *Defensio*, perhaps by Sebastian Castellio (Willis, p. 523) under the title: *Contra libellum Calvini quo ostendere conetur haereticos iure gladii coercendoes esse* (1554, reprinted 1602), known also as "A Dialogue between Calvin and Vaticanus."[273]

One of the most pungent attacks on Calvin for the execution of Servetus was issued by Minus Celsus of Sienna, a fugitive from Popery in Switzerland.[274] He expresses grief that even among

[272] *De Haereticis* an sint persequendi et omnio quomodo sit cum eis agendum, doctorum virorum, tum veterum tum recentiorum, sententiae," etc. The opinions of the learned, both of ancient and modern times, concerning heretics: Are they to be persecuted; or how otherwise are they to be dealt with? A book most necessary and useful in these distracted times to sovereign princes and magistrates in dealing with a matter of such difficulty and danger." Magdeburg, 1554.

[273] Castellio had previously contributed to the work edited by Martin Bellius or Martin Borrhause, of Stuttgart (1494-1564) who was Professor of Hebrew at the University of Basel, and was known under the name of Cellarius. Castellio contributed to his little work, which included also testimonies from Conrad Pellican, Professor of Hebrew at Zurich. See Fuessli, *Sebastian Castalio, eine Lebensgeschichte zur Erlaueterung der Reformation*, Zurich, 1767.

[274] Mini Celsi Sinensis *de Haereticis* capitali supplicio efficientibus; adjuncta sunt Theod. Bezae ejusdem argumenti et And. Duditii Epistolae duae contrariae. 1584.

the Reformers, so little progress over Catholic intolerance had been made:

> They held together as one, indeed in the hate of the Pope, calling him Antichrist, and looking on the Mass as idolatry, but they differed on innumerable points among themselves, and not only persecuted but went the length of putting each other to death, and this in no such primitive way as by stoning, in old Hebrew fashion, but by roasting the living man with a slow fire, punishment more horrible than Scythian or Cannibal ever contrived.[275]

Calvin did not live to see this work, wherein his imitation of so-called "Jewish" heretic-hunting was condemned; nor did he witness the appearance of Hunnius' *Calvinus Judaizans*, wherein he was accused of the very crime for which he had burned Servetus at the stake. Thus the anti-Trinitarian, who in return for similar charges against himself, had mocked his enemy for "Judaic inclinations," being a "true Jew," arguing "as do the Jews," found poetic justice awarded to him, and the cycle at last was complete.

d. CONCLUSION

In this welter of accusation and counter-accusation on the score of Judaizing, what shall be our final judgment concerning the two Reformers? When Servetus accuses Calvin of "Judaizing" he bases his charge upon the ritualistic and legalistic features borrowed from the Mosaic Law by his opponent. Servetus had a marked distaste for the rigor of the Jewish ritual law, particularly in its insistence upon the observance of the Sabbath which the Church had taken over and transferred to Sunday; the ceremonial system awakened hostility within him; the institutions and cult-elements in Catholicism and Protestantism, based upon Jewish models, moved him to protest. Hence he cannot be classified among the Passagii, the Puritans, the Levellers, or any group which elevated literal observance of Deuteronomic precepts into the foremost position in its theological system. But shall we on this account accept the view that this anti-Judaizing attitude in the realm of ritual nullifies other "Judaic" features in the works and activity of the anti-Trinitarian?

This is by no means necessary. For the Jewish influence upon Servetus lies in the sphere of doctrine and literature. The Span-

[275] Cf. Mosheim, *Ketzergeschichte*, p. 301.

iard assailed orthodox Christian concepts of the Trinity, not only because of his pioneer rationalistic tendencies, but also because of the views he had imbibed from Jewish theologians through a perusal of their commentaries and religious writings. Not merely Biblical Hebrew, but post-Biblical literature, even contemporary Rabbinical works, profoundly touched and guided the thought of the Spanish Reformer. Finally, Jewish influence contributed to Servetus' radical theology, through the medium of various individuals, either Marranos or bona-fide Jews, whose names have not come down to us, but the imprint of whose views is clearly discernible in his life. Thus the career of Servetus presents in concentrated and summarized form the various means by which Jewish influence stimulated the rise and progress of Christian Reform movements.

How these identical currents aided significantly the spread of Servetus' doctrines to Italy, Hungary, England and other lands; how the processes, which in Servetus attain a clarity unrivalled perhaps in the life of any outstanding figure in the period of the Reformation, continued to operate in the Unitarian, the Socinian and kindred radical movements in Christendom, will concern us on a later occasion.

BOOK IV

BRIEFER STUDIES

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I. THE JEWISH ROLE IN THE ICONOCLASTIC CONTROVERSY[1]

The role of Jews and Judaism in the Iconoclastic Controversy deserves a brief consideration in our study. The early Christians had vigorously opposed image-worship; in the words of Gibbon,[2] they "were possessed with an unconquerable repugnance to the use and abuse of images; and this aversion may be ascribed to their descent from the Jews, and their enmity to the Greeks. The Mosaic Law had severely proscribed all representations of the Deity; and that precept was firmly established in the principles and practice of the chosen people." One of the first notices of the use of images is in the censure of the Council of Elvira during the fourth century: "pictures ought not to be in a church, lest that which is worshipped and adored be painted on walls."[3] Despite various prohibitions, however, the use of the fine arts in the service of the Church continued, and by the eighth century, the worship of the saints and of images had become so characteristic of the Eastern Church that "Christian apologists had great difficulty to maintain their ground against the charge of idolatry constantly raised against them, not only by Jews, but also by the followers of Islam, who could point to their rapid successes in support of their abhorrence of every species of idolatry."[4]

[1] I am indebted to Mr. Richard B. Morris for aid in gathering and organizing this material under my direction.

[2] *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, London, 1896-1900, iii, 444.

[3] Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, i, 170.

[4] Schaff, P., *History of the Christian Church*, iv, 455. Though with the rise of idolatry in the Greek Church, Jewish hostility based upon the Mosaic Law was continuous, it was Mohammedan opposition based on the Koran and backed by military force which was more productive in results. In their rapid conquest during ten years of Syria, Palestine and Egypt, the Arabs removed all images they found. Gibbon (iii, 448) remarks: "Yezid, ninth Caliph of the race of the Ommiadae, caused all the images in Syria to be destroyed about the

It was not until the rise of the Emperor Leo III, called the Isaurian (716-741), that opposition to image-worship broke out within the Church itself. This opposition was inaugurated in 726 by an address wherein Leo publicly spoke "in favor of overthrowing the holy and venerable images."[5] There is evidence that Leo was not friendly to the Jews, for in the sixth year of his reign, he ordered that they, together with the Montanists be forcibly baptized. In the early years of his life, however, he appears to have come under Jewish influence. Before he mounted the throne, he had been Captain-General of the Anatolian "theme," and had come in contact with the anti-idolatrous sects, such as Jews, Montanists, Paulicians and Manicheans of Asia Minor. It is said that Leo, as an itinerant peddler, had met some Jewish fortune-tellers who predicted that he would conquer the Roman Empire if he abolished idolatry.[6] When Leo undertook his crusade against image-worship, he announced that he felt himself called "as a second Josiah" to use his authority for the destruction of idolatry; his followers encouraged him in his efforts "and urged for his imitation the example of the Jewish king who had broken without scruple the brazen serpent in the Temple."

It was natural, therefore, that the Iconoclasts should be nicknamed "Jews" because the anti-idolatrous principles of Judaism were in consonance with their own attitude. The remark of a contemporary wise man was frequently cited: "You have often heard that the Hebrews and Samaritans condemn images; hence all those who condemn them are Jews."[7] This epithet seemed further justified by the action of Constantine V, the son of Leo, who undertook a campaign of vigorous persecution of image-worshippers. At the Iconoclastic Council in Constantinople, (754), a decree was passed which sought with comprehensive thoroughness to eradicate any idolatrous practices or tendencies in the Empire; in support of this canon, the testimony of the Second Commandment and other Old Testament passages was quoted, by the side of citations from the Gospels and the Fathers.

year 719; hence the orthodox reproached the sectarians with following the example of the Saracens and the Jews."

[5] Theophanes, "Chronographia" in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 108:816; see also Conybeare, F. C., "Iconoclasts" in *Encyc. Britannica*, xiv, 272.

[6] Glycas, *Annales*, i, 280; Gibbon, *op. cit.*, v, 185; Krauss, S., "Byzantine Empire" in *JE*, iii, 453.

[7] Mansi, *Concilia*, xiii, 167.

It is significant that during the entire period of the Controversy, advocates of both parties sought support for their position in the Old Testament. Thus Irene, wife of Leo IV, summoned a Council at Nicaea in 787, and nullified the decrees of the Iconoclastic Synod on the ground that Scriptural passages such as Exod. 25:17-22; Ezek. 41:1, 15, 19 and others sanctioned image-worship. During the five reigns which succeeded that of Irene, a period of thirty-eight years, the Controversy continued with varying fortunes. The soldiers for the most part were iconoclastic; the monks and the people in favor of image-worship. It is said that the reading of Isaiah 40:18 at Christmas 814 so affected Emperor Leo V that he turned iconoclast. Emperor Michael II (820-829), successor and comrade-in-arms of Leo V, during whose reign a strong pro-iconoclastic sentiment prevailed, stood in close relationship with Jews and Judaism. In his youth, it appears that Michael was a member of a certain sect of Greeks, associated with the Jews of Amorion, a city in Upper Phrygia. This sect lived according to the Mosaic Law in all things, except circumcision; in spiritual, as well as temporal things, it doubtless had as leader a man or woman who must have been born a Hebrew. Michael thus in his youth had been ruled by Jews before he in turn ruled them.[8] The influence of the Judaizing group, which, like the contemporary "Attinganes"[9] and the later Passagii, included in its membership Gentiles who inclined to Judaic beliefs and practices, helped to mould the opinions of the young Phrygian, and later shaped his attitude during the conflict between the pro-and anti-imagist groups; it is not surprising that in view of "Judaic" interest in the Second Commandment, he supported the latter party. In 842, however, through the activity of Irene, wife of Theophilus, the decree of 787 restoring images was re-enacted, and the iconoclastic warfare came to an end with the triumph of the image-worshippers. In Western Christendom the Catharists transmitted to Europe the old iconoclastic spirit, and helped influence the views of Wycliffe, Huss and other anti-imagists. In our study of the growth of iconoclasm in the Western Church, we have found as well traces of the Judaic influence emanating from a study of the Old Testament and from the activities, both of Judaizing Christian groups and

[8] *Additions to Theophanes*, in Migne, cix, 56.

[9] Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, v, 1482.

of Jews themselves. While it may be said that the Jewish Scriptures offered evidence for the imagist position as well as for its opposite, nevertheless it may be affirmed that in view of the Hebraic commandment against the making of graven images, the iconoclastic party was more truly in conformity with Jewish opinion, and hence in a sense rightly deserved the epithet of "Judaizers."

II. MARTIN LUTHER'S DEBT TO JEWS AND JUDAISM

Martin Luther, founder and leader of the German Reformation, deserves mention in this study of Jewish Influence in Christianity because of his debt both to the Jewish people and to its literature.[1] It has been observed that the Protestant Reformation has many times been characterized as a Judaic movement. Guedemann in his work on "The Jewish Element in the Christianity of the Age of the Reformation" speaks of the Jewish "Kolorit" or tinge in early Protestantism.[2] Both in ideas and through its most important representatives, the Reformation had Judaic inclinations. The zeal of Christian scholars for the study and use of the Hebrew language, the tendency to revolt from the complex system of Catholic theology to the seeming simplicity of Jewish dogmas, the effort to recover for the Bible its former centrality in Christian life, were a few of many indications of a Judaizing motif in the Reformation.

1. The Accusation of "Judaizing" By the Papists

Naturally the opponents of the Reformation made most use of the accusation of Judaizing. The Humanists, who by the side of Greek, placed the study of Hebrew were soon branded as Judeophile. Johann Reuchlin pursued his Hebrew studies under the stigma of being a "Judaizer."[3] Melanchthon, the noted cofounder of the Reformation, the "praeceptor Germaniae" was attacked by Carlstadt on the ground that he continually Judaized and wished to deduce everything from Moses.[4] Michael Servetus, as we have seen, the pioneer of the Unitarian movement, was

[1] For a bibliography on Luther and the Jews, see Lewin, R., *Luther's Stellung zu den Juden*, Neue Studien zur Geschichte der und der Kirche, No. X., Berlin, 1911, in the Preface, pp. ix-x, and the Bibliography, pp. xi-xvi.

[2] Guedemann, *Juedisches im Christentum des Reformationszeitalter*, Vienna, 1870, p. 2. See Graetz, *The Influence of Judaism on the Protestant Reformation*, Cincinnati, 1867.

[3] Geiger, L., *Johann Reuchlin*, Leipzig, 1871, p. 15.

[4] Bretschneider, *Corp. Reformator.*, ii, 31. Guedemann, *op, cit.*, note 15.

finally burned by Calvin as a heretic and "Judaizer" though Calvin himself was later accused of the same crime.[5]

The Papist enemies of Luther lost no opportunity to brand him as a "Jew" and a "Jewish-patron." His doctrines, especially with reference to his polemics against idolatrous images and the worship of relics, won for him the title of "Semi-Judaeus" or "Half-Jew." He is included by an ecclesiastical apologist in an "Elenchus" of heresies among the "Iconomachi," or opponents of Cross-Worship who are comparable in the eyes of the Church to the Jews.[6] A sect of Luthero-Papists which sought to bridge the gap between the orthodox and heterodox groups of the day succeeded merely in winning for itself a reputation of attachment to the "Judaic cult."[7] Luther is also made responsible for the growth and spread of definitely Judaizing sectaries: the Church pointed to the Jewish sympathies and doctrines of the Anabaptists as a result of Lutheran principles; when the Sabbatarian movement of Moravia became known in Germany, the Papists sought to make capital for themselves by impugning the integrity of Luther's Christianity, which, they said, permitted a believer to practice circumcision, observe the Mosaic Law, and in every other way Judaize.[8] In a sense, Luther's attitude, at least in the early years of his pro-Jewish views, gave justification to these charges. We find him on one instance saying of the Jews:

> They are blood-relations of our Lord; therefore, if it were proper to boast of flesh and blood, the Jews belong to Christ more than we. I beg, therefore, my dear Papists, if you become tired of abusing me as a heretic, that you begin to revile me as a Jew.[9]

[5] See researches of Guttmann, Tollin, and others; *v. s.* Pool, D. de Sola, "The Influence of Some Jewish Apostates on the Reformation" in *Jewish Review*, London, 1911-1912, ii, 328 ff.

[6] Du Preau, Gabriel, *De Vitis, sectis et dogmatibus omnium haereticorum . . Elenchus alphabeticus*, 1581, p. 225. "Lutherus ipse festum Crucis, tanquam semi-judaeus anathemate damnaverit." On the accusation against Luther as a Jewish-patron, see Lewin, *op. cit.*, p. 17; Luther, *Werke*, Weimar, 1883, ii, 662.

[7] *Elenchus*, p. 295 b. "Lutheropapistae: Unde vere Semicatholici appellantur quod ista professio ad salutem non plusipsis profuerit quam Judaeis unum eundemque Deum colentibus, veri Dei cognitio atque cultus Judaicus."

[8] Wicel, Georg, *Euangelion Martini Lutere . .* Leipzig, 1533 D.

[9] *Polemische Deutsche Schriften*, Erlangen, 1841, iii, 46.

2. Luther's Use of the "Judaizing" Accusation

On the other hand, it is Luther himself who hurls the charge of Judaizing against his adversaries. When Johann Boeschenstein who had held the chair of Hebrew at Wittenberg for a short time, left the University as a consequence of a disagreement with Luther, the latter wrote to his friend, Johann Lang, describing Boeschenstein as a Christian in name, but in true fact, a Jew of the Jews.[10] This may be an example of Marranism, or reversion by Jewish converts in Christianity to their former faith—a phenomenon with which Luther to his disgust was confronted on several occasions—for despite the formerly prevalent opinion that Boeschenstein was a native Christian of an ancient family, the investigations of Perles seem to indicate that he was an apostate who cleverly played the Christian among Christians, and the Jew among Jews.[11]

A clearer instance of Luther's use of the term: "Judaizers" is found in his attack upon the Christian Hebraists. Sebastian Muenster, a pupil of the Jewish grammarian Elias Levita, had issued in 1534 a Latin translation of the Bible, based directly on the Hebrew text, and embellished with innumerable glossses from Rabbinical commentators. Muenster criticised Luther's translation for its neglect and denial of Jewish interpretations. Luther in great wrath, replied that Muenster was an out and out Judaizer, who followed the Rabbis too closely, whereby he "rabbinised"; even though Muenster was hostile to the Jews, nevertheless he would ruin the New Testament by his abominable "Judaisms."[12] In 1542, when Luther issued his first book against the Jews: *Concerning the Jews and Their Lies*, he says in conversation: "Oh the Hebraists—I say this also of our own—judaize (judenzen) greatly; hence in this book which I have written against the Jews, I have had them also in mind."[13] On another occasion he addressed a plea to one of the school of "Younger Hebraists," Bernard Ziegler, the Leipzig Professor of

[10] De Wette, *Briefe, Sendschreiben und Bedenken*, Berlin, 1827, i, 254: "ille noster Boeschenstein, nomine Christianus, re vera Judaissimus, ad nostrae Universitatis ignominiam recessit."

[11] Perles, J., *Beitraege zur Geschichte der hebraeischen und aramaeischen Sprachen*, Munich, 1884, *passim.*

[12] Lewin, p. 60.

[13] Kroker, Martin Luther, *Tischreden in der Matheischen Sammlung*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 588.

Hebrew, begging him to avoid the pitfalls of Rabbinical interpretations into which Sanctes Pagninus (the translator of the Old Testament into Latin at Lyons, 1528), and Muenster had fallen.

3. Luther's Endeavour to Convert the Jews

To understand Luther's bitterness against everything Jewish, it is necessary to review his motives during the different period of his career. A dominant aim of his life was to convert the Jews. During the first stage of his Jewish attitude, up to 1521, he drew his knowledge of the Jews from their literature, and regarded the Jewish problem as one to which he could bring no practical suggestions; from 1521 to 1523, as a result of a visit by two Jews at his interview in Worms, he cherished the idea of converting the Jewish people *en masse* to Christianity; his work: *That Jesus Christ Was a Born Jew*, written in 1523, was an endeavour to accomplish this end, not by what he called the cruel and blunt methods of the Papists, but by kindness and argument. From 1523 to 1536, it became gradually clearer to Luther that his dream of wholesale conversion was doomed to failure; to his horror, he learned that, far from accepting Christianity, Jews were making proselytes to their own faith, particularly through the activity of the Sabbatarian movement in Moravia.[14] Henceforth Luther became a bitter foe of the Jews and things Jewish; his writings, two of which: *Concerning the Jews and Their Lies*, and *Concerning the Ineffable Name*, in 1543, were directed especially against the stiff-necked people, were dictated by the anger of a thwarted ambition.

In this respect, Luther resembled two other religious reformers, who encountered the same obstinacy in the Jews. Paul, whose predictions of the ultimate conversion of Israel as the climax of Christian triumphs, had acted as a spur to Luther's missionary zeal, was also in his early days, philo-Semitic; in his latter days of disillusionment, he became a vehement opponent of the Jews. He first called himself a "Hebrew of the Hebrews," recognizing his indebtedness to Jewish beliefs and practices; later, however, when the Jewish people refused to follow him into his new faith, he repudiated them and denied his obligations to their teachings. Luther in like manner, followed the tactics of Mohammed. In the early days of his movement, Mohammed gratefully acknowl-

[14] See Luther's *Brief wider die Sabbater.*

edged the influence of Jewish literature and life upon Islam; but when the "People of the Book" refused to acclaim "Allah as God and Mohammed as his Prophet," the latter became infuriated, and put to the sword those who would not convert. Luther sought to rouse against the Jews several German princes that they might be expelled from German dominions. "I cannot convert the Jews (he could only pray for them or curse them), even as the Lord Christ could not do; but I can stop up their mouth so that they must lie down."[15]

4. Luther and the Judaizing Sabbatarians

For these reasons, Luther strongly assailled any movement wherein their influence appeared. The Anabaptists, the Sacramentarians, and the Sabbatarians in particular, felt the full weight of his wrath. The activities of the Judaizers in Moravia were a thorn in Luther's side; his *Letter Against the Sabbatarians* was an attempt to refute their arguments and to discredit them in the eyes of all his followers. Henceforth without cease, Luther busied himself against the "menace" of Jewish proselytism, and repeatedly warned Christians lest Judaism should triumph over Christianity, even as Marr, a nineteenth-century Anti-Semite, professed to show his fellow-countrymen the means by which Germanism could conquer Judaism.[16]

In a sense, the Sabbatarians were a part of the Judaizing strain in the Reformation, stimulated and encouraged by the insistence upon Old Testament values on the part of leading Reformers. The famous remark that Lutheranism led to Calvinism, Calvinism to Unitarianism, Unitarianism to Sabbatarianism and Sabbatarianism to Judaism was typical of the belief that a Judaizing current had been set under way by the Reformation which led eventually into Judaism. Yet the Moravian Judaizers, as we have seen, were only one manifestation of a phenomenon apparent in every epoch of Christian history, especially in periods of religious upheaval. Luther's movement, even as Paul's and Mohammed's, began with a return to Jewish values, but in each case, the new faith rapidly diverged from its first principles and became entirely independent. In each instance, too, the na-

[15] Buchwald, G., *Stadtschreiber M. Stephen Roth in Zwickau*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 628.

[16] *Der Weg zum Siege des Germanentums ueber das Judentum*, Berlin, 1886.

tional element triumphed: Paul's movement became Roman, Mohammed's Arabic-Semitic, Luther's Germano-Teutonic; Judaism remained undeviatingly Jewish.

5. Jewish Literary Influence on Luther

Luther was indebted to Jews and Judaism through two agencies, which in some respects coincide, namely, his personal relations with individual Jews, and his knowledge of Jewish literature. He owed much to the influence of Jewish writings, a fact which can best be noted in his activities as Hebraist. He shared in the Hebraic Revival, initiated by the Humanists, but made possible largely through the contributions of Jewish teachers of Hebrew.[17] Michael Servetus, as we have remarked, doubtless learned Hebrew from Spanish Marranos, and gained as a result great admiration for Jewish controversialists and commentators.[18] In Italy, the brilliant Pico de Mirandola learned Hebrew from Elias del Medigo; Reuchlin studied under Obadiah Sforno, the famous Jewish exegete, and under Jacob ben Jechiel Loans, the Jewish physician to Emperor Frederick III; Elias Levita, the grammarian, taught Johann Eck, Luther's foremost opponent, Sebastian Muenster, Cardinal Egidio of Viterbo, the General of the Augustinians, and George de Salve, Bishop of Lavour. Numerous converted Jews assisted in the Hebraic renaissance.[19] Peter Martyr, later Professor of Hebrew in Zurich, gained his knowledge from Italian Jews; Abraham de Balmes publicly taught Hebrew to Italian Christians. To all of these, Luther in a sense is indebted, for they made possible the Hebrew knowledge which through Christian Hebraist, Luther employed in his translation of the Bible into German.

a. Luther's interest in Hebrew, the Kabbalah and the Rabbis

For Luther himself knew relatively little Hebrew. The Chronicle of Johan Oldecop reports that Luther began his studies in Reuchlin's grammar, based almost entirely upon David Kimchi's

[17] Geiger, L., *Das Studium der hebraeischen Sprache in Deutschland vom Ende des 15 ten bis zur Mitte des 16ten Jahrhunderts*, Breslau, 1870.

[18] Guttmann, J., "Michael Servet in seinen Beziehungen zum Judentum," *Monatsschrift*, li, 1907, pp. 77-94; *v. s.*

[19] Pool, *op. cit.*, p. 339 ff., on Matthew Adrian, John Emmanuel Tremellius, Joannes Isaac Levita Germanus and his son Stephen.

Sepher Mikhlol; in 1519 he sent a grammar of Moses Kimchi to Johann Lang, and later studied Hebrew with his friend and counsellor, Melanchthon. Luther never mastered Hebrew, having a deep-seated distaste for Hebrew grammar, which, he asserted, was a concoction of the Rabbis, studiously to be avoided; not a knowledge of grammar, but of "holy things" is necessary, he says, to translate the Hebrew Scriptures.[20]

Luther interested himself for a time in the Kabbalah, perhaps under the stimulus of Reuchlin's works, but found no great attraction therein. It served him for the most part with material for his later attacks upon Rabbinical literature, though on one occasion he says that if he be permitted to submit to the Kabbalistic method, he would say that the Tetragram was a symbol of the Holy Trinity, a statement which he deduced from the meanings and the sum of the numbers of the letters.[21] But unlike Pico de Mirandola, instructed by Jochanan Aleman, or Reuchlin, instructed by Antonius Margaritha, Luther was repelled by the Kabbalah, and turned to sterner stuff.

He found this in the Rabbinical commentaries which, with the assistance of his Hebrew professors at Wittenberg, he employed for the explanation of the doubtful "Christological" passages of the Bible. Luther's attitude towards Hebrew may be seen from the following remarks:

> How I hate people who lug in so many languages as Zwingli does; he spoke Greek and Hebrew in the pulpit at Marburg.[22]

Again he says:

> The Hebrew tongue is altogether despised because of impiety or perhaps because people despair of learning it. Without this language there can be no understanding of the Scriptures, for the New Testament, although written in Greek, is full of Hebraisms; it is rightly said that the Hebrews drink from the fountains; the Greeks from the streams, and the Latins from the pools. I am no Hebrew grammarian, nor do I wish to be; for I cannot bear to be hampered by rules, but I am quite at ease in the

[20] Wrampelmeyer, H., *Tagebuch ueber Dr. Martin Luther gefuehrt von Dr. Conrad Cordatus, 1537*, Halle, 1885, p. 1618; Grundt, Fr., *Luthers Urtheile ueber seine hebraeischen Kenntnisse*, in "Jahresbericht der Lausitzer Prediger Gesellschaft zu Leipzig," 1886, pp. 13-18; Lewin, *op. cit.*, "Luthers Verhaeltnis zur juedischen Schriftauslegung," pp. 51-61, p. 10 ff., *passim.*

[21] Lewin, p. 6.

[22] Smith, P., "Conversations with Luther" in *Table Talks*, 1915, p. 249.

language; for whoever has the gift of tongues, even though he cannot forthwith turn anything into another language or interpret it, has a wonderful gift of God. The translators of the Septuagint were unskilled in Hebrew; and their version is extremely poor, even though literal. We prefer to it the version of Jerome, though we confess that he who reviles Jerome as a good Jew, was mistaken and did him wrong; but he had this excuse that after the Babylonian Captivity, the language was so corrupted that it cannot be restored.[23]

For the Hebrew text from which he made the translation of the Bible he used the Masoretic text published by the Jew, Gershon ben Mosheh at Brescia, in 1494.[24]

Luther was able to command the commentaries of the great Rabbis of the Middle Ages, mainly through his use of the *Postilla* of Nicholas of Lyra (c. 1340). By some it is asserted, as we have remarked, that Lyra was a baptized Jew; it seems plausible, however, that he was a Christian who interested himself in Jewish learning, and thus won for himself the stigma of Judaizer or Jew. His explanations of the Scriptures are based almost entirely, as we have noted, upon the work of the great Rashi of Troyes.[25] Thus through an intermediary Jewish interpretations entered Christian exegesis. Luther prized Lyra's suggestions highly, though at first he said: "Lyra I despised, though afterwards I came to see that he was invaluable for history." The significance of Rashi's role not only in the Lutheran Bible translation, but in the Reformer's Commentary on Genesis, can be seen from the fact that Catholic Christendom applied to Luther and Lyra the famous couplet (which it had used in many connections before):

"Si Lyra non lyrasset,
Luther non saltasset."

Luther sought to steep himself in the Rabbinical commentaries, yet his opinion of them was a mixture of contradictions. For the most part, he professed to take the very opposite of Rabbinical suggestions; only rarely does "his Rabbi Solomon" (Rashi) please him; he heaps adjectives of villification upon the sayings of the Rabbis, calling them "dreams, fables, vagaries, absurdities, sophistries, vanities, gossip" and so forth. He accuses Jews of

[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 181-2.

[24] Hentz, J. P., *History of the Lutheran Version of the Bible*, 1910.

[25] Siegfried, C., *op. cit.; v. s.*

being responsible for the errors in Jerome; he mocks as Judaistic any insistence upon the rules of grammar in the interpretation of debatable texts. Luther borrowed much from the Rabbis for which he was unwilling to give them credit; yet it must be borne in mind that he, like Calvin, was an eclectic, choosing only those interpretations, especially of Messianic passages, which he believed substantiated his own views. Hence he accused the Jewish critics of his Bible translation of being under the spell of Rabbinic rationalism and literalism, and of desiring for a second time to obscure the text.[26]

b. LUTHER AND CONTEMPORARY JEWISH CONVERTS

Nevertheless, Luther could not escape from an obligation to Jewish writings and to contemporary Jews. The several apostates from Judaism to Lutheranism were in large measure responsible for many of the Reformer's unfavorable opinions concerning Judaism. Though Luther disliked the practice, he was forced both in his period of philo- and anti-Jewish feeling to borrow suggestions from Jews and Jewish sources. Thus, during the first stage of his opinions, he sought the advice of Jewish students and Rabbis on numerous occasions; Jews paid visits at his home to discuss with him difficult passages of the Bible, and oftentimes, especially for the revision of his translation, Luther called in learned Jews to his aid.[27] On one occasion, three Jews, Shmaryah, Shlomoh and Leo by name, visited him in Wittenberg, and expressed their joy that Christians were now busying themselves with Hebraic lore; they mentioned the hope cherished by many Jews as a result of the Reformation that the Christians would enter Judaism *en bloc*. Luther naturally expressed exactly the opposite wish.[28]

The apostate Jews whom Luther knew influenced him in many directions. The role of Jewish converts in the appearance and spread of the doctrines of the Reformation has been pointed out on several occasions. During the Middle Ages, Nicholas Donin, Paul Christian, Abner-Alphonso of Burgos, John of Valladolid,

[26] Lewin, pp. 57 ff.

[27] Mathesius, J., *Luthers Leben in Predigten*, Prague, 1898; (Bibliothek deutscher Schriftsteller aus Boehmen), ix, 315 ff.

[28] Kroker, *Tischreden*, pp. 169, 723; Luther, *Saemmtliche Werke*, Erlangen, xxii, 156.

Solomon ha-Levi, alias Paul de Santa Maria, Joshua ha-Lorki, alias Geronimo de Santa Fé and numerous other converts had entered Christianity and brought considerable discomfiture to their former brethren. During the period of the Reformation, the number of converts was relatively small, but by no means inconsequential in the light of their influence on Christian thought. Pfefferkorn, who stirred up the controversy known as "The Battle of the Books"[29] inaugurated a discussion which grew far beyond its original proportions as a conflict between Reuchlin and the Papists over the burning of the Rabbinical writings, and became a debate in which the leading thinkers and rulers of Europe took part. Luther himself supported Reuchlin in an endeavour to enroll himself with the Liberalists against the Obscurantists.[30] It was thus a Jewish issue which helped ignite the fires of the Reformation; a conflict over a Jewish question created the milieu in which Luther's movement emerged and developed, just as the Judaizing heresies of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were in part stimulated by the debate over the Talmud. Victor von Carben, Emmanuel Tremellius, who published a Latin version of the Hebrew Bible more truly representative of the original text than the Vulgate, Jochanan Isaac, the author of two Hebrew grammars, and his son Stephen, who after being a Catholic, turned Protestant and wrote polemics against Catholicism, were a few of the pseudo-Jews who helped direct the current of religious thought towards Jewish and Lutheran reform. These men who had been trained to recognize not the Vulgate, but the Hebrew text as authoritative, were helpful in breaking down the domination of the Latin version of Jerome; the foundations were laid for Luther's labors, and for the triumph later of an even more correct version than Luther's Bible, until in modern times the supreme authority of the Hebrew text itself has been vindicated.

Luther stood, however, in more immediate relationships with these Jewish converts. Matthew Adrian, a Spanish Jew who had accepted Christianity in early life, the teacher of Conrad Pellican, the grammarian, of Fabritius Capito, a friend of Erasmus at Liége, with whom he broke because of his disparaging remarks on

[29] Hirsch, S. A., "Johann Pfefferkorn and the Battle of the Books" in *A Book of Essays*, London, 1905, pp. 73-115; Schuster, *Die Reformation und der Talmud*, Dresden, 1903.

[30] Luther, *Briefwechsel*, Bearbeitet von E. L. Enders, Leipzig, 1884, i, 14 ff.

Jerome's Vulgate, taught Hebrew at Luther's University in Wittenberg for the period of a year. But in 1521 he disagreed with Luther, perhaps because of an outcropping of his "Jewish" opinions; he left Wittenberg, stigmatized by Melanchthon as a "pseudo-Christian, or rather Jew."[31] Shortly before this, Luther had had a similar experience with Johann Boeschenstein. More to his taste was the convert Bernhard, called prior to his baptism Rabbi Jacob Gipher, to whom Luther sent a copy of his work: *That Jesus was a Born Jew*, in order to strengthen him in his faith. But Bernhard who taught Hebrew alternately with menial service to Melanchthon, was an unfortunate fellow, who exercised no influence on Luther's thought, though he may have furnished him with much material for his later denunciations of the Jews. To Antonius Margaritha, however, the son of a Rabbi at Regensburg (Ratisbon), the first Professor of Hebrew at Vienna, Luther was definitely obligated. Margaritha, after the fashion of the convert, had written at Augsburg in 1530 a work entitled: *The Entire Jewish Faith*, in which Luther found so great solace that he had it read to him for a time regularly at his table; he compared the several rites and ceremonies therein described with the idolatrous worship of the Papists. When Luther wrote his two anti-Jewish works, he turned to Margaritha's book as a source for the substantiation of his exegesis and his accusations. In the work of another Jewish apostate, namely the dialogue against the *Perfidy of the Jews* of Paul of Burgos (1350-1435), he found additoinal material for his thesis. Luther's method of attack was soon imitated by others; shortly after the appearance of: *That Jesus was a Born Jew*, a translation of the Epistle of Rabbi Samuel of Morocco, supposed to have been written about 1100 was issued at Zwickau by the Altenburg preacher, Wenceslaus Linck.[32] The spirit of Luther's polemics has continued throughout the centuries, and still motivates some Jewish converts to assist him in his propaganda among the Jews: thus in Odessa there appeared in 1879 a translation into the Hebrew of Luther's Small Catechism, stamped with the approval of the St. Petersburg Evangelical-Lutheran Consistory; in in its foreword, it calls upon the *Bene Yisrael* to read the work, and if found convincing, to follow it into the Lutheran belief in

[31] Geiger, *Das Studium der hebraeischen Sprache*, pp. 41-48; Pool, *passim.*

[32] On this polemic, *v. s.*

Christ.[33] A precedent for an appeal in Hebrew to heed Luther's teachings had been established in 1533 when Urban Regius directed a Hebrew epistle to the Jews of Braunschweig, discussing several portions of Luther's work, and calling upon them to accept Christianity. From the numerous citations he makes of their works, it is evident that Luther owed many suggestions at Jewish apostates. It is but one of the several contradictions and inconsistencies of Luther's life that he who was himself accused of Judaizing should so accuse others; that he who repudiated Jewish influence in one direction, should so gladly accept it in another.

6. Luther's Influence Upon the Jews

What, we may now ask, was Luther's influence in turn upon Jews? In the first place, even as he read but did not follow Jewish writings, much more did the Jews read and still less did they follow his works. The Jews of the Reformation era took great interest in Protestant literature; Luther's works were distributed and bought even in Jerusalem.[34] His anti-Jewish treatises aroused great hostility among the Jews, who formerly had looked upon the Reformation as the first indication of the advent of the Messianic age; they did not hesitate to combat Luther's enmity with almost equal vigor. The foremost Rabbis of Germany, among them Josel of Rosheim, accepted Luther's challenge and wrote several pamphlets in rebuttal of his charges.[35] Even Christians rallied to the side of Jews, for the idea of toleration had begun to take root among progressive non-Jews of the time, among them the former monk, Eberlin of Guenzberg, who protested against the burning of heretics, and the layman, Hans Schwalb. The Nuremberg preacher, Andreas Osiander, one of the best students of Hebrew and Jewish writings of the day, wrote a letter in defence of the Jews in opposition to Luther's utterances. Early in Luther's carer, the Jews regarded the Reformation as a sign of the early advent of their Messiah; the Kabbalist, Joseph of Arli predicted that "when Luther comes into power, Germany

[33] *Der Kleine Lutherische Katechismus uebersetzt ins Hebraeische mit Hinzufuegung einiger Anmerkungen zum bessern Verstaendnis*, von G. Friedmann, Odessa, 1879.

[34] Lewin, pp. 18, 19.

[35] In addition to the replies of Rabbis, the Count Schlick sent to Luther an answer in dialogue form to his *Brief wider die Sabbater*.

will be united," a keen insight into the political results of the Reformer's work.[36] One of the remarkable testimonies to the role of Jews in the spread of religious reform movements in Europe is evident in the fact that the Marranos of Amsterdam sought to disseminate Luther's writings in Spain with a view to break the sway of the Catholicism which had brought them so much suffering.[37] Despite the spread of Luther's writings among the Jews, it left the spirit of the people untouched, and only in isolated instances did conversions to Lutheranism occur; Luther himself complained that Jews read his works only to refute them.[38]

a. LUTHER AND THE "JEWISH REFORMATION"

Nevertheless, the influence of the Lutheran movement upon later Jewish life was considerable. Though on the surface the Reformation did not spell tolerance for the Jews, the impetus given free thought, unhampered by ecclesiastical authority, was destined eventually to usher in a new era for European Jewry. The spirit of intolerance and persecution continued throughout succeeding centuries, and during the nineteenth century, took the form of a scientific "enlightened" German Anti-Semitism, which found many of its texts and sanctions in Luther's own works. Yet the large number of Protestant sects, many of them Judaic in character, encouraged the notion of religious group autonomy, the first step towards tolerance between different faiths. Moreover, the Reformation contributed to the rise of the German *Aufklaerung* which in Germany produced a Lessing's *Nathan, der Weise*, and in France gave rise to the French Revolution and Jewish political emancipation.

In addition, the Protestant Reformation served in a sense as the keynote for the so-called "Reform Movement" in Jewish life, which sought unsuccessfully to borrow the terminology of its Christian prototype. Were Luther alive, he might point to the German Jewish Reform party as the carriers of his ideas into Judaism, and he might view the movement as a Christianizing

[36] *Hebraeische Bibliographie*, Berlin, 1852, v, 45; Lewin, pp. 18, 19.

[37] Brieger, T., *Aleander und Luther*, 1521, 1 Abt. (Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Reformation), Gotha, 1884, i, 25, 80, 264; cf. Kalkoff, P., *Die Depeschen des Nuntius Aleander vom Wormser Reichstag*, 1521, Halle, 1887, p. 39 and 106, note 1.

[38] *Tischreden*, oder Colloquia, edited by K. E. Foerstemann and H. E. Bindseil, Abt. i-iv, 1844, iv, 616.

influence among Jews. Yet the Jewish Reformation arose on a Jewish group background, even as Luther's work was distinctively a German nationalist-religious movement. The chief analogy between the Jewish and Protestant Reformation lies in the fact that both Jews and Christians were forced to pass through the same experiences in order to make new intellectual, social and political adjustments. It may have been accident or a natural outgrowth that the Jewish Reform movement was inaugurated in Germany, the home of Lutheranism. The outstanding fact, however, remains that in the interplay of influence between Judaism and non-Jewish faiths, Jewish contributions to Christian Reform were continuous and profoundly significant.

III. HEBRAIC ASPECTS OF AMERICAN PURITANISM

"The Hebraic mortar cemented the foundations of American democracy." In these words Lecky and other historians have paid tribute to the influence of the Old Testament upon the Puritans of England and America. In his *Origin of the Republican Form of Government*, (New York, 1885), Oscar Straus has traced the role played by the Jewish Scriptures in the development of eighteenth century democratic institutions. But the period of seventeenth century settlements in New England, the cradle of American freedom, remains for students a relatively uncharted realm.

Hebraic influence in early New England is literary rather than personal. The few individual Jews who found their way to American shores during the seventeenth century contributed little to those forces which made Jewish literature so potent a factor in moulding the life and thought of the early commonwealths. In the history of Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Haven, Rhode Island and even New Jersey, abundant evidence is available concerning the significant contributions of what may be called: the "Jewish Tradition" during the first period of American democracy.[1]

1. The Old Testament Influence in England

In estimating the importance of the role of the Bible in New England life, its influence in seventeenth century English Puritanism must first be understood. Cromwell and Milton among many others were great lovers of the Hebrew Bible. Puritan theology in England was guided by its reliance upon the literal inspiration of the Bible.[2] The Puritans believed the Bible to be

[1] Cf. "The Jewish Tradition at the Birth of America" in *The American Hebrew*, September 30, 1921, pp. 480 ff., by Louis I. Newman and Richard B. Morris.

[2] Dow, J. G., "Hebrew and Puritan" in *JQR*, iii, 52-84; Sombart, W., *Jews and Modern Capitalism*, English translation by Epstein, London, 1913, pp. 248-251; Guedemann, *Juedisches im Christentum*, p. 16 ff.; Ellis, G. E., *The Puritan Age in Massachusetts*, Boston, 1888, chapter 4.

not only a complete but also a final communication of God to men. This view is expressed in the Westminster Confession of Faith:

> The whole Council of God concerning all things necessary for his own Glory, Man's Salvation, Faith and Life, is either expressly set down in Scripture, or by good and necessary Consequence may be deduced from Scripture. Unto which nothing at any time is to be added, whether by new Revelations of the Spirit or Traditions of Men.

Like the Waldensians and Hussites, the English Puritans likened their revolt to the Maccabean uprising in Israel; the persecution under Laud and his High Commission seemed comparable to Jewish sufferings under Antiochus; the murder of Buckingham had its counterpart in the slaying of the King's officer by Mattathias.

Puritan England also shared in the Hebraic revival which accompanied and followed the Reformation. From 1600 to 1650, the reign of James I to the Restoration, the study of Hebrew literature flourished greatly: "during no period of equal length since the Revival of Letters has the knowledge of the Hebrew language apparently been so much diffused throughout the literary world as in this."[3] Selden and Brian Walton (who in his first edition of the *Polyglot* in 1657 gave thanks to Cromwell for his help) took the lead among clergy and laity in the study of Rabbinical literature.

Frequent attempts were made to introduce the Mosaic Code as the fundamental law of the land. Some of Cromwell's officers suggested to him that he appoint seventy members of his Privy Council in accordance with the number of the ancient Jewish Sanhedrin. The "Judaic" character of the Puritan Sabbath served to intensify the alliance of Puritan and Jewish interests. In 1653, Major Thomas Harrison, the Anabaptist, publicly advocated in Parliament the adoption of Mosaic legislation. The Levellers, a sect led by Everard, an old soldier and pseudo-prophet announced their descent from the "Jewish race;" they compared the tyranny they bore to the sufferings of "our ancestors in Egypt;" they called their opponents "Amalekites," just as the Hussites had called their enemies "Philistines;"[4] they demanded the introduction of the *Torah* as the

[3] Hallam, *Literature of Europe*, iii, 444.

[4] Carlyle, T., *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, ed. Tauchnitz, ii, 133.

norm of English laws. Public life, no less than the sermons in churches became Hebraic in tone, "and if only in Parliament speeches had been in Hebrew, you might have believed yourself in Palestine."[5]

Puritan England shared also in the Messianic wave sweeping over the Orient and Europe, the activity of Sabbatai Zevi, the Pseudo-Messiah finding an echo not only among Christian scholars but among the laity as well. The Fifth Monarchy Men eagerly welcomed Rabbi Manasseh ben Israel to England[6] on his mission to gain entrance for his co-religionists who had been banned officially from Britain since the Expulsion of 1290.[7] In addition, they preached the belief that before the advent of the Monarchy of the Messiah, the Jews would be restored to the Holy Land, the Ten Tribes would be found, and the Jewish Messiah, an offspring of the house of Jesse, would appear, in accordance with the Biblical prophecies.[8] These Messianic tendencies in England were an expression of similar movements throughout all Europe.[9]

Thus in outlook on life, scholarship, social, religious and political institutions, Puritan England had many points in common with the Jews.[10] After the death of Cromwell, the Hebraism of English life declined in importance, though it never lost its attraction for large numbers of the people. We have included it in our study because it furnishes a background for American Puritanism, the Judaic elements of which were even more pronounced than in the mother country. "Born of the wrong race, Aryan, when they should have been Semitic, the Puritans

[5] Sombart, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

[6] Greenstone, J. H., *The Messiah Idea in Jewish History*, Philadelphia, 1906, pp. 206 ff.

[7] Wolf, L., *Manasseh ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell*, London, 1901, *passim.*

[8] Cf. Weransdorff, G., *Dissertatio histor. de fanaticis Silesiorum*, Wittenberg, 1733, pp. 43 ff.

[9] Gregoire, *Histoire des Sectes Religieuses*, *passim.*

[10] Heine remarks: "Are not the Protestant Scots Hebrews with their Biblical names, their Jerusalem, their Pharisaic cant? And is not their religion a Judaism which allows you to eat pork?" Sombart, comparing Judaism and Puritanism says: "In both will be found the preponderance of religious interest, the idea of divine rewards and punishments, asceticism *within* the world, the close relationship between religion and business; the arithmetical conception of sin, and above all, the rationalisation of life." These remarks must be approached with caution.

aspired to the sublimity of the old Hebrews."[11] How this aspiration developed on American soil, is our next concern.

2. The Old Testament in Early America

The Old Testament tradition manifested itself most clearly in the life of American Pilgrims and Puritans. They were indefatigable readers of the Jewish Scriptures, and drew from their spiritual sustenance, "the same ethical impulse," says Fiske, "which animates the glowing pages of Hebrew poets and prophets, and which has given to the history and literature of Israel, their commanding influence in the world." The first settlers felt a sense of complete identity with the ancient Israelites, and spoke of themselves constantly as "Christian Israel." Thus England was for them "the land of Egypt," King James I "Pharaoh," the Atlantic Ocean "The Red Sea," and America "The New Canaan," the "Promised Land." Governor William Bradford whose *History of Plymouth Plantation* has been called the "Genesis, Exodus and Joshua" of the colony, describes the Pilgrims' removal to Leyden and the joy of their enemies who slandered them "as if that state had been wearie of them, and had rather driven them out (as the heathen historians did faine of Moyses and ye Israelites when they went out of Egipte)."

Here in America "whither the Shekhinah had guided them through the Sea," they continued to identify prominent members of the colonies with ancient Hebrew characters: John Cotton became "the high priest of the theocracy;" Roger Williams a "Joshua," Ann Hutchinson a "wretched Jezebel." Their self-identity with ancient Israel is illustrated in a declaration of war against the Indians:

> It clearly appears that God calls the colonies to warr. The Narrohaiggansetts and their confederates rest on their numbers, weapons and opportunities to do mischeefe, as probably of ould, Asher, Amalek and the Philistines with others did confederate against Israell.

In nomenclature, likewise, it was not the names of Christian saints, but of Hebrew patriarchs, heroes and prophets which furnished them suggestions; the more remote the Biblical name, the greater its popularity. "Shear-Yashubh," and "Maher-

[11] Dow, p. 77. See also Sokolow, N., *History of Zionism, 1600-1918*, London, 1919, pp. 1-55.

Shalal-hash-baz" were adopted in several instances, and a story has come down to us of a Puritan who called his dog "Moreover" because a stray Biblical verse remarks: "Moreover the dog came and lapped up the water."

3. Hebrew Knowledge Among the First Settlers

A knowledge of the Bible in the Genevan version did not satisfy the people of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay; their love for the "Word of God" led them to its study in the original Hebrew. The leaders of the small band of exiled Independents in Holland were learned Hebraists. Henry Ainsworth, author of the metrical version of the Psalms in general use among the Pilgrims, was dubbed "the great Rabbi of his age" and a "Pilgrim Solomon" because of his Hebrew scholarship, gleaned from Amsterdam Jewish teachers. "A very learned man he was; we have heard some eminent in the knowledge of the tongue, of the University of Leyden, say that they thought he had not his better for the Hebrew tongue in the University, nor scarce in Europe." The Pilgrims carried this tradition of Hebrew scholarship into the New World, their "dread of an illiterate ministry" prompting them to foster Biblical studies to the utmost.

William Bradford, Governor of Plymouth, is a type of early New England Hebraists. In the manuscripts of his *History*, between the same covers which include this important document but forming no part of it, are eight pages of Hebrew roots and quotations with explanations in English; to these, by way of preface, Bradford wrote:

> Though I am growne aged, yet I have had a longing desire to see with my own eyes some thing of that most ancient language and holy tongue in which the Law and the oracles of God and angels spake to the holy patriarks of old time; and what names were given to things from the creation. And though I cannot attaine to much herein, yet I am refreshed to have seem some glimpse hereof (as Moses saw the Land of Canaan afarr off), my aime and desire is to see how the words and phrases lye in the holy texte; and to dicerne somewhat of the same for my own contente.

In addition to Bradford, William Brewster is included among Pilgrim Hebraists, together with John Cotton, the leading New England divine and foremost advocate of "Judaic" legislation; Thomas Shephard, Nathaniel Ward, compiler of the *Body of*

Liberties: John Harvard, founder of Harvard College; Michael Wigglesworth, Richard Mather, John Eliot, Apostle to the Indians, Thomas Welde, Henry Dunster, Samuel Whiting, Charles Chauncy, Increase Mather and his son, Cotton Mather, whose famous: *Magnalia Christi Americana* is filled with Hebraic and Rabbinical references.[12] In fact, Francis Baylies in his *Historical Memoirs of the Colony of New Plymouth* asserts that all the clergy among the Pilgrim Fathers were skilled critics in the Hebrew, a remark which seems, however, to be an exaggeration. Among Rhode Islanders, Roger Williams admits that during a visit to England he bartered his instruction in Dutch for instruction in Hebrew by Milton the poet; in his *Christenings Make Not Christians* (1645), Williams gives a scholarly exposition of various Hebrew and Greek terms, proving the error of applying the word: "heathen" to the American Indians.[13] In New Haven, John Davenport, himself a Hebraist and a colleague of John Cotton, was directly instrumental in introducing the study of Hebrew in the first public school of New Haven, an action which was in part inspired by a bequest in the Will of Governor Hopkins; according to the records of the Colony, the instructor was appointed June 28, 1660.[14]

4. Mosaic Influence on American Puritan Legislation; "The Law of Nature" and "The Law of God"

It is in the legislation of Puritan New England that Old Testament influences were strongest. Puritan laws summarized the social, religious and ethical life of the early communities; hence the presence of Hebraic elements indicates the far-reaching significance of "Judaic" ideas in early America. Careful critics, among them Dr. Paul Reinsch[15] have pointed out that in New England the subsidiary force of the Common Law was clearly denied. Three primary elements were included in American

[12] Pool, David de Sola, "Hebrew Learning Among the Puritans of New England Prior to 1700," *Amer. Jewish Hist. Soc. Pub.*, xx (1911), 31-83.

[13] Morris, Richard B., "The Jewish Interests of Roger Williams," *The American Hebrew*, December 9, 1921, pp. 132 ff.

[14] *New Haven Colony Records*, ii, 372; Atwater, E. E., *History of the Colony of New Haven to its Absorption into Connecticut*, Meriden, Connecticut, 1902, p. 285.

[15] "English Common Law in the Early American Colonies," *Select Essays in Anglo-American Legal History*, Cambridge, 1907. See Bibliography below.

Puritan Law: first, the Mosaic, second, the Customary, and third, the Common Law. The reasons for the introduction of the first or Mosaic element in Puritan colonial law arose out of a definite legal philosophy which had its foundations in Stoic thought, in the *Corpus Juris* and in the writings of medieval philosophers. Throughout legal history it has been argued that appeal can be made from so-called "positive law" to fixed standards of justice on the basis of reason; in other words, the "Law of Nature" is superior to "positive law." Thomas Aquinas maintained that this "Law of Nature" grew out of the absolute rule of God.[16] While such theories at best seem vague, it was the unique contribution of Puritanism not only to maintain the supremacy of the "Law of Nature," which it identified with the "Law of God," but to link up the "Law of God" with the Scriptural Word. To the Puritan, the Decalogue was the divine confirmation and interpretation of natural law.[17] In each of the Puritan colonies, the Mosaic Law was adapted to meet the requirements of a union between the "Law of God" and the "Law of Nature."

5. Pilgrim Laws and the Jewish Scriptures

In Plymouth, the laws of the Bible, codified in the Pentateuch, contributed largely to the growth of the colony's institutions. In November, 1636, before the adoption of a body of laws, the Court of Associates made a revolutionary declaration, renouncing the authority of English laws "at present or to come," and denying to Parliament the right to legislate for Plymouth. This was a forerunner of a still more striking statement. Apparently free from the jurisdiction of the British Crown, the colonists desired to establish the Old Testament as guide in matters of legislation. The extent to which the Mosaic Code influenced the Pilgrim Code of 1636 and its revision of 1656 is apparent in the foreword thereto:

[16] Berolzheimer, F., *The World's Legal Philosophies*, Translated by R. S. Jastrow in "Modern Legal Philosophy Series," ii, pp. 98-99.

[17] For a complete discussion of the philosophy underlying Puritan legalism, and the role of the "Ius Naturale" and the "Law of God," see manuscript by Richard B. Morris, *Puritan Legal Philosophy in its Application to Early American Colonial Law.*

It was the great privilege of Israell of old and soe was acknowledged by them, Nehemiah the 9th and 10th that God gave them right judgments and true Lawes. They are for the mayne so exemplary, being grounded on principles of moral equitie as that all Christians especially ought alwaies to have an eye thereunto in the framing of their politique constitutions. We can safely say both for ourselves and for them that we have had an eye principally unto the aforesaid platforme in the framing of this small body of Lawes.

That the legislators carried out this "platforme" is seen in the revised Law of Inheritance of 1685, based on the Old Testament law of primogeniture, and in the eight capital offences, all of which are declared punishable by death in accordance with Jewish practice.

An historic correspondence in 1642 between Bradford, Partridge, Reynors and Chauncy of Plymouth, with Richard Bellingham, then Governor of Massachusetts, established for the guidance of the colony the principle that "ye judicials of Moyses are immutable and perpetual;" Old Testament precedents were quoted as foundation for laws necessary to curb a wave of crime sweeping New England. Finally Bradford himself recorded, in 1642, that capital punishment was inflicted "according to ye law, Levit. 20:15." Numerous instances can be cited which show the imprint of Mosaic legalism on Plymouth codes.

6. John Cotton and Massachusetts "Mosaism"

In Massachusetts, the earliest laws were dispensed by magistrates in accordance with the principles of equity and the instruction of the "word of God." In 1636, however, after repeated declarations by the General Court that the legislation of the colony was to be codified, the Reverend John Cotton, who had been "requested by the General Court, with some other ministers, to assist some of the magistrates in compiling a body of fundamental laws, did this court present a copy of *Moses, His Judicials*, compiled in an exact method."

John Cotton, the "high-priest of the theocracy" was the most famous "Old Testamentarian" of the Puritan Commonwealth. He was typical of those English-trained scholars who introduced into Massachusetts the study of Hebrew. It is recorded of his student days at Emanuel College, the training school of many Puritan ministers, that in his "very severe examen:"

'Twas particularly remarked that the Poser trying his Hebrew skill by the third chapter of Isaiah, a chapter which, containing more hard words than any one paragraph of the Bible, might therefore have puzzled a very good Hebrician; yet he made nothing of it.

Cotton dedicated his life to championing a "theocracy as near as might be to that which was the glory of Israel, the peculiar people." In *Moses, His Judicials*, published in 1641, in England under the misleading title: *An Abstract of the Laws of New England, as They are Now Established*, (again in 1655, and on several occasions since), Cotton promulgated his Mosaic constitution, adapted to New England needs. It is a rearrangement and almost complete copy of Pentateuchal enactments; laws concerning magistrates, burgesses and free inhabitants, the protection and provision of the country, the right of inheritance, commerce, trespasses, capital crimes, lesser crimes, the trial of cases and international issues, are drawn up in exact conformance with Old Testament precedents and models; to each law, the Biblical citation is appended; those to which Scriptural passages are not attached as the source of authority, are, in the words of William Aspinwall, editor of the 1655 edition, "not properly laws, but prudential rules."

In short, this Judaic work purported to be a compilation of "all the judicial laws from God by Moses, so far as they are of moral, that is, of universal equity." In this respect, Cotton was imitating several English "Judaizing" parties, among them the Levellers, Fifth Monarchy Men and Brownists, who affirmed: "The Judicial Law of Moses binds at this day all the nations of the world, as well as it ever did the Jews."

a. THE "BODY OF LIBERTIES;" MOSAIC VERSUS COMMON LAW

Cotton's *Abstract* does not represent, as its title would seem to indicate, the actual law; it was a code proposed, but not accepted. Despite, however, the emphatic denials of several writers who seek to save Puritan legalism from the stigma of "Judaizing," the *Body of Liberties*, the official code of 1641, drawn up by Nathaniel Ward, himself a Hebraist and a careful student of Mosaic legislation, exhibits many important parallels to *Moses, His Judicials*.[18]

[18] These parallels may be briefly enumerated as follows: Cotton, chapter i, 1, i with Liberty 67; chap. iv, 6 with Lib. 81; chap. vi, 1 with Lib. 94, 3; vii,

In the past, the *Body of Liberties* has been defended as a document based on the Common Law by reason of the alleged evidence drawn from an unreliable comparative table of legislation framed by the General Court of Massachusetts in 1646 in "refutation" of the charges that English legal precedents had not been followed. A close study of the comparative table reveals that for reasons of expediency the editors did not present a comprehensive survey of the *Liberties*. Only twenty-two separate *Liberties* out of ninety-five are quoted; but twenty-three per cent of the paragraphs in the *Body of Liberties*. The editors deliberately omitted those statutes which deviated from the Common Law; no legal authorities or Acts of Parliament are cited; there are not only gross inaccuracies, but in one instance, a vital clause of a statute is omitted, apparently with the deliberate intent to create a false impression.[19] As a matter of fact, in framing the Capital Laws of the colony, the legislators betrayed their desire to gain confirmation from the Old Testament, by appending to each law Mosaic quotations. In the case of criminal statutes, of inheritance laws, laws of servitude and offenses against nature, the admonition of the Old Testament was employed and the Common Law rejected.

7. Hebraic Legislation in Connecticut

The Connecticut Code of 1650 adopted a Mosaic model of government, and copied its laws in large part from those of Massachusetts. Its fifteen Capital Laws with the same Pentateuchal references and the same phraseology are found in the Massachusetts Code of 1660. The guiding spirit in early Connecticut was Thomas Hooker, an intimate friend of John Cotton, a "Moses" and an "Israel of prayer." In a letter to Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts in 1648, he discussed the subject of liberty under the law:

3 and 94, 2; vii, 5, 7, 8 and 94, 1; vii, 16, and 94, 4; vii, 19 and 94, 7, 8; vii, 17 and 94, 9; vii, 22 and 94, 10; vii, 23 and 94, 11; vii, 11, 14 and 94, 12; ix, 2 and 29; ix, 6 and 43.

[19] For a complete exposition of this question vital to a proper understanding of American Colonial Law, see manuscript of an essay presented before the American Jewish Historical Society, in 1922, by Richard B. Morris, entitled: *The Mosaic and Common Law Elements in the "Body of Liberties."*

Sit liber judex, as the lawyers speak. Deut. 17:10-11: "Thou shalt observe to do according to all that they inform, according to the sentence of the Law. Thou shalt seek the Law at his mouth: not ask what his discretion allows, but what the Law requires."

In the same document he bases his fundamental doctrines of government on "the practice of the Jewish Church, directed by God, Deut. 17:10-11; II Chron. 19." As early as 1638 in a sermon delivered before the General Court at Hartford, Hooker expounded his democratic ideal of "the people's privilege of election," based on Deut. 1:13.

It is important to note here that while Cotton and Winthrop of Massachusetts are oftentimes justly accused of oligarchic tendencies for which their Old Testament interests are held responsible, Hooker who has by some been styled: "the founder of American democracy," looked with equal zest to the Jewish Scriptures for support of his democratic enthusiasms. Whatever illiberalism marked New England culture was independent of the Old Testament; the rigorists among the Puritans turned, already prejudiced, to the Bible, and found therein what they sought; Hooker and others of his type found by reason of their democratic instincts, similar support and confirmation in the Bible for liberal views. Thus the Jewish Bible furnished arguments for the adherents of both schools.[20]

8. New Haven; "Mosaism" at Its Height

In the colony of New Haven "Judaic" legislation reached its high-water mark. John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton, its founders, were enthusiastic Biblicists and friends of John Cotton. Davenport, as we have remarked, was partly responsible for the introduction of the study of Hebrew in the first New Haven public school. When in June, 1639, "all the free planters assembled together in a general meeting to consult about settling civil government according to God," the first question laid before them by Davenport was: "Whether the Scriptures do hold forth a perfect rule for the direction and government of all men in all duties which they are to perform to God and men, as well in the government of families and the commonwealth as in matters of church." "This was assented unto by all, no man dissenting."

[20] It must be borne in mind, however, that Connecticut, although extending the franchise to all freemen, in its early days was an oligarchic administration almost as strict as its Massachusetts prototype.

The second question: Whether the word of Scripture should guide public officials in the performance of their official duties, was answered in the same way. Therefore it was unanimously voted "that the Word of God shall be the only rule to be attended unto in ordering the affairs of government in this plantation." New Haven's declaration of legislative principles demonstrates the typical motives of early New England legislators:

> It was ordered that the judicial laws of God, as they were delivered by Moses, and as they are a fence to the moral law, being neither typical nor ceremonial, nor had any reference to Canaan, shall be accounted of moral equity, and generally bind all offenders, and be a rule of all the courts in this jurisdiction in their proceedings against offenders, till they be branched out into particular hereafter.

In the New Haven Code of Laws of 1655, forty-seven out of seventy-nine topical statutes seek authority from the Bible; that is, are based upon the Old and New Testaments; of these thirty-eight laws are exclusively Old Testament enactments; and only seven quote explicity from both Dispensations. In short, fifty per cent of the Code contains references solely from the Old Testament, nine per cent from Old and New Testaments combined, and only three per cent from the Gospels alone. This obvious preference for Old as against New Testament authority is explicable only when we realize that the Puritans regarded the Gospels as the guide of individual life; the Jewish Bible, on the other hand, was the book of instruction for the social and communal order. Hence, in framing social and governmental laws, Puritan New England turned to the Hebrew Scriptures.

9. New Jersey

In West Jersey, a Quaker community, many elements similar to those of Puritan jurisprudence are discernible. Thus, there was a marked hostility to lawyers, a fact characteristic of Puritan court procedure.[21] Capital punishment was not fixed by law; it was, however, enacted that "all persons guilty of murder or treason shall be sentenced by the general assembly as they in the wisdom of the Lord shall judge meet and expedient." This would seem to indicate a view similar to that held by the colonists of Massachusetts and New Haven.[22] A more pronounced Bib-

[21] *Grants and Concessions of New Jersey*, p. 396.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 404.

lical tendency appears in the legislation of East Jersey. The early laws were based largely on Scriptural authority.[23] Thus the law of trespasses and injuries by cattle, of injury by fire, of negligence, and the criminal law are in agreement with the provisions of Exodus.

10. John Eliot, Governor Winthrop and Roger Williams

A word must be said concerning three representative New Englanders, namely John Eliot, the "Apostle to the Indians," John Winthrop, the foremost Puritan statesman, and Roger Williams, the founder of the Rhode Island settlement. Eliot was one of a large group of American and English scholars who believed that the American Indians were the Lost Ten Tribes; in 1650 he proclaimed that Ezekiel 37 applied principally to these Indian Israelites; a decade later he published in London a work entitled: *Jews in America: or Probabilities That Those Indians are Judaical.* From this conviction he was led to undertake the monumental task of translating the Bible into the Indian tongue.

Eliot's Hebraic interest was not confined, however, to this subject. It is not generally known that he was the author of a Biblical plan of government, embodied in his book: *The Christian Commonwealth*, in its essential features similar to *Moses, His Judicials*. Eliot exhorts English legislators not to seek vainly for a civil code among governmental systems conceived by man, but rather to use as their source the Word of God revealed in Scripture. The denial of the superiority of Biblical government, according to Eliot, implies a derogation from the sufficiency and perfection of Holy Writ. His plan called for the arrangement of the Commonwealth's inhabitants into tribes of tens, fifties, hundreds and thousands, the order in "Solomon's Court and in the Government of Heaven."

In Governor Winthrop, New England's outstanding political leader, Mosaic government found a secular champion by the side of John Cotton and its ecclesiastical advocates. At an early age he showed a strong attachment to the study of Biblical Law; in his *Christian Experience* he declares that as a youth he "had an insatiable thirst after the Word of God." Whenever he discusses a political question, he first seeks enlightenment in

[23] On Winthrop and Eliot, see "Brief Narrative," *Harvard Classics*, xliii, 147 ff., "Arbitrary Government," etc., *et passim.*

the Bible, the supreme authority in legislative matters. Thus in his defense of Massachusetts against the "aspersion" of "Arbitrary Government," written in 1644, after the adoption of the *Body of Liberties*, he resorts exclusively to Old Testament precedent, and remarks:

> The fundamentals which God gave to the Commonwealth of Israel were a sufficient rule to them to guide all their affairs; we having the same, with all the additions, explanations and deductions which have followed; it is not possible we should want a rule in any case, if God give wisdom to discern it.

Roger Williams was not only a student of the Bible, but sought as well to master the Hebrew tongue.[24] On one occasion he remarks:

> Myself have seen the Old Testament of the Jews, most curious writing, whose price (in way of trade) was three-score pound, which my brother, a Turkey merchant, had and shewed me.

On his trip to England in 1643, he formed an intimate acquaintance with Cromwell and John Milton, to which he alludes as follows:

> It pleases the Lord to call me, for some time, and with some persons to practise the Hebrew, the Greek, Latin, French and Dutch. The Secretary of the Council, Mr. Milton, for my Dutch I read him, reads me many more languages.

Williams had a profound interest in the history, laws and institutions of the Jewish people, and defended their right to re-enter England, in one of his works saying:

> By the merciful assistance of the Most High, I have desired to labor in Europe, in America, with English, with barbarians, yea and also, I have longed after some trading with Jews themselves, for whose hard measure, I fear the nations and England hath yet a score to pay.

He gave considerable attention to the Indian-Israel theory in his work: *Key into the Language of America*, and advocated equal religious and civil rights for Jews with other members of his colony. John Clarke, founder of Newport, was a Hebraist; William Coddington also perpetuated the Hebraic tradition in

[24] Morris, Richard B., "The Jewish Interests of Roger Williams; a Study in Rhode Island Origins," in *The American Hebrew*, December 9, 1921, pp. 132 ff.

Rhode Island. There were many Judaic aspects in the polity of the new colony, and the model of Jewish government in antiquity proved helpful to the framers of the political system of the commonwealth.

Thus it is apparent that the Old Testament, the Hebrew language and particularly the Mosaic Code were potent influences in the history of early America. Whether they contributed to the growth of democratic ideals is a debatable issue. With the advent of British Governor-Generals in New England, the independence of the colonies in matters legal and political was curtailed. Though the Old Testament system lost sway, the word of Scripture continued to nourish and sustain much of the thought of the colonies. In the growth of republican principles during the eighteenth century, it played a dominant role; prior to and during the Revolution it gained a new ascendancy and became a powerful ally to the embattled colonists in their successful struggle for complete independence.

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For further material, see the book which Mr. Richard B. Morris and I intend to issue in the near future on: *Hebraic Influence in Early American Puritan Legislation.*

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